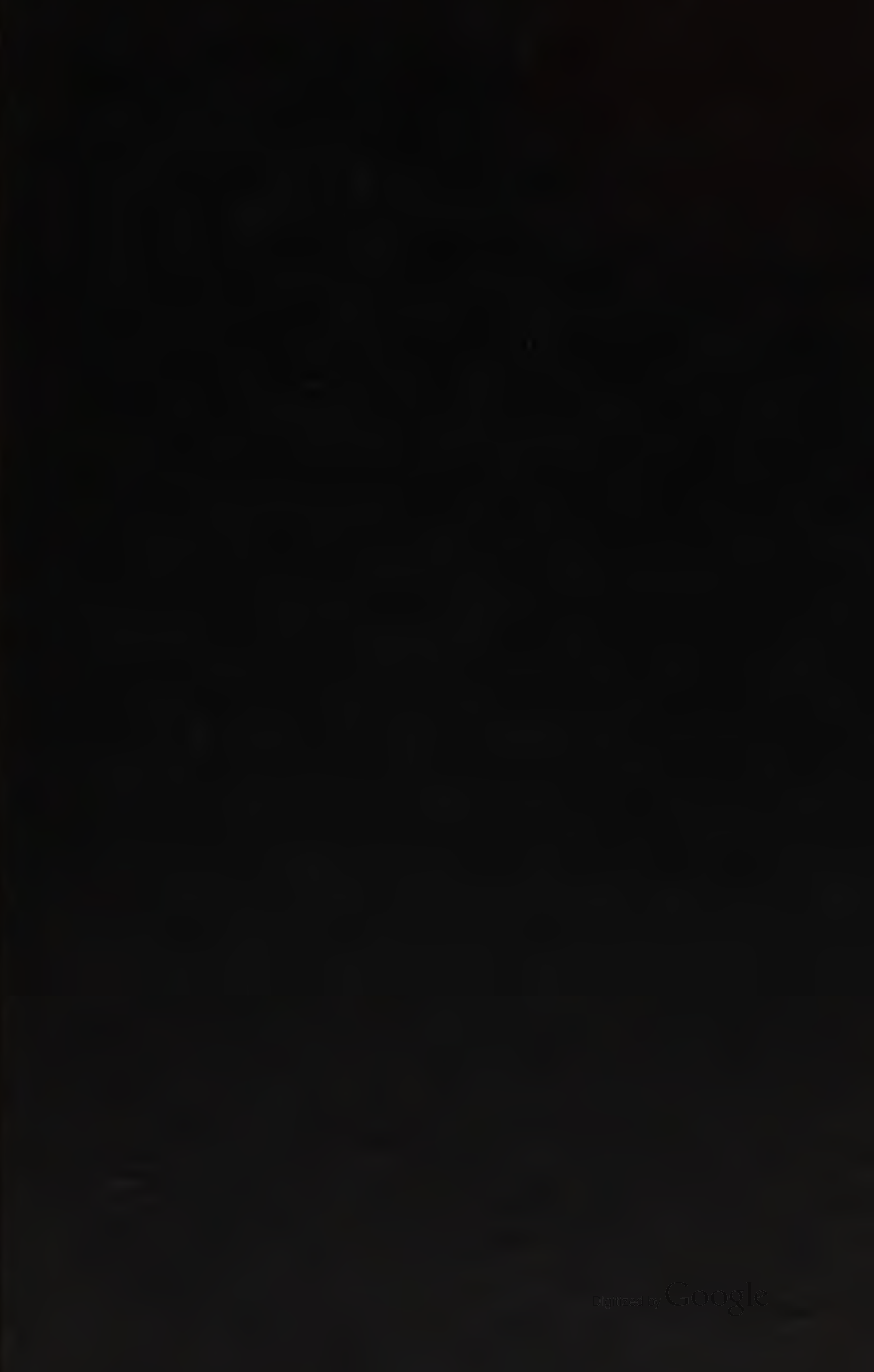
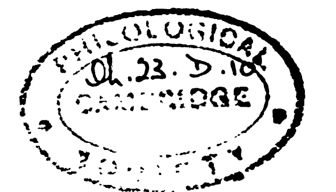





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FÜR

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HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

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X. BAND

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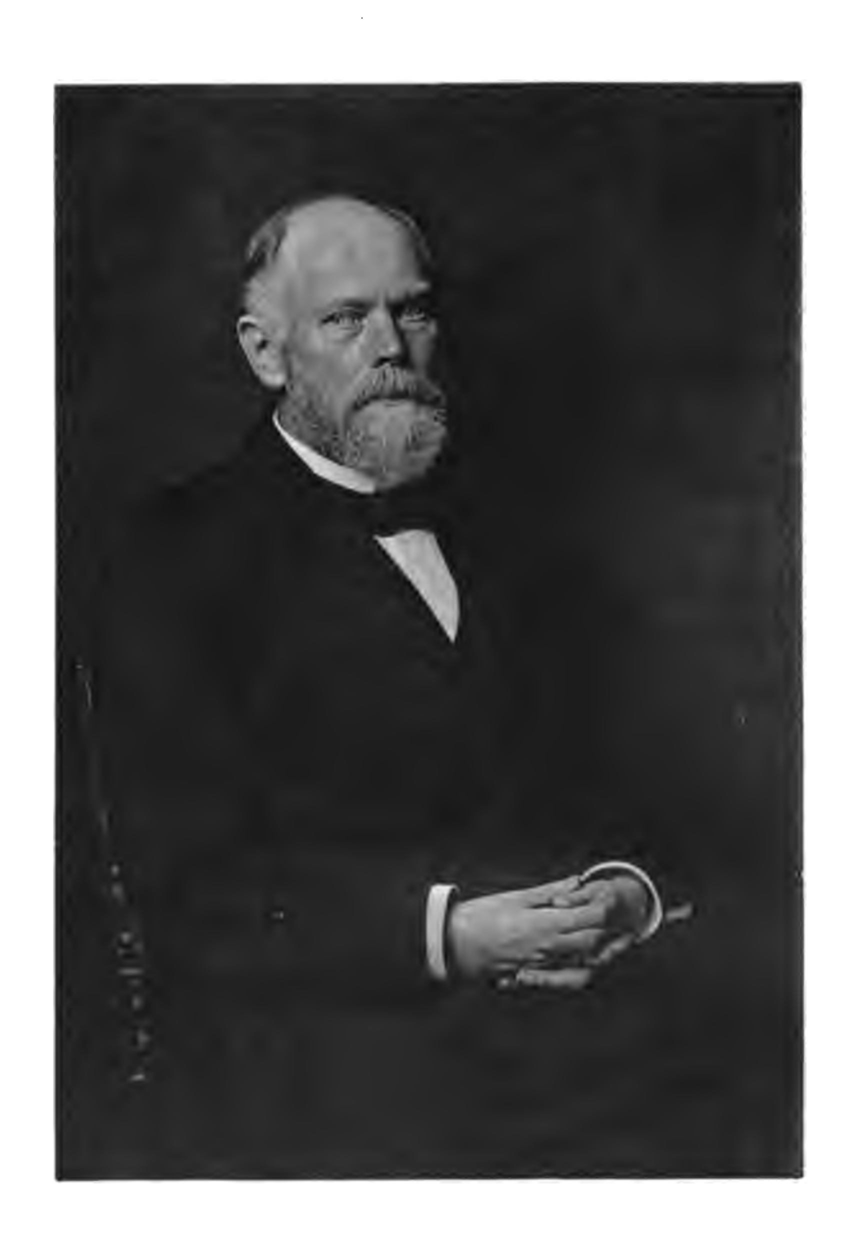
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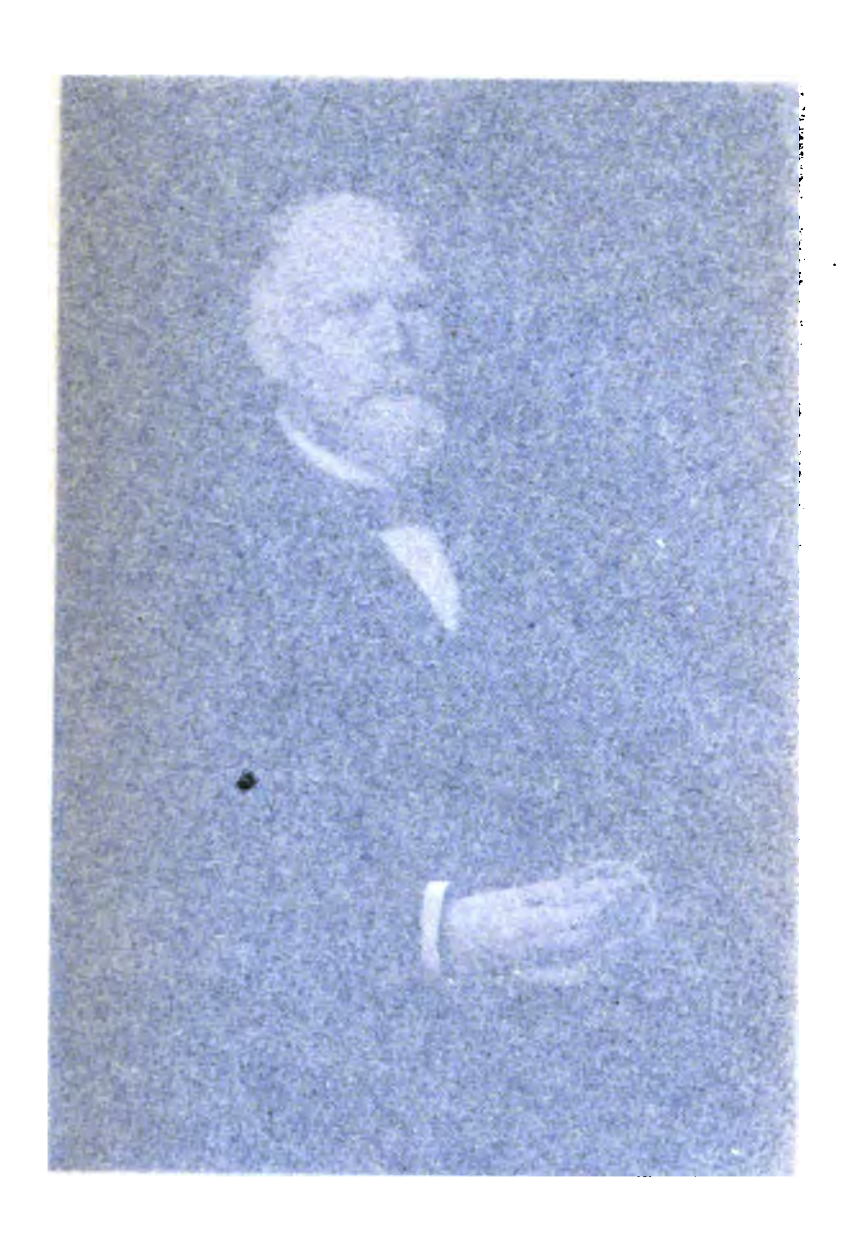
RERUM CELTICARUM IN GERMANIA STUDIOSORUM NESTORI

QUARTUM DECIMUM LUSTRUM CLAUDENTI

HOC VOLUMEN SACRUM ESSE VOLEBANT

KUNO MEYER

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THE MIRACLES OF SENAN.

Introduction.

The Miracles of Senan are here edited from two of the O'Clery MSS. in the Royal Library of Brussels, nos 2324—2340 fol. 241b—248a (text A), and nos 4190—4200 fol. 277a—279b (text B). In A the miracles follow a copy of the Life of Senan similar to that printed by Stokes in 'Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore'[1]). In B they follow a copy of the 'Amra Senain', which was printed by Stokes in this 'Zeitschrift' III 220ff., from H. III 17. Of the B text a late 18th century copy exists in RIA 23 L 11 p. 241 (Hodges and Smith no 9), but it is a wretched scrawl, and I have not collated it. Of the two texts A is, as a rule, the fuller and clearer, but there are very interesting points in B[2]). A is the text here printed, but all variations of importance in B are given in the textual notes, and these are either incorporated [within square brackets] in the translation, or given in the notes to it.

The writer himself calls attention to the fact that these Miracles of Senan are modern miracles; that is, not miracles wrought by the saint in his lifetime, but contemporary, or nearly so, with the writer, and in many of them there is nothing miraculous apart from the assumption of the writer that the events narrated were brought about by the special intervention of the saint. Some of them have to do with the relations of

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1) Cited as *LS*.

2) Perhaps the most interesting is the mention of Culdees at Scattery, § 5 B. Reeves, Culdees, part II § 10, says that they came to an end 'about the close of the 12th century'; yet here we have clear evidence of their continuance into the 14th century.

the chiefs of Thomond of the O'Brien family[1]) to Scattery and its dependent churches in the early 14th century. Hence they furnish some interesting illustrations of contemporary manners, and of the relations between Scattery, the principal foundation of St. Senan, and other churches and communities which ascribed their origin to him. They also enable us to identify the names of two or three places, especially in the neighbourhood of Kilrush, which are either not mentioned or not identified by Father Hogan in his Onomasticon.[2])

In A the tract concludes with a poem which gives a list of the saints with whom St. Senan had made alliance in his lifetime, and who are bound, on the performance of certain rites, to come to avenge any wrong done to his churches. I have thought it worth while to print this poem, as it possibly gives an idea of the monasteries with which Scattery had relations of confraternity in the 14th century. The former part of the poem in which the saints are enumerated[3]) is fairly clear, but some

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[1]) The members of this family whom I have identified from the Annals are the following: Brian Roe, Lord of Thomond, † 1277, §§ 3, 12; Brian son of Domnall, do. † 1350, § 12; Conchobar na Siudaine, s. Donnchad Cairbrech, do. † 1268, § 3; Diarmait s. Donnchad, 'the cleric', † 1311, § 3; Donnchad Cairbrech, Lord of Dal Cais, † 1242, § 3; Donnchad s. Brian Roe, Lord of Thomond, † 1284, § 3; *Donnchad s. Domnall, King of Munster, † 1317, § 12; Donnchad s. Toirdelbach, Lord of Thomond, † 1311, § 3; *Mathgamain s. Domnall, tanist of Munster, † 1320, § 13; Muircertach s. Toirdelbach, do. † 1343, § 3; Tadg 'Caeluisce', son of Conchobar, rigdamna of Munster, † 1259, §§ 3, 4 (A); *Toirdelbach, s. Tadg, Lord of Thomond, † 1306, §§ 3—5, the hero of 'Cathreim Toirdelbaigh'. Those marked with an asterisk are actors in the narrative, the others occur only in genealogical contexts. Murchad 'the son of the bishop', the actor in § 6, I have not identified, unless he is the Murchad son of Mathgamain, the murderer of Donnchad O'Brien, king of Munster, in 1311. Richard de Clare the hero of §§ 7, 8 died in 1318.

[2]) Carnain, § 13, Carnaun, parish of Kilrush; Cell Cuiridain § 12 (A), Kilcredaun, parish and barony of Moyarta, v. Antiquarian Handbook Series, VI 106; Cell na gCaillech, 'the Nuns' Church', Kilnagalliach, parish Kilfearagh, barony Moyarta, §§ 9—12, v. ib. p. 108. Places which I have not identified are: Cell mic Ronáin, § 19, Forbor, § 4 (B), and Ros an Aircéil, § 12, probably the same as Ros na nArc, ib.

[3]) Of the saints contained in the list, I have identified more or less certainly the following, who will be found in the Irish Calendars and Martyrologies at the dates given after their names: Ailbe of Emly, September 12, § 22; Bairre of Cork, September 25, § 18; Beoog, perhaps Mart. Don. October 25, § 18; Berach of Termonbarry, February 15, ib.; Berchan of Clonsast, De-

stanzas in the latter part are very obscure, and I am very far from being satisfied with my translation of them. The text in A is divided into chapters; I have subdivided these into sections numbered continuously for convenience of reference.

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cember 4, § 20; Blathmacc of Iona, July 24, § 22; Brendan, probably of Clonfert, May 16. § 19; Caimin of Inishcaltra, March 24, § 22; Cainnech of Aghaboe, October 11, § 23; Candan, perhaps November 1st or November 4, § 21; Carthach, perhaps of Druim Fertain, March 5, § 23 (Carthach alias Mochuda of Lismore has been previously mentioned); Cellach s. Conmac, v. Mart. Don. April 1st, § 21; Ciaran of Clonmacnois, September 9, § 18; Coemgen of Glendalough, June 3, § 18; Colum mac Crimthain of Terryglass, December 13, § 22; Coman, probably of Roscommon, December 26, § 19; Comgall, of Bangor, May 10, § 23; Fechin of Fore, January 20, § 20; Fergus, a bishop, probably March 30, § 19; Findan, either Finnian of Clonard, December 12, or Finnian of Movilla, September 10, § 23; Finnchú, of Brigown, November 25, ib.; Flannan of Killaloe, December 18, § 21; Flann s. Airchellach, of Derrynavlan, December 21, § 23; Fursa of Peronne, January 16, § 21; Gall craibdech (an) 'The devout foreigner', of Inchagoill in Lough Corrib, which takes its name from him, § 21; Grellan of Creeve, November 10, § 21; Iarlaithe of Tuam, December 26, § 19; Lachtin of Freshford, March 19, § 23; Luchtigern, probably of Isel Ciarain, brother of Ciaran of Clonmacnois, VSH I 209 note; Macduach (Colman) of Kilmacduagh, February 3, § 22; Mac Leinin (Colman) of Cloyne, November 24, § 23; Maelcorgais, cf. Mart. Don., March 12, LL 368f., § 19; Manchán, of Lemanaghan, January 24, § 20; Mochúa of Balla, March 30, §§ 21, 23; Mochuda of Lismore, May 14, § 18; Mochuille of Innsnat, June 12, § 22; Molaga, of Tulach min Molaga, January 20, § 23; Mughna, perhaps Mosenog Mughna, of Ballaghmoon, December 11, § 20; Muinend, perhaps Moinend of Cloncurry, September 16, § 19; Nessan, of Cork, December 1st, § 19; Ruadhán of Lorrha, April 15, § 23; Senan of Scattery, March 1st and March 8 passim; Subach of Corann, August 1st and November 21 (latinised Hilarius, Mart. Don. p. 472), § 18; Ua Suanaigh, there were three brothers of this name, the one intended is probably Fidmuine of Rahen, May 16, § 21; the Eralt of § 20, probably represents an English Harold, or a Scandinavian Haraldr, but I cannot trace him. In A this poem is followed by nine other poems relating to Senan of which the incipits are as follows:

1. Aontaidh doronsat, nar ghann,
   Senan, Laichtin, is Comgall (fol. 248 a);
2. Cána doradsatt na naoimh
   Do Senan, do cniocht na ngniomh (fol. 248 b);
3. Inné so do dubh dioghlach sa
   Dar marbhais Dal cCais (fol. 249 a);
4. Do bhadhus is Brenainn go rath
   Secht mbliadna ag Comhgall ghégach (fol. 249 b);
5. Is mé Senán fuasnadach (fol. 251 b);
6. Nessan dixit: Abair friom a Senain seing (fol. 254 a);
7. Bennach dúinn a naoimh Brenainn (fol. 255 a);



Míorbuile Senáin.

I. 1. Beccán do sccélaib Senáin an *ar*d-naoimh uasail oiregh*dha* an*n*so, doróine na fiorta foll*us*-mhóra 7 na míorbuile toghaidhe si, 7 antí aga rabhatar naomhóga [1]) lom-nochta gan croicin*n* acc iomloctadh chuicce 7 uaidh t*ar* an bf*air*rge [2]); 7 antí do sháidh a bhachaill et*er* na buaibh 7 na gamhnaibh [3]), *co n*ach facaidh bó na gamhain a cheile dibh [4]), 7 antí (*fol. 242 a*) riasa tt*r*aighedh an mhuirlán, 7 'ga líonadh sí 'na diaigh [5]), 7 é ag breith damh a ath*ar* lais [6]). *Ocus* an damh do ithett*ar* na coin allta ind acch*aid* si*n*, ro bás acc tab*air*t a aithbhir fairsiumh. I*ar*si*n* im*morro* no ticcedh da*m*h all*aidh* asan sliabh g*us*an seisr*igh* nó g*us*an ughaim tre rath an mheic so, 7 do theighedh 'san ughaim uadha féin, 7 do threabadh m*ar* gach ndamh oile [7]).

2. Ba maith rath [8]) an mheic so .i. Senán, óir do biod deichneabh*ar* 7 secht fichit senoir salmach do lucht [9]) cuinge c*rab*a*idh* 7 d'fior-muin*n*tir Dé gach noidhche 'ma mhéis, m*ar* dherb*us* an rand so:

> Secht fichit senóir salmach
> 'Na theglach go méd remen*n* [10]),
> Gen *ar*, gan búain, gan tíor*adh,*
> Gan gniomhr*adh acht* madh leighen*n*.

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[1]—[10]) see opposite, p. 5.

(Continuation of the note on p. 3:)

> 8. Fionmaith inghe[n] Báedain bil
> Mathair Senáin caoim-craibhtig (fol. 255 b);
> 9. A macain, tainic mo trath (fol. 256 a).

N° 8 exists also in Rawlinson B. 486 (fol. 44 a). Of the rest I know no other copies.

At the end of these poems O'Clery adds the following colophon: Ar slicht Conaire óig meic Conaire, meic Muiris í Maolconaire do sgriobus míorbuile Senain, 7 gach a ffuil ina ndiaigh anúas in ceidfeacht i lLuimniuch, 'arna sgriobadh dó sein as sein-leabhar dorcha meamruim, 7 do sgriobhus annso andara fecht i cconueint na mbrathar ag Drobhaois, 1. December, 1629; i. e. From the copy of Conaire O'Mulconry the younger &c., which he had made from an old obscure vellum book, I wrote these miracles of Senan and all that follows them to this point the first time at Limerick; and I re-wrote them here in the convent of the friars on the Drowse (i. e. Donegal), December 1st, 1629.

Translation.

1. Here are a few of the stories relating to Senan, the noble eminent high saint, who wrought these great and evident wonders, and excellent miracles, the man who had bare boats without hides, plying backwards and forwards across the sea; who planted his bachall between the cows and the yearlings, so that neither cow nor yearling saw each other; before whom the full tide ebbed, and came to the full again, as he was taking his father's cattle with him. And the ox which the wolves ate that night; the blame of it was laid to him. Afterwards a stag would come from the mountain to the plough[1] and to the plough-tackle, through the grace of this son, and would get into the tackle of itself, and would plough like any ox, [and would depart at the time of unyoking[2].]

2. Good was the grace of this son, Senan; for there were ten, and seven scores of psalm-singing elders, folk [of regular life, and] of the yoke of ascetism, and of the true family of God, around his table every night, as this verse shows:

'Seven score psalm-singing elders
In his household with great [*or* royal *B*] courses,
Without ploughing, without reaping, without drying,
Without any activity except study[3].'

---

[1]) To the yoke-pin, and would put its head under the yoke of itself *B*.

[2]) Passages in square brackets are from *B*.

[3]) This verse, applied to St. Mochta of Louth, occurs, with same varieties of readings, LL 361 bottom margin; Félire notes August 19; Mart. Don. August 19. The last is nearer *B* than *A*.

Notes from p. 4:

[1]) naeithe *B*. [2]) LS 2391. [3]) laeghaibh *B*.
[4]) LS 1958. [5]) LS 1944. [6]) LS 1940.
[7]) asin tsleibh gonuicce an cuing-elach go ccuiredh a chenn fon cuing uadha, 7 ro imthigedh in am sccuir *B*.
[8]) gniomartha *B*. [9]) do lucht cinnte bethadh 7 cuinge *B*.
[10]) 'na theglach, rioghda remenn *B*.

Ocus ba he sin *tra* líon no biodh ina proin*n*tigh féin im tráth coda gach noidhce, a neccmais a lochta fritholma 7 áosa óccbaidh a noilen b*ud*déin; 7 a thighe oiregh*dha* aoidhedh i cCill Rois ag sásadh bocht 7 nocht, trén 7 truagh, ind oidhche 7 a lló[1]). *Ocus* do beirthi bairghen *con*a hanland i llaimh gach aon dui*n*e, 7 a chomairce go cend mbliadhna, día riccedh a les; 7 tiodhla*cadh*[2]) iomlán i*ar*sin. *Ocus* gion go ndech*aid acht noi* niom*aire tar* cladh a thermain*n* amach, 7 a iompodh 'sa tegh *cet*na arís, do ghébhadh an frithólamh *cet*na.

2 b. Do bí[3]) im*morro* an tegh sin re linn tSenáin ag freccra an móir-fhedhma sin; 7 ro faccaibh Senan a bhenn*acht* ag gach comh*ar*ba da tiuccf*adh* dia éis do chion*n* a ein*igh* do coimhétt. *Ocus* así aithne deighenach do aithin ag dul docu*m* nimhe dó, a shamhadh 7 a einech do coimhett m*ar* dherbh*us* an rand so:

Mo bhoicht is mh'aidhidh go hán
T*ar*m eis, a m*acc*an. *et reliqua.*

3. Cid *tra acht* ní fétf*adh*[4]) tenga a tuiremh *acht* muna beith Dia 'ga f*ur*áilemh, (*fol. 242 b*) a nderna Senan do mhíorbuilibh, 7 do mhóir-fiortaibh tre rath an Coimde. Acht cena, an méid as toghtha 7 as uaisle díbh atád scriobhta hi seinleabhraibh fó chádas 7 fo onoir móir. Ní dona fertaibh na dona miorbhuilibh doronadh remhain*n* re lind tSenáin as ail lind lab*airt* anois, acht na neithe nuaidhe nemh-doirche, 7 na fiorta fiadhnacha, 7 na miorbuile mor-aidhble doní se anois, 7 dorin*n*e re lind Toirrdhealb*haigh* m*ic* Taidg, m*ic Con*cobh*air*[5]), m*ic* Donnch*aidh* Cairbrigh, do bí 'na Úa Bríain náoi mbliadhna fichet, 7 re lind Dondch*aidh* m*ic* Toirr*delbaigh* m*ic* Taidg, 7 re lind Di*ar*m*a*ta m*ic* Don*n*ch*aidh*, m*ic* Briai*n* ruaidh, 7 re *lin*n Mhuirc*er*taigh m*ic* Toirr*delbaigh* m*ic* Taidg. Oir ni raibhe m*a*c i nucht, na inghen *ar* altrom, na ócc, na áosm*ar*[6]), n*ar* bó fiadai*n ar* na fior-

[1]) gan díultadh re dreich nduine don Adhamchloinn *add. B.*
[2]) 7 a idhlacadh *B.*
[3]) *This section is not in B.*
[4]) Cidh tenga iarainn no beith hi ccinn dano 7 aingel Dé aga aisneis, do badh urmaisin maith do, da fétadh áiremh a nderna 7c. *B.*
[5]) na Siudaine *add. B.*
[6]) na óigfher gan aosmaire *B* (inepte).

That was the number in his reflectory at the time of refection every night, besides the attendants and servants in the island itself; while his noble guest houses at Kilrush were satisfying the needs of poor and naked, hale and sick, by night and day, [without rejecting the face of any of the seed of Adam]. And a loaf with its kitchen was given into the hand of every man, and protection, if required, for a whole year, and full escort afterwards. And though he (the refugee) went but the length of nine furrows beyond the mound of the termon, and then turned back to the same house, he would receive the same tendance.

2b. Now during Senan's time that house answered for all this great expense, and Senan left this blessing on each succeeding coarb, on condition of his maintaining his hospitality. And this is the last charge that he gave, when he went to heaven, that his congregation and his hospitality should be maintained, as this verse shows:

'Maintain my poor and my guests
After me gloriously, o youth, &c.'

3. Moreover no tongue[1]), unless inspired by God, could relate what Senan did in the way of miracles and mighty works through the grace of the Lord. However, the most select and noblest of them are written in ancient books with reverence and great honour. It is not of the mighty deeds and miracles wrought before our days in the time of Senan that we wish to speak now, but of things clear and recent, the evident wonders, and the stupendous miracles, while he works now, and which he wrought in the time of Tordelbach son of Tadg, son of Conchobar [of the Siudan], son of Donnchad Cairbrech, who was the O'Brien for twenty-nine years, and in the time of Donnchad, son of Tordelbach, son of Tadg, and in the time of Diarmait son of Donnchad, son of Brian the Red, and in the time of Muirchertach son of Tordelbach, son of Tadg. For there was no boy in arms,

[1]) Though a man had in his head a tongue of iron, and an angel of God relating it, he would be very lucky if he could relate, &c. *B.*

taibh so, 7 *ar*na miorbuilibh dorinde Senan re reimhes na riog-r*aidhe* sin; óir ge ata drem deigh-riogh an*n*sin re a náirem, is *gair*itt *air*mhim si iad [1]).

4. Scela an Toirr*delbaig* sin m*ic* Taidg. Do ghabh sein ricche an gh*ar*bh-chóigidh .i. Tuadmum*an*, 7 do bái gach maithes re a lin*n*, oir do ba torthach talamh 7c. *Ocus* ro bái re hath*aid* d'aimsir m*ar* sin [2]). Iarsin im*morro* do tóccbadh nós 7 dlicch*ed* i naimsir Thoirrdealb*aigh* [3]): gibe duine do muirfedh duine ele 'san tír, muna beith a lain-éraic [4]) aicce fein, a búain da aicme; 7 muna beith aga aicme, a bhúain da thúaith; 7 muna beith 'ga túaith, a bhúain dona secht tuathaibh b*ud* goire doibh [5]). Do h*air*ccedh 7 do lomad morán leisan nós [6]) sin, 7 ge do éirgett*ar* uird riaghalta na heccaílsi [7]), nír cuiredh an recht si*n* ar cul léo.

5. (*fol. 243 a*) Tarla do dhuine do muin*n*tir Senain duine do m*ar*b*adh*; 7 do bái [8]) an éraic aga hiarr*aidh* ar therman*n* Senain; 7 adub*air*t an comh*ar*ba, 7 an prióir, 7 an sacrista In*n*si Cathaigh, 7 in coimhthionol go hiomlán, nach tiubhraitis féin uatha hí, 7 gurb eccóir a hiarr*aidh ar* aonduine acht *ar* anti do dhenadh an gniomh, 7 nir gab*adh* sin uatha; óir tainic Toirr-*delbach* mac Taidg féin da nion*n*saicch*ed*, go rainicc go tegh

1) as gerr a reimhes re a rím *B.*

2) do gabh somh righe Tuadhmuman go toicteach turcoirthe o Luachar go Bladhma 7 o Léim Conculaind go Forbor, 7 o Medhraide go Bealach Abhrat *B.*

3) do cumadh reacht leisan righ sin *B.*

4) a lan-chin *B.*

5) a buain don tuaith budh nesa do, 7 mar sin go cend an sechtmadh tuath *B.*

6) reacht *B.*

7) do éirgettar braithre 7 lucht uird *B.*

8) *For* 7 do bái . . . uatha, *B reads*: 7 do lenadh on recht sin go hiomarcach, conar fetsat fulang na hiomarcaighe; 7 dob eiccin an cin do srethadh ar shaccartoibh 7 ar cheilibh Dé an baile, 7 aran ccomhorba, 7 arin bprioir, 7 aran sacrista Innsi Cathaigh, 7 ro chuirsiot a nochána 7 a nosnadha ina diaidh.

nor girl in fosterage, nor youth, nor old man, who was not witness to the mighty works and miracles which Senan did in the days of these chiefs. For though this is a goodly company of chiefs to enumerate, yet I reckon them (i. e. their reigns) as but a short period.

4. As to this Tordelbach son of Tadg —. He succeeded to the kingship of 'the Rough Province', to wit, Thomond[1]); and there was all good in his time; for the earth was fruitful, &c. And so things continued for a while. But afterwards an ordinance and law was set up in the time of Tordelbach, that if any man should slay another in the land, and the full eric was not got from him (the slayer), that it should be exacted from his family, and if it were not obtained from them, it was to be exacted from his tribe, and if it was not got from them, it was to be exacted from the seven tribes most nearly connected with them[2]). Many were harassed and stripped of their property under this ordinance; and though the regular orders of the church rose against it, they could not procure its withdrawal.

5. It chanced that a man of the (monastic) family of Senan slew a man; and[3]) the eric was demanded from the termon lands of Senan; and the coarb, and the prior, and the sacrist, and the convent of Scattery in general, said that they would not pay it; and that it was unjust to demand it from any man except the doer of the deed. But this plea was not accepted, for Tordelbach son of Tadg himself came against them, and reached the

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[1]) He succeeded to the kingship of Thomond prosperously and luckily from Slieve Lougher to Slieve Bloom, from Loop Head to Forbor (?), and from the Maree Peninsula to Belach Ahrat (in Slieve Reagh) *B*.

[2]) From the tribe nearest to him, and so on to the seventh tribe inclusive *B*.

[3]) And (the murder) was prosecuted so oppressively under this law, that the oppression became intolerable. And the compensation had to be assessed on the priests and Culdees of the place, and on the coarb, prior, and sacrist of Scattery; and they groaned and sighed in consequence *B*.



Senain maille le sochraite mor sluaigh, 7 do fhuirigh ann[1]) an oidhche sin, 7 dochúaidh *ar* na b*harach* go Cill m*ic* an dubái*n*, 7 do bí ann ind oidhche sin; 7 tainic Senan i naisling chum an priora ind oidhche sin. 7 do bhendaigh dó[2]). *Ocus* do fiar*f*aigh an prioir de cr*é*t dob áil leis[3]). *Ocus* adub*airt* simh: 'Rachat', *ar* se, 'do dioghail cena mo cleireach, 7 mo thermainn ar Thoirr-dealb*ach* ua mB*r*iáin'. 'Cidh nach aréir do dhioghlais sin f*air*?' *ar* an priόir. 'Nirb áil damh im thigh fein', *ar* Senan, '*ar* nach abradh nech gurab im biadh do dhenainn é.' *Ocus* docuaidh Senán go Cill m*ic* an dubhain[4]), 7 tucc buille do los a throsdain i mullach l*air*ge Toirrdhealbhaigh. 'Cidh 'ma bfuile damh? a clei*righ*', *ar* Toirr*dhealbhach*. '*Ar* son eccóra do den*amh ar* mo therman*n*', *ar* se[5]). Iarsin[6]) téid Toirrdhealb*ach* dia thigh, 7 nir thoccaibh a cend go ffu*air* bás.

II. 6. Fe*acht* oile imm*orro* da ttainic Murchadh m*ac* an Esp*uic* hí Briai*n* co hInis Cath*aig*, 7 do bhátt*ar* báid in*n*te, 7 do sha*ntaigh*[7]) siumh bád ar éiccin do bhreith eiste, tionoilit amach[8]) an baile 7 an coitcend go léir, 7 tuccat*ar* fein 7 Murch*adh* tres agg*ar*bh ainmín[9]) da ceile[10]). Cidh *tra acht* do imtigh Mur*chad ar* eiccin, 7 do loit sé clei*rech* don coitchend[11]). Tainic Senan cuicce ind oidhche sin, 7 do gabh gráin 7 eccla 7 omhan mór eissiu*m*h roimhe, (*fol. 243 b*) 7 do eigh co h*ar*d[12]); 7 do gabh acc t*air*ccsin a chruidh 7 a fheraind dilis do Dhia 7 do Shenan. *Ocus* ro chúala a bhen 7 a mhuin*n*ter an comhradh sin; 7 do

[1]) 7 ro biathadh *B.*

[2]) 7 atchí an prioir aislinge .i. Senan d'faiccsin ag fagbáil na hinnsi go ffeircc 7 go loinde *B.*

[3]) de: 'Ga conair teighí?' *B.*

[4]) 7 do cí Toirrdelbach cuice he *add. B.*

[5]) 'iman cin tuaithe' ar Senan *B.*

[6]) 'arsin imthighis Senan go hopann ainserccach 7 *B.*

[7]) ro samhail *B.*

[8]) sámadh *B* (*recte*).

[9]) tres tulborb troda *B.*

[10]) d'armaibh 7 clochaibh *add. B.*

[11]) acht beiridh M. ar e. an bád, 7 ro ben a lamh do cleiriuch do muintir Senain, 7 ro loit socraidhe dibh *B.*

[12]) 7 teid ar comairge Senain nó go ttíosadh da thigh féin. Gidhedh gabhais sláedan tiugaide tromgalar in oidhce sin, 7 as súaill nar marbh; 7 im-chuirther go a dúnárus féin. Mar tainicc, do connairc Senan cona trosdán chuicce *add. B.*

house of Senan with a great company, and remained [and received refection] there that night. And the next day he went on to Kilmacduane, and was there that night. And the same night[1]) Senan appeared to the prior in a vision, and greeted him. And the prior asked him what his pleasure was. And he answered: 'I am going', said he, 'to avenge my clerks and my termon on Tordelbach O'Brien'. 'Why didst thou not take vengance on him for that last night?' said the prior. 'I did not like to do so in my own house', said Senan, 'for fear it should be said that I had done so (merely) for a matter of food.' And Senan went on to Kilmacduane, [and Tordelbach saw him coming], and he struck Tordelbach on the upper part of the thigh with the butt end of his staff. 'What is thy grudge against me? clerk', said Tordelbach. 'For[2]) the injustice done to my termon', said he. After this [Senan departed suddenly in wrath, and] Tordelbach went to his house, and never lifted his head till he died.

6. Now on another occasion Murchad mac-an-espoic (son of the bishop) O'Brien came to Scattery, and there were boats there. And Murchad wished to carry off a boat by force. So the company of the place and the community mustered in full force, and they and Murchad had a sharp and rough encounter [with weapons and stones]. However[3]), Murchad got off by dint of force after wounding a clerk of the community. Senan came to him that night, and fear and dread and horror seized him at the sight, and[4]) he screamed aloud, and began offering his own land and stock to God and to Senan. And his wife and house-

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[1]) The prior saw a vision: Senan leaving the island in rage and fury. And he asked him: 'Whither goest thou?' *B.*

[2]) 'For the tribal compensation', said Senan *B.*

[3]) However, M. carried off the boat by force, and cut off the arm of a clerk of Senan's family, and wounded many of them.

[4]) And he went under the protection of Senan, till he should reach his own house. However, a severe and fatal lung-disease seized him that night, and he nearly died. And he was carried to his own stronghold; and when he came there, he saw Senan coming to him with his staff.

fiarf*aigh*et*ar* de cred an comradh sin do bi aga dhenamh aicce. 'Ataim', *ar* sé, 'acc t*air*ccsin chend*aigh* móir do Senán; 7 ní ghabhan*n* uaim hé. *Ocus* tucc buille do los a throstain hi mull*ach* mo chiche clí, gur gabh an talamh tríom. *Ocus* 'dént*ar* mo thiomna anosa, u*air* as deimhin go ffuiger bás trém toiscc go hInis Cath*aig* an ta*n* so)[1].'

III. 7. Fe*cht* ele da thainicc Risd*er*d de Clara lion a thionoil[2]) go crich Corca Bascin*d*, 7 do hairccedh an tír léo, et*er* túaith 7 chill, 7 do sháraigh sé temp*all*[3]) Senáin[4]). Iarsin teid an gall[5]) da daingen, 7 *dá* dún-*árus* fein. *Ocus* fa dub*ach* droch-mhenmn*ach* an samhadh 7 a coitchen*n* dá sárucch*ad* i neimedh Senáin[6]), 7 darónsat sin gerán[7]) fri Día 7 fri Senán. *Ocus*[8]) do i*arr*at*ar* ar Dhía cend na comhairle do chiorrbadh; 7 an lu*cht* sínte laimhe do léir-sccrios.

8. Tainic Senan in oidche sin d'ion*n*saicch*ed* an tsacrista. *Ocus* do fhi*arfaigh* an sacrista de ca raibhe ag dol. Adub*airt* Senan go rach*ad* do dhioghail a sháraighthe arin cClárach, 7 do gabh an ran*n* dó:

Do deon*aigh* damh Rí nimhe,
Rí an tsloigh, cend gach co*mhair*le,
Lucht craite mo cuirp fam cill[9])
A ccuirp do c*r*adh gan choigill.

Cidh[10]) t*ra* a*cht* nir bo cudrama an coimhgleic, úair t*ar*la buille do trosttán Senáin don Chlárach, gur thimchill a shaoghal; 7 do

1) 7 an tan tairnic dó sin, fuair bás *add. B.*
2) ar creich *add. B.*
3) 7 ro saraigedh termonn *B.*
4) 7 buailte an coitcinn, 7 Inis Cathaigh ima comairge; uair do shaoil nar mhilledh comairge d'Inis Cathaigh crodh na ffiledh do breith eiste *add. B.*
5) uaibhrech urramhta *add. B.*
6) tridsim, .i. a ccomairge do clodh 7 a samhadh do sarughadh *B.*
7) toirsi *B.*
8) 7 adubhrattar nar tualaing é a comairge do dhiogail, uair as amhlaidh do dlighfidhe a ndioghail sin na comairge .i. cenn cecha comhairle 7c. *B.*
9) mo bhocht go grinn *B.*
10) *Before this B inserts:* Iarsin téid Senan gusan maighin a mbáoi in Clarach, 7 tuccsat coimescar da cele.

hold overheard this talk, and asked what this conversation might be. And he said: 'I am offering great terms to Senan, and he does not accept them, and he has struck me with the butt end of his staff above the left breast, and it has gone through me into the ground. And let my will be made now, for assuredly I shall die as the result of my expedition to Scattery at this time.' [And when he had finished speaking, he died.]

7. Another time Richard de Clare came in full force [on a foray] into Corcovaskin, and the land was harried by them, both clergy and laity, and [1]) he outraged the church of Senan. After this the [proud and arrogant] Englishman went to his own fort and stronghold. And the company and community were sad and downcast that [2]) they should have been outraged within the sanctuary of Senan, and they made their complaint to God and Senan. And [3]) they besought God that the author of this design might be cut off, and the folk who had executed it utterly destroyed.

8. Senan came that night to the sacrist, and the sacrist asked him where he was going. Senan said that he was going to avenge his outraging on de Clare, and he recited this stave:

> 'The King of heaven, the King of the host, has granted to me the author of every design, (and) the folk who plague my body in respect of my church [4]), that their bodies should be plagued without mercy.'

[Thereupon Senan went to the place where de Clare was, and they had a tussle together.] But the contest was no equal one,

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[1]) And the termon of Senan was outraged, and the booleys of the community and the asylum rights of Scattery; though (lit. for) people thought that those rights would never be violated by taking therefrom the property of the poets *B*.

[2]) That their asylum should be invaded, and their congregation outraged *B*.

[3]) And they said: 'Could he not avenge (the violation of) his asylum?' for the vengeance due therefor was this, that the author of any design, &c. *B*.

[4]) Plague my poor deliberately (?) *B*.



in*n*is fein *ar* na mh*ar*ach día mhuin*n*tir, go ffacaidh se cléireach[1]) 'san aird ani*ar* chuicce go ffeirg móir, 7 gur mhescc[2]) a chíall 7 a chuimhne, 7 gur bhúaidhir é uile. A ccion*n* an tres lái[3]) i*ar*si*n* do chúaidh an Clarach for sluaighedh, 7 do gabhadh a chosae (*fol. 244a*) 7 a lamha fair, go ffrith i naisccidh é, 7 co ffu*air* bás t*r*e mhiorbhail Senain, gér bó fer comhlaind *cet* conuicce sin hé.

IV. 9. Araile u*air* do bái temp*all* do themplaibh Senáin .i. Cill na Caill*igh*i ba dona reicclésaibh ba hannsa le Senán da raibhe aicce hé, acht Inis Cath*aig* amháin, arashon sin do bhái do mh*ét* in*n*each*aid* 7 aincreidimh in phop*ail*, gur leiccset gan ord, gan aifrion*n*, gan altóir an*n* hé; *acht* suip tuighedh 'ma chend, 7 búaladh 7 losccadh, 7 gach ní dá anúaisle da dhena*m*h an*n* m*ar* gach tegh oile[4]). Gabhais fercc im*morro* an terlamh tríd sin, 7 iss*edh* do roine. Lá da raibhe ben acc dógh[5]) arbha don taoibh thoir don temp*all* fedh urch*air*, 7 an gháoth aníar go dírech, do ling im*morro* gealbhon*n* do mull*ach* an temp*aill*[6]) m*ar* a raibhe an bhen, 7 do gabh seimhin[7]) ar lasadh ina bhél, 7 do ling chum an tempaill arís; 7 ro leicc an seimhin *ar* lasadh 'sa tuighe, go ro loiscc*edh* an temp*all*, et*er* tuighe 7 chrand, 7 cloich[8]). Iarsin[9]) im*morro* do chuirett*ar* duth*aig* in bhaile rempu in temp*all* do dhénamh asa núa; 7 do thion*n*sccnat*ar* teini aoil do dhénamh ara bh*ar*ach.

10. Tainicc im*morro* Senán an oidhce si*n* fei*n* cum fir don bhaile darb ain*m* Giolla Senáin o hEtt*r*omái*n*, 7 atb*ert* fris: 'Eirigh a m*ár*ach go huillin*n*[10]) tighe inghine úi Brúachain, 7 tochail[11]) tri troighthe ó uillin*n* an tighe amach[12]) 7 doghébh*air*

[1]) ferccach fuasnadach *add.* *B.*
[2]) 7 go ttucc coimhesccar dó: '7 do bedga[s] sa remhe', ar sé *B.*
[3]) a ccinn sé laithe *B.*
[4]) losg[adh] grán, 7 muinnterdhacht ann *B.*
[5]) losccadh *B.*
[6]) *The scribe at first wrote* tighe.
[7]) simha *B.*
[8]) 7 ro bái seal amlaidh sin *add.* *B.*
[9]) 7 adubratar duthchusaigh an bhaile, gur choir teine aóil do dhenamh, 7 an tempall do chorugadh *B.*
[10]) airtheraigh *add.* *B.*
[11]) 7 togbáil (no tomais *interlined*) *B.*
[12]) on udhnocht amach *B.*

for a blow from Senan's staff lighted on de Clare, which cut short his life; and he himself related to his household on the morrow that he had seen a [furious angry] clerk in the air coming to him out of the West in great wrath, [and he had a tussle with him], and [1]) he confused his mind and his memory, and made him all distraught. At the end of the third day following [2]) de Clare went on a hosting, and could not move hand or foot, so that he was at the mercy of his enemies; and so he died through the miraculous power of Senan, though previously he was a fighter equal to a hundred.

9. There was once a temple of Senan's, to wit, Killnagalliach, which of all Senan's churches was his favourite, save Scattery alone. Yet such was the wickedness and infidelity of the people that they left it without rite, or mass, or altar; with wisps of thatch over it, and threshing and parching [of grain], and all the most menial offices being done there, as in any common house. The patron saint was highly incensed at this; and this is what he did. One day a woman was parching corn a stone's throw from the East end of the church, and the wind due West, when a sparrow hopped down from the top of the church to where she was, and seized a burning straw in its beak, and hopped on to the church again, and dropped the burning straw on to the thatch, and the church was burnt, thatch and stick and stone; [and it remained for a time in that state]. After this the inhabitants of the place [3]) proposed to rebuild the church, and the next day they began to make a lime kiln.

10. However, that very night Senan came to a man of the place named Gilla-Senain O'Hettroman, and said to him: 'Go to-morrow to the [East] corner of the house of Ni Bruacháin, and dig three feet out from the corner, and thou shalt find plenty of

[1]) 'And I started at the sight of him', said he *B*.

[2]) Of six days *B*.

[3]) Said that it would be a good thing to make a lime-kiln, and restore the church *B*.

do sháith áoil[1]) an*n*'. Eirghis Giolla Senain *ar* maidin, 7 ruc*cus*t*air* rámhand 7 slúasat lais, 7 do thochail ag uillin*n* an tighe 7 fu*air* an taol an*n* am*ail* adub*airt* Senán fris; 7 nír bó lughaitte an táol a mbeirthi as. *Ocus* do ruccat*ar* a sáith léo de, go ndernsa*t* an temp*all* go diongmala, gurab cill cádh*us*ach cóir osin alle hi.

Sgela na teinedh áoil ó sin amach: gach uile cinel galair do bhíodh for dhuine no for ainmidhe gan *acht* an taol sin (*fol. 244 b*) do chumailt de, do bhiodh slán gan fuirech; nó cloch[2]) da bfaghtaoi an*n*, 7 a téghadh, 7 a cur i ndigh doibh, do ícadh cach 7c.

11. Robái[3]) mennan becc bacach gabhair ag mnáoi 'san mbaile si*n*, '*ar* mbrisedh a dhá chos 7 a dhroma. Dochuaidh leis g*us*an teine aóil, 7 adubh*airt*: 'D*ar* mo bhreithir', *ar* si, 'ni thiocfair assin, go ttaiséna Senán a mhiorbuile fort.' Do fhaccaibh an oidhce sin *ar*in aol é, 7 docúaidh da fhechain *ara* bh*ar*ach, 7 is amhl*aidh* fu*air* é, 7 uth mór bain*ne* aicce, 7 e féin slan ina shesamh, 7 do slánaigedh a bhain*ne* gach gal*ar*, 7 gach teidm da mbiodh *ar* dhaoinibh 7 airnéisibh; 7 do beirti do riogh-aibh 7 d'escopaibh a bhain*ne* si*n* ósin amach. *Ocus* fós gach áon troisccfes *ar* lath*air* na teinedh aoil si*n* fri Dia 7 fria S*enán*, 7 do dhéna a fhaoisittin iarsin, 7 glacfus Corp *Crist*, do gebha an athchuinghe bás ail lais, muna raibhe i nacch*aid* aiccnidh.

VI. 12. Fea*cht* an*n* do gabh Don*n*ch*ad* m*ac* Domhnaill m*ic* B*r*iain ruaidh cend*us*[4]) ar crich Chorca Baiscin*d*, gur chuir a shlóigh 7 a buan*n*adha istech foran tír[5]), 7 ro bái d'ioma*t* a cheithern[6]) 7 a dhamh coimhitt*echta*, co roichedh búanda *ar*na trí búaibh[7]) da raibhe 'san tír, 7 nír dhíol doibh si*n*. Dochuaidh Don*n*ch*ad* úa Briain fein do shárucch*ad* cheall t-Senái*n*, 7 do thab*airt* a ccruídh uatha d'áis no d'éiccen. *Ocus* docuaidh go Cill na Caill*igh*i, 7 go Cill Chuiridáin, 7 go Ros an Aircéil, 7

[1]) fogebha tene aoil *B*.

[2]) gach cliabh-galar no treabhlaid do bhíod for each no duine, acht co mberbhtha clocha na teinedh doibh, ba slán *B*.

[3]) *This section is very much shorter in B.*

[4]) nert *B*.

[5]) go ro sreth a sluagh forra *B*.

[6]) eachtrann *B*.

[7]) 7 aran dá bá, 7 aran en bhoin *B*; *which abbreviates the remainder of the section to the detriment of the clearness of the narrative.*

lime[1]) there.' Gilla-Senain arose the next morning, and took spade and shovel, and dug at the corner of the house, and found the lime there, as Senan had said; and the lime was not diminished by what was taken out. And they carried away as much as they wanted, and built the church worthily, so that thenceforth it was held in due honour.

As to the subsequent history of the lime-kiln: — every kind of disease in man or beast, if only (the patient) were rubbed with the lime, would be healed at once, or[2]) if a stone taken thence were heated and put in their drink, it would cure everyone, &c.

11. A woman in the place had a little lame kid, which had broken two of its legs and its back. She took it to the lime-kiln, and said: 'Upon my word', said she, 'thou shalt not come out, till Senan displays his miracles on thee'. She left it in the kiln that night, and the next day she went to look at it, and found it standing quite healed with a great udder of milk, and the milk healed every illness and every plague in man and cattle, and was carried thenceforth to kings and bishops. Moreover everyone who fasts to God and to Senan on the site of this lime-kiln, and makes his confession afterwards, and receives the Body of Christ, shall obtain any boon he pleases, if it be not contrary to nature.

12. Once upon a time Donnchad son of Domnall son of Brian Roe (the red) assumed the chiefship of Corcovaskin, and he quartered his bands and bonaghts in on the land, and so many were his kernes[3]) and attendants that the bonaghts would find out (lit. reach) three cows [or two cows, or even a single cow] that existed in the land. And as if that was not enough for them, Donnchad O'Brien himself went to outrage the churches of Senan, and to carry off their cattle from them whether they

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[1]) Find a lime-kiln *B.*

[2]) (And) every lung-disease or (other) trouble in horse or man, if only stones of the kiln were seethed for them, would be cured *B.*

[3]) Foreigners *B.*

do h*air*ccedh lais íatt. Ó 'tcuala[1]) comh*ar*ba Senain si*n*, do thionóil an d*ara* comh*ar*ba chuicce maille lena raibhe do chléircibh an*n*sa tír, 7 andsan mbaile sin tSenáin. *Ocus* tuccatt*ar* a ccluicc, 7 a cceolána 7 a mbachla, 7 a nuile mionna léo, 7 dochótt*ar* bail i rraibhe Don*n*chad, 7 adubhratt*ar*, muna ttucc*adh* sé doibh gach a rucc uatha, go ccuirfittís Día 7 Senan 'na diaigh *air*. *Ocus* adub*air*t siumh, (*fol. 245a*) nach tiubr*adh*. I*ar*sin tuccatt*ar* san *gáir* mór, et*er* cleir*ech*, 7 céolán, 7 clocc, 7 bachaill, gur chomhmbuaidhrett*ar* a chiall, 7 *gur* mesccatt*ar* a inchin*n* ina chiond. Adub*airt* siumh fríu: 'Gabhaidh búandadha', ar sé. 'Do dhénam sin', *ar* na cleirchi, '7 cuirmít Senan 'na dhiaigh ortsa.' Do cuiredh deichneabh*ar* ar coitcheann*n* Senáin, 7 a mhéid do toccrat*ar* féin *ar*in ccomh*ar*ba, 7 búanda *ar* Mac Sioda an chluicc, 7 búann*a* *ar* chleir*igh* Ruis na nArc, 7 buanda *ar* chleir*igh* Cille na cCaill*ech*, 7 buanda *ar* chleir*igh* Chille Cuiridáin. Oirisit m*ar*sin o fhéil Senáin go céid-féil Muire. *Ocus* do chuir[2]) Dondchad fios *ar*na búandadhaibh an*n*sin chum aidhmillte do denamh i naird oile. *Ocus* do m*ar*b*adh* Don*n*ch*ad* an*n*sin, 7 an deichnebh*ar* dá bhraitr*i*bh[3]) do bí maille ris ag sárucch*ad* Senáin, 7 na búandadha uile. *Ocus* os é Br*i*án n*ár* sharaigh Senán[4]), do imthigh slán.

VII. 13. Uair ele doch*úaid* Mathgamhain m*a*c Domhnaill, m*i*c M*uircertaigh*, do b*r*eith áirnéisi[5]) do bái *ar*na C*ar*nánaibh leis *ar* eiccin, 7 íatt *ar* com*air*ce comh*ar*ba Senáin; 7 do gabh tre[6]) buailidh an choitcinn. *Ocus* do heiccedh air, 7 tainic in comh*ar*ba[7]) 7 in coitcend chuca, 7 do feradh treis aggarbh[8]) ettorra ar lár búailedh in choitchin*n*. Ocus do chaith Mathgamhain féin dá soighitt risan ccom*ar*ba 7 do bhuail air íatt, 7 nir tholl cidh a aédach. *Ocus* anu*air* do *con*n*air*c Mathgamain an comh*ar*ba

[1]) *For* o'tcuala ... Senain *B reads* 7 ro lensat an da choitchinn é.
[2]) *For* 7 do chuir ... aile *B reads* toccthar iad chum tochair na mainistreach.
[3]) cethrar da síol *B*.
[4]) nach raibhe a ngoire do Senan *B*.
[5]) eallaigh *B*.
[6]) asé eolus do ghaibh an teallach súas go b. *B*.
[7]) ar toradh a retha a ndiaigh na comairge *add. B*.
[8]) tulborb *B*, *which abbreviates the rest of the section*.

would or no. And he came to Kilnagalliach, and to Kilcredaun, and to Ros an Aircéil, and plundered them. When[1]) the coarb of Senan heard this, he sent for the other coarb, and all the clerks who were in the land and in that place of Senan. And they brought their bells and hand-bells and bachalls, and all their other treasures, and they proceeded to the place where Donnchad was; and they said that unless he gave back all that he had taken from them, they would set God and Senan after him. And he said that he would not make restitution. Then they raised a great noise, clerks, and bells, and hand-bells, and bachalls, so that they perturbed his mind, and confused his brain in his head. He said to them: 'Receive (my) bonaghts', said he. 'We will do so', said the clerks, 'and we will set Senan at thee afterwards'. Ten men were quartered on the community of Senan, and as many as they claimed on the coarb, and bonaghts on Mac Sida (steward) of the bell, and on the clerks of Ros na nArc, and on those of Kilnagalliach and Kilcredaun. They remained thus from the festival of Senan to the first festival of Mary. And then[2]) Donnchad sent for the bonaghts to ravage in another quarter. And there Donnchad was killed, and ten[3]) of his kinsmen who took part with him in the ravaging of Senan, and all the bonaghts. And as for Brian, who[4]) did not outrage Senan, he came off safe and sound.

13. On another occasion Mathgamhan son of Domnall, son of Muirchertach, went to carry off forcibly some cattle that were at Carnaun under the protection of Senan's coarb. And [the herd] proceeded through the booley of the community. And a hue and cry was raised; and the coarb came [at the top of his speed in pursuit of the protected cattle (lit. protection)] and the community also, and a sharp struggle took place between them in the midst of the community's booley. And Mathgamain

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[1]) And the two communities pursued him *B*.

[2]) They were brought to the causeway of the monastery *B*.

[3]) Four of his seed *B*.

[4]) Was not near Senan *B*.

ag imthecht, dochóid féin fón ccrodh, 7 do m*ar*bh mart dibh. *Ocus* beiritt na cléirigh an chuíd ele leo dibh, 7 ro fuir*igh* Mathgam*ain* 'san mbaile ind oidhche sin. *Ocus* do gabh gal*ar* trom é, gur bó m*ar*bh [1]), 7 gur mhair cethraimhe don m*art* si*n* do m*ar*bh fein, 7 a croicen*n* [2]) dia éis, go ffuil [3]) si*n* *ar* cuimhne o sin anúas.

VIII. 14. Fecht ele tangatt*ar* gadaighthi *ar* buaile in coitchin*n*, 7 [4]) gabhait (*fol. 245b*) áonmh*ar*t amháin do bái acc senoir uasal do bhái ina shacc*ar*t 'san mbaile, 7 beirit go hionad imchian leo hí, 7 m*ar*bhait, 7 do cuirett*ar* a croicend [5]), 7 an laogh bói ina bolcc, hi ffolach hi bpoll móna [6]). Do fóccr*adh* an m*art* i*ar*sin [7]), 7 nir adaimh aon dui*ne* an m*art*. *Ocus* do i*ar*r an senóir sin .i. an sacc*ar*t ua hUigin*n* *ar* Día 7 *ar* Senán ffoillsiucc*adh* d'faghail dó ara bhoin. A cciond míosa i*ar*sin, tangatt*ar* na gad*aigh*e remhráite dochum an phuill mhóna in*ar* fáccbat*ar* croicend 7 laogh na bó, 7 do toccbhatt*ar* asan bpoll íatt; 7 acc sccaoil*edh* an croicin*n* dóibh, do eirigh an laogh, 7 do léicc a trí géimion*na* ass. *Ocus* fá mór an tiongn*adh* 7 an tuathbás leisna gadaighibh in ní si*n*, 7 do sléchtsat do Dhía 7 do Senán, 7 tangatt*ar* gu*san* sag*art*, 7 tuccatt*ar* a bhreith féin [8]) dó, 7 do gheallat*ar* gan en ní b*údh* olcc le Senan do dhénamh go brath.

IX. 15. Fe*cht* ele do bhatt*ar* cleirigh an bhaile fein [9]) i ccaibidil [10]), 7 dorónsat do chomhairle sépel do den*amh* do Muire; 7 do

[1]) an tres trath arna mháirech *add. B.* [2]) seiche *B.*

[3]) go ffuil ina ball coimesa o shoin, 7 co mbia go brath *B.*

[4]) co ttarla scaói do crodh an choitchinn doibh acc éirghe 7 gabhaitt mart *B*, *which omits the passage about the priest here*, *inserting it lower down adding:* 7 an sagart Mac Uiginn.

[5]) seiche *B.*

[6]) hi bpoll phortaigh, 7 ethait an mart *B.*

[7]) cuirther fa choinnlibh an mart i necclasaibh an choitcinn *B.*

[8]) a riar *B.*

[9]) batar coitcinn Senain ina suidhe *B.*

[10]) a haithle a nespartan *add. B.*

himself discharged two arrows at the coarb, and they hit him, but did not pierce even his clothing. And when Mathgamain saw the coarb escaping, he himself attacked the cattle and killed a heifer. But the clerks got off with the rest of the cattle. Mathgamain remained in the place that night; and was attacked by a severe illness, so that he died [at the third hour on the morrow]. And a quarter of the heifer which he killed, and its skin remained, and remains there from that time forth as a memorial[1]).

14. Another time thieves came to the booley of the community, [and a herd of cattle on the move belonging to the community met them], and they took a single heifer belonging to a noble elder of the place [and the priest's name was Mac Uiginn (Quiggin)]; and they carried it off to a remote spot, and killed it, and hid the hide, and the calf that was in its womb, in a hole in a bog, [and ate the heifer]. The[2]) (loss of the) heifer was cried after this, but no one confessed to the theft. And the senior, that is the priest O'Huiginn, besought God and Senan to make known to him about his cow. At the end of a month the aforesaid thieves came to the hole in the bog where they had left the hide and calf of the cow, and took them out of the hole. And when they unwrapped the hide, the calf stood up, and bellowed three times. And great was the astonishment and horror of the thieves at this, and they prostrated themselves before God and Senan, and came to the priest, and offered him his own terms. And they promised not to do anything displeasing to Senan till doom.

15. Another time the clerks of the place held a chapter [after vespers]; and they resolved to build a chapel to the Virgin,

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[1]) As a witness for ever *B.*

[2]) The heifer was put under candles in the churches of the community (i. e. the thieves were excommunicated) *B.*

bí[1]) ina ceist orra gan clocha aca 'chum aoil do den*amh*, 7 gan clocha snoighti aca 'chum na hoibre féin do denamh, 7 dochód*ar* do chodl*adh* in oidhce sin. *Ocus*[2]) ro eir*igh* cleir*ech* dibh *ar* maidin *ar*abh*ar*ach, 7 fu*air* an méid cloch b*údh* maith lais. *Ocus* nír bó ferr clocha ar bith ina íatt.

X. 16. Taispenadh adhuathmh*ar* tadhbás don tsenóir Úa C*air*ill .i. saccart Innse Cath*aig ar*oile oidche ina i*ar*meirge. *Ocus* is amhlaidh tainicc cuicce .i. dealbh coirtighe, cíordubh. 'Cros *Críst* ettro*m* 7 tú', *ar* an sacc*art*, '7 cía tú féin?' 'Macbethadh m*ac* Neill (*fol. 246 a*) m*ic* Murch*ada* meisi', ar sé. 'Cidh rod dubh*ustair* fon ion*nus* sin tú?' *ar* in senoir. 'Ni*nsa*. Roimét[3]) mo péine 7 mo phea*cadh*, óir is amhl*aidh* bím, 7 pluc mor do demhnaibh umam isind áer, 7 sústa im*dha* i*ar*n*aidhe* aca aga ngabháil im cend dibh. *Ocus* gidh doil*igh* damh sin, as doilghe damh m'ath*air* do beith ina comn*aidh*e ar múr naoimh, 7 m*air*cc bhíos and. *Ocus* is m*air*cc damhsa sech cách m'ath*air* do bheith a ccomfocc*us* don chill: úair gib é do dhéna ingreim *ar* mhúr naoi*m*h ar bith, 7 co háiridhe ar Inis Cath*aig*, beid na deich *cet* 7 an *fiche cet* naomh doróine cairdes 7 aonta fri Senán aga aithber air féin, 7 *ar*a shlio*cht* ina dhíaigh. *Ocus* an tan dogníther eccóir no inghreim *ar*an inis naoimh so, teccait na naoimh sin as gach aird dia dhíoghail *ar*an lucht ros dingne; 7 ro chan an láidh an*n*[4]):

[1]) 7 ba trom leo cendach na ccloch náoil, uair do beirdis da sgilling ar gach en lucht *B*.

[2]) Iarna mharach immorro do tiomaiccfidhe comhard tempaill do clochaibh aelbuigh timcell na hinnse, co nach rangatar a les clocha do cendach *B*.

[3]) *From this point to the end of the section B reads thus:* Ro-iomat mo phecadh 7 ro-throma mo péine, uair as amlaidh bim, 7 pluc do demhnaibh agam rébadh, 7 cidh mor piau fuil oram, as doilge damh aithber iomaithber oram ara bith a ccomharsanacht Innsi Cathaigh, uair mairce bhios a ccomharsanacht naoimh, 7 mairce dorinne 7 dingenas inghreim ar Inis Cathaigh 7 ar lucht aittreba an náim sin i talamh, uair an deich cced 7 an fhichet céd naomh dorinne codach re Senan, beid sin uile acca dioghail fair féin, 7 ara mhac, 7 for a iarsma co deiredh betha .i. for anti doghéna ingreim arin ccatraigh naoimh sin; 7 gach uair da ndingentar eccoir ar Inis Cathaigh, 7 ar Cill Rois, 7 ar termonn Senain co coitcionn, teccaid samhaidh Senain co leic an chodaigh, 7 tabrad tri gaire eter clocc 7 duine, 7 tioccfaid na naoimh sin do dhíoghail na neccórach dognífider re Senan.

[4]) *B omits the poem, and gives the following colophon:* As leabhar comharba Shenain o Inis Cathaigh do sgriobad an Amhra sin Senain, 7 na sgeoil becca nuaidhe amhail atád sunna, a cconveint brathar Chuinnche i

(*Continued on p. 24.*)

and [1]) it was a difficulty to them that they had no stones from which to make lime, nor any dressed stones for the work itself; and they retired to rest that night. And [2]) a clerk of them arose on the following morning, and found as much stone as he could desire. And no stones in the world were better than they.

16. A dreadful vision appeared to the elder, O'Cairill, a priest of Scattery, one night at mattins; and thus it came to him as a tanned jet-black form. 'Christ's cross (be) between me and thee', said the priest, 'and who art thou?' 'Macbeth, son of Niall, son of Murchad', said he. 'What has blackened thee like that?' said the elder. 'That is soon told' (said he) 'the enormity of my torment and my sins; for thus I am, with a great horde of demons hovering [3]) about me, with many iron flails which they ply upon my head. And though this be grievous to me, more grievous [4]) is it to me that my father is settled on the boundary (lit. wall) of a saint, and woe to him who is there. And woe to me beyond anything that my father should be near the church, for whoever shall trespass on the boundary (lit. wall) of any saint, and especially Scattery, the three thousand saints who made alliance and union with Senan will avenge it on the doer, and on his seed after him. And when wrong or trespass is done to this sacred island [to Scattery and Kilrush, and to the termon of Senan generally, the congregations of Senan come to the Stone of the Treaty, and send forth three cries of man and bell, and] these saints come from every quarter to avenge it on the perpetrators. And he recited this lay [5]).

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[1]) And the purchase of lime-stone was a heavy burden to them, for they had to pay two shillings for every load *B*.

[2]) But on the morrow were seen limestones to the height of a church all round the island, so that they had no need to purchase any *B*.

[3]) Rending me *B*.

[4]) Is the twice-told vengeance on me for being in the vicinity of Scattery, for woe to him who is in the vicinity of a saint, and woe to him who has committed or shall commit trespass on Scattery and the dwellers on the saint's land *B*.

[5]) *B* ends here with the following colophon: From the book of the coarb of Senan of Scattery this Amra Senain and the little modern tales were copied, as here given, in the friars' convent of Quin in Thomond in the summer of the year 1634, Father Donnchad mac Gilla Senain (Magilsinan) being Warden. The friar Michael O'Clery wrote it the first time, and also now, June 14, 1635.



17. Án an cathair caomh so anocht,
Inis Cath*aig*, caomh a tlacht;
Mochen corpán téid fo húir,
Iom*dha* aingel ciuil 'na port.

Mairce thocráidhes an saor seng,
Senan sochla na sruith mbinn;
As í falaidh bía dó an*n*,
Nemh is talamh uaidh da chiond.

Lucht dioghla fal*adh* an naoimh
Is solamh teccait fon ngáir;
Deich c*et* *ar* fichit c*et* naomh
Teccait go sáor tar in sál.

18. Maith an toirecht ticc a túaid
Do naomhaibh Doire fon ngáir,
Oirecht Mochuda do céin,
Is Bairri budein ina ndáil.

Ticc ó Chlúain Eraird a ccéin
Buidhen tseimh d'áos in g*r*áidh,
Oirecht fíal Ci*ar*áin ó Clúai*n*,
Si*ar* go mór-dhail Muighe Máil.

Ticc Caoimhghin ó Ghlion*n* dá Loch,
Ticc Berach go fír in flaith,
Do icc Sub*ach*, saor an sruith,
Ticc Béoog on tuin*n* moir maith.

19. Muinend, is m*ac* Solaim si*ar*,
Is solamh teccait fon ngáir,
In tesp*oc* Ferg*ús* fion*n* fial
Go mer-*gus* dían ina ndáil.

(*fol. 246 b*) Do ic Maolchorgais ale
Go hÍarlaith for con*air* ngle,
Is Follán do icc anoir,
Comán co *cét* naomh sodhain.

(*Continuation from p. 22.*) tTuadhmumain a Samhradh na bliadhna sa, 1634, darbo Gairdian an tathair Dondchad mac Giolla Senain. An brathair Michel o Clerigh ro sgriobh an ceidfecht, 7 sonna 14 Iunii, 1635.

17. Glorious the beauteous city to night, Scattery, fair its array. Blessed the corpse that goes under its soil; many a quiring angel is in its harbour.

Woe to him who provokes the emaciated noble one, far-famed Senan of the melodious sages. This is the punishment which will be to him therefor, deprivation of heaven and earth.

The avengers of the saint's wrath, promptly they come at the call; three thousand saints come nobly across the brine.

18. Goodly the company of the saints of Derry which comes from the north at the cry; the company of Mochuda from afar, and Barry himself to meet them.

There comes from Clonard afar a lean troop of clerics and the noble company of Ciaran of Clonmacnois, westwards to the meeting of Magh Máil.

There comes Coemgen from Glendalough, there comes Berach the prince in sooth; Subach comes, noble the sage, comes goodly Beoog from the great wave.

19. Moinend and Mac Solaim in the West, promptly they come at the cry, fair noble Fergus the bishop, with eager fervid strength to meet them.

Thither comes Maelcorgais to Iarlaithe on the bright path, from the East comes Follán, and Comán with a hundred monks.

Dosficc Brénainn buidhnech bán,
Ticc cet o Cill mic Ronáin;
Ticc Nessan mor tar in sal,
Re les teccait na Cronáin.

20. Tiocfaidh Caireall, cáid an cing,
Tar sál ó Árainn gan fheall;
Ticc Feichin Fabair in fionn
Tar lind do chabhair na cceall.

Ticc Lughna [an] Áonaigh an aigh,
Is ticc slogh Mughna da ndéoin,
Teccaitt na Colmáin go caidh,
Uch, a Dhé, as anbháil an fhoir.

Ticc Eralt fa shen ale
Co slogh do naomhaibh Luigne;
Ticc Manchán do dheoin Dé dil,
Ticc Berchán cona buidnibh.

21. Ticc Tigernan Oiridh án,
Ticc Mocúa Balla fa déoigh;
Ticc an Gall craibhdech co cáidh,
Le laimh ni háilghen an fhóir.

Greallan Craoibhe cruaidh na cath,
Lendán fuair gach rath 'na rith;
Tiocfaidh Fursa, fial an flaith,
Cidh cían, as daith thiocfus sin.

Ticc Ceallach mac Conmaic caidh,
Ticc an feochair fial Flandán,
Ticc úa Súanaigh sunn fon ngair
Go sluaghaibh caomha Candáin.

22. Colam mac Criomhthain go rath,
Ba rond nír thiormaigh a ghuth;
Caimín Innsi Cealtra a cath
Asa indsi ticc fan nguth.

Ticc Ailbhe sech grein ale
Da réir, ocus mac Luighne,
Ocus ticc Mac Duach alle
Co luath, ocus Mochuille.

Fair Brendan of the hosts comes, come a hundred from Cell mic Ronain; great Nessan comes across the brine — profitably come the Cronans.

20. Cairell will come, venerable the champion, across the brine from Aran without fail; Feichin the fair of Fore comes across the water to help the churches.

Lughna the warlike of Nenagh comes, and the host of Mughna comes willingly, reverently come the Colmans; Ah God, wondrous is the help.

Eralt comes thither with (good) augury, and a host of the saints of Luigne, Manchán comes by dear God's will, and Berchán with his companies.

21. Glorious Tigernan of Errew comes, Mochúa of Balla comes at last, reverently comes the devout foreigner; not gentle is the help at hand.

Grellan of Creeve, hardy in battles, a favourite who attained every grace in his course; Fursa will come, generous the prince, though far off, quickly will he come.

Cellach comes, the venerable son of Conmac, and the fierce generous Flannan, Úa Suanaigh comes here at the call with the fair hosts of Cannan.

22. Colum son of Crimthan with grace, his voice was a stream which never dried, Caimin of Inishcaltra in battle came from his island at the sound.

Ailbe, who surpassed the sun, comes hither at his will, and Mac Luighne and Macduach swiftly, and Mochuille.

Ticc Luchtigern go dian d'*ar* ffios,
Dobeir Scenmán sciath 'sa treas;
As rathmh*ar* a nglór a bhus,
Blathm*ac* leisan slogh d'*ar* les.

23. Mac Leinin an gai géir gloin,
Molaga fá dheoigh m*ar* ailt,
Fion*n*chu Brí gobhan*n* an guirt
Ní anfa co ticc fon airc.

Comhgall, Cain*n*each, Lactin lais,
Mochua Balla, caidh a tres,
Ruadhán Lothra luath don lios
Ticc leisan sluagh d'*ar* les.

(*fol. 247a*) Ticc Flan*n* m*a*c Aircheall*aig* ain,
Ticc an feoch*air* fial Findán,
Do icc C*ar*rtach as taom trír,
Ticc Mainech[1]) mór m*a*c Lairin.

24. Ticc oireacht Árand ani*ar*
Tar sal-mong mara nach mín;
Teccait naoimh in cadaigh cáidh
G*us*in abbaidh nán co fír.

Go Senán cáidh ina chill,
Go sosadh na sáor-long seng,
Gér bó bo*cht* a ré rea lind,
Acc Mac ochta Dé ni fand.

Mor soc*r*aite in naoimh, ni brécc,
Ó Ch*ar*n í Néid go Sliabh Fúaid,
D*eich* c*et* sin *ar* fhicit céd,
Is í méd teccait fon rúaig.

25. Maircc duisges an slogh sa amach
Tre shárucch*ad* na cathrach,
Bidh gairitt, bidh suaill a rath,
Bidh fada búan bus aithr*each*.

[1]) *This name is underlined as if for deletion.*

Luchtigern comes quickly at our summons, Scenmán bears his shield into the contest; gracious their speech in this world, Blathmac with the host comes to our profit.

23. Mac Leinin of the keen bright spear, Molaga at last, like a hero, Finnchu of Brigown of the garden; he will not stay till he comes to the contest (lit. trouble).

Comgall, Cainnech, Lachtin with him, Mochua of Balla, venerable his conflict, Ruadhan of Lorrha comes with the host swiftly to the fort to aid us.

Flann, son of glorious Airchellach comes, and the fierce generous Findan; Carthach comes who is a match (?) for three, and great Mainech son of Lairin.

24. From the West comes the company of Aran across the brine of the rough crested sea; the saints of the venerable covenant come to the abbot who is glorious indeed.

To Senan the venerable in his church, to the station of the slender noble ships, though his time was poor in his life, he has power with God's bosom Son.

Great the company of the saint in sooth from Carn úi Néit to the Fews, three thousand is the sum of those who come to the onset.

25. Woe to him who rouses up this host by outraging the city (monastery), short and scant will be his grace; long and lasting will be his ruth.

Maircc do bheir an sluagh sa alle
O chrioch*aib* cíana Cime,
Ni bá sámhucch*ad* bías de
Tre shárucch*ad* na cille.

Atú ag rádh briath*ar* nach bras
Cille caidhe is caoi*m*he atclos;
Oirecht aingeal and gan ces
. . . .[1])

26. Mac mé meic beth*ad* nach buan
Eter sretaibh sluagh nach saor,
Ropsam tendál *ar* bith búan,
Munbhadh Senan na sluagh sáor.

Maircc beires ferond an náoimh,
Ni mochenon*n* beith 'na ndáil;
Maircc da gach duine fofuair
Beith go c*r*uaidh 'na cuile caidh.

Uch, dam ratt mo naomh go nocht,
As oram do thuit a claon olc,
Is*edh* do bheir mé uaidh go holc,
Beith go c*r*uaidh isin naomh-port.

27. Maircc bíos a ccomhfocc*us* ceall,
Maircc nach aithigh go haifren*n*,
Ferr beith a ccloch-dinibh ceall
Na ag d*r*och-daoinibh na ngaithlend.

Occlach bios a nulca naoimh
Ro fhedar nocha bia a mháoin;
Téid as a cland is a chrod,
Is bídh féin tall *ar* droch-shorthan.

Dámadh lan dom síol gach raon,
Nocha raghaind [si] re taobh;
Nocha berain*n*si a tir uaidh,
Gemadh lion*mar* mo mor-sluaigh.

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[1]) *A line missing; space left blank in the MS.*

Woe to him who brings this host hither from the distant bounds of Cime; 'tis no peace-making that will result from it, from outraging the church.

I say a word which is not boastful of the venerable church, the most beauteous ever heard of; a company of angels is there unweariedly ....[1])

26. A son of a son of life not lasting among the ranks of hosts not free, a firebrand for evermore were I, but for Senan of the noble hosts.

Woe to him who steals the land of the saint, ill is it to have to meet them (i. e. the saints); woe to each man who contrived to be oppressively in his (Senan's) venerable store.

Alas! my saint has stripped me bare, on me has fallen his headlong wrath; this it is which evilly separates me from him, my being oppressively in his sacred harbour.

27. Woe to him who is near churches, woe to him who frequents not mass; better to be in the shelter of stone churches, than with evil men of the spear.

A man who is under the wrath of the saint, I well know will not profit by it; his children and cattle perish, and himself will be in evil case in the other world.

Though every road were thronged with my seed, I would not rely on them; I would not take his land from him, however numerous my mighty hosts.

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[1]) A line missing.

(*fol. 247 b*) Ge adértai mo ghort glan,
's gurab é m'ath*air* no threab*ad,*
Da mbeith a bfocc*us* don cill,
Ní ragh air *acht* go hin*n*ill.

28. Fód do breith d'feron*n* na naomh
Nocha déoin don Sp*irut* Naomh;
M*air*cc bheires dó féin gid g*ar*,
Ar a fhod bais a dhioghal.

Mairce doní tegh *ar* múr naoimh,
Mairce don fhine téid re a thaoibh,
Mairce uma meic *ocus* fiora,
Do gheibh *tr*a a *tr*oim-iodha.

Baoghal don righ ticc re cill,
Do faoth d'faobh*ar* no do rin*n*,
Gan crodh, gan coimdhe teit as,
Do bheir an Coimdhe d'Iudas.

29. Gach a ndern*us* im chorp *cr*iadh
Do gach olc, da gach anrí*ar*,
As mó do cu*ir* meisi hi ffán
A thír do breith ó Senán.

Aithnim im dhiaigh da gach laoch
Gio*n* go ffaghbha tír *acht* fraoch,
Na héirgedh *ar* tír na cceall,
Na dech le a gniomh i nifren*n*.

Da ndechaind isin saogal seng,
Do b*é*rain*n* tres re leigend,
Ni beind óil re hóil 'sa ceall
Ar iomat óir na hEiren*n*.

Is í mo cluimh is mo lend,
A huir m*ar* tá fam leit-cen*n*;
As fír gurab cuidh an ceall
As díon anma gid leith-glend [1]).

[1]) ? Leithglend.

Though it (the land) were called my field in clear possession, and though it were my father that occupied it, I will not enter on it save under security, if it be near the church.

28. To take a sod of the land of the saints is displeasing to the Holy Spirit; woe to him who appropriates even a little of it, on his own 'sod of death' it will be avenged.

Woe to him who makes a house on the wall (boundary) of a saint; woe to the sept which supports him (in doing so); woe to his sons and his men, he shall receive heavy pains for it.

There is danger for a king who attacks a church, he shall fall by blade or point, without property, without security he goes forth; the Lord places him with Judas.

29. Of all the ill I did in my body of clay, of all the rebellion, that which has ruined me most, is taking land from Senan.

I bid every layman after me, though he obtain no land but (mere) heath, not to attack church lands, lest he go with his deed to hell.

If I were to return to the meagre world, I would fight on behalf of study; I would not be cheek by jowl with his church for all the gold of Erin.

This is my covering (lit. plumage) and my mantle, his soil thus under the side of my head; it is true that the church is a portion, even Leighlin (?) is a protection of the soul.

30.

Maith leis gach[1]) anmai*n* truaigh,
Fáidh gotha cluicc gan an[2]) buai*n*,
Gidh siubl*adh* uirre ima huaigh
Ind oidhce geimridh gla*n*-fúair.

Maith le gach corp taidlech tend
A uaigh uime, gidh aithgerr,
Altaighim do Día na rend
Gan beith go cia*n* o aifrend.

Mairce do chomhaighth*ech* an naoi*m*h,
An oilithrigh buidhn*igh* bain,
Ní bá rabh*ar*taigh 'na tír,
Munba tabh*ar*taigh a cháin.

Ni ferr dligeas cíos is cáin
Da mhanach diles b*ud*dein,
Na don allm*ar*ach glic glu*air*
Ticc le buaibh d'adhbhrond*adh* féir.

31.

Leac an codaigh le gach ngliaidh
Agan cuire caidh nach cláo*n*;
Turloch a ccat*r*aigh caidh
Ag urgnamh don abb*aidh* náomh.

(*fol. 248 a*) Gort na cathrach maith rea cur,
Rathm*ar* a rath o ro gein,
*Ar*d na naingeal tall 'na fhail,
Daingen n*ar* lamhadh le neimh.

Biadh a oiremh[an] bfion*n* bfíal,
Acc*ar* ghuirt na naingeal nán;
Loim na heillte a ccuid caomh,
Ar brú reilge na naomh nán.

Án.

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[1]) ? Is maith le gach; *cf. next verse.*
[2]) ? a.

30. It is good for every unhappy soul that the sound of the bell's voice be not evoked (lit. strnck), though it be carried (lit. though it go) over it round its grave on a winter's night clear and cold.

Good for every strong bright body its grave about it, though it be but short; I give thanks to the God of the stars for not being far from mass.

Woe to the man who is neighbour (?) of the saint, of the fair pilgrim of the hosts; he will not be powerful (?) in his land, unless he be generous of his tribute.

Not better is the man who owes rent or tribute to his (Senan's) own monk, than the cunning bright foreigner who comes with kine to consume pasture.

31. The stone of the covenant in every contest is with the venerable and righteous band; a pool in the venerable monastery does service to the holy abbot.

The field of the monastery is good in its site, abundant its increase since the beginning; the Angels' Height is there near it, a fortress which was never assailed by violence.

The support of his fair generous ploughmen is the acre of the field of the glorious angels; the doe's milk is their fair portion, on the edge of the cemetery of the glorious saints.

Glorious.

Oxford. C. PLUMMER.

ÜBER DAS ALTER DER WÜRZBURGER GLOSSEN.

Man pflegt jetzt die Hauptmasse der Würzburger Glossen allgemein in die Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. zu verlegen, da dieselben entschieden älter sind, als der Kalender des Oengus, andererseits aber bedeutend jünger, als die 713 v. Chr. von Dorbbéne geschriebene *Vita Columbae* des Adamnán.

Ihr Alter läſst sich aber noch genauer fixieren und zwar mit Hilfe der bekannten Erzählung von der Vertreibung der Déisi, die aus historischen Gründen um das Jahr 750 n. Chr. aufgezeichnet worden sein muſs; die Version aus Rawl. B. 502 ist von Kuno Meyer im Cymmrodor XIII 104ff., die Version aus Laud 610 in Ériu III 144ff. herausgegeben.

Hier finden sich nun eine Reihe von Formen, die deutlich älter sind, als die Sprache der Würzburger Glossen. So finden sich in der Laud-Version Formen wie *to-llotar* (Z. 32), *to-lléicset* (Z. 56), *to-chomairc* (Z. 92), *to-beir* (Z. 105), *ton-fair* (Z. 168), *to-chumlat* (Z. 185), *tos-berat* (Z. 186), *to-tet* (Z. 188), während im Wb. vortoniges *to-* regulär als *do-* erscheint.

Beachtenswert ist ferner das *au* in *Maugdornæ* (Z. 117), wogegen Wb. stets die Form *mug* hat. Sehr alt ist auch der Genetiv *Níod* in Rawl. (§ 9), doch dürfte es sich hier, ebenso wie beim Namen *Condla hOs* (Laud, Z. 235) um einen traditionellen Archaismus handeln.

Jedenfalls wird man aber die Niederschrift von Wb. um wenigstens 10—20 Jahre herabrücken müssen, also frühestens um 760—770 n. Chr. ansetzen dürfen.

Wien. JULIUS POKORNY.

MITTEILUNGEN
AUS IRISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN.

Ochtḟoclach Coluim Chille.

Bald nachdem ich dies Gedicht in Bd. VIII, SS. 198—217 aus Laud 615 abgedruckt hatte, fand ich eine zweite Handschrift 5 *in dem Buch von Lecan, fol. 170 b 1. Als Titel steht dort freilich* In ochtḟoclach hi Emin annso, *wird also einem (mir unbekannten) ua hEmín zugeschrieben.*

Die erste Strophe lautet:

Dia moir (*sic*) dom imditen, 10
Dia mor dom imdeadail,
Dia mor dom ḟoirceadal,
Dia mor im ḟail.

Dia mor dom chaisearcad,
Dia mor dom imradad, 15
Dia mor dom imgnadad,
Dia mor romain.

Im folgenden teile ich nun die Varianten von Strophe zu Strophe mit:

2 Int athair cumachtach, comsich m'anmchara rig 20 in rigthig rignime 3 dilgadach dercach ndealbaim ri taicheanach tidlaiceach ceil chrithearghna 4 in firdia in firduine bias acon breitheamnus breath briatharglan 5 harchainglib ilcheol oirisem uacht chunscnugud (*sic*) in choimdead eistecht riu cach enen (*sic*) fri chnes 25 6 cathairi coinnlecha chirt choir siroirfe ban sliab 7 archaiṅgel hanmchairdib imad ba rig cunlacht in

chosdada in cheocadail (*sic*) cloisdid co cach (*sic*) **8** glas-
chedal re cloisteand cluas in taitnema an oircedail don
trinoit **9** indisin in athar oirni*n*dte ni chuimgend ro-
chaimi in rachoimdead ri in domnaig adrǽi **10** Is bua-
5 dach in brathairsi is buideach diadi deichaid uacht chom-
rath n-anḟoirfe, is can ecnach **11** can imorbus ann tochostal
tuaraithli, con tluag fuil **12** Can tigi d'athchuindgid arcait
na hoir, can chrud muc mochergi, can i*n*mbuar mbogemneach,
can mna, can milana cun munter (*sic*) moir **13** mor teist a
10 tigerna itat na n-amsine budig bithbudig bad bolltnigthi
bithlana **14** Tria bithu mbithlanti blatholus roḟiarfaid ritheg in
rig oenlaith (*sic*) ica n-orfided tria bithu na sir **15** fin prim-
aibni mar tat ar cach eon etrochta **16** Aibni na har-
dena, ailli na hilcheola, imda na hilblasa, ǽbda ináerdeir
15 blaith meth minabaig moigib morsoillsi rigtheg reill
17 Roiseam roatrebam in duileamon iar tabairt doman che
ditten rondiitneba descin a deachta a dualas a doenachta donarus
de. D. **18** Dia nathar (*sic*) atchimsea. ar uath ar egomnart.
ar olcuib aideitchib i n-agaid gaid. cumthach roncumtigba. in
20 coimdiu cumachtach. in cara coindirclech **19** Comnart in chom-
airgi. cunchim dum cheartnadud. Crist ar cach comrorgin. o
mo churp chæm. tic theasarcain. thes ristabraim tæb.
20 Ticfa dom theasarcain. itú ica torbrid anbonni m'imeacla
21 in chomairgi chondailbi tolloirbe tolltar ua thri. in
25 *om*. uas sligi uasermagrib næmainglig conic cach ni.
22 acarnænabaid (*sic*) rænabaig roncæmnacair in chuing
fethel co ḟæbruge seathar soeglaigi **23** ind irecna rigetla
co ndirigi a dreach. cæmni (*sic*) ronæmastair. særni ronsærastair.
næmni ronæmastair. næmastair nech. **24** ar in nęm naom-
30 anglech. na hoig na hathrigig. co ndligud de. berthar bith
chæm che **25** comrachi ar coilcthib clumgeala chrand is
ed ḟognas and. **26** Adbli fria n-innisin. adamra ind iruasal.
immad na n-anaichnid. nach aichnid duind. a druim fria
diumsachaib. a dreach fria dedblenaib. a deas fria desciblaib.
35 duileam na *n*dull (*sic*) **27** A scela d'indisin is disceoil discru-
dain. is torsi dithrubach. fri dune dall. artri can artrigud. æner
can oenoman. endia 7 enolad. innister ann. **28** Isu coim-
diu cumachta. cumthigthi atchid. gebid mor d'athlechaib (*sic*).
oppuid mor d'ecnaigib. athriguig ardrigu. artrigud rig. **29** Rig
40 tren in tatnema. taitneam na trocairi. turacht cach triuin.

sutroll ar soillsichthi. sidbarr ar sidaidchi. samri ar samaigchi. slanti iar suil. **30** Is esem slanicid. sil Adaim athramail. athair na hicslanti tanic diar cu condalb cartimail. cunarad comaided. cotarsna **31** choimgine corancobrarni. corochograni. *statt* rotochtsamar: rochansomar *statt* rogeallsamar: 5 rodailsemar tria chness **32** in langlacad. latruind tiug tromfæbrach intortdescin ari*n*d roirgabad rohathisead **33** Cocar rochocradsom chomidecht sin chetain cetchrutta cetaib rabuadirtha. bethud rabæthigtha. belgacha **34** Briathar in morchoimdead deiscibal (*sic*) isin 10 dardain caplati. atmait-ni ita dom apstaib (*sic*). apsdal na midbra*n*nsa. fri croich fri cesachtain **35** chian in goibes faistine derb leis rolamsad*ur*. in lucht ba lia. Iudas rotaircestair. do Iudib rothregestair. rothreic rothreic som **36** Dia enni ditini (*sic*). d'Isu ba dochraiti. is de ita in segsatharnach. 15 masech. iniarmergi ind adlacin. asnarracht neach. **37** Iar uairifrind iar n-ergi a hadlocad ardapsdal dodealbad **38** Randuscfa in bruth baranta. bid bloiscuem brecthentech in forchongro os chach. **39** Bid cumug-som. bid cumang-ni. Crist corcra atchifium-ni. rancigfi at- 20 cluinfea in tochidi. uid tuachell taiceris. bid bid **40** fir purgadoir malartfuid. bid mairc dia choimidchib. bid garb in cith. bid garb a ilglasad. n-anbasad. bid marb in uadblasrach. uasin bith. **41** ger gataide. gillanraid gelentech. gu gloir cach ascebthar ærfit*er*. cascebthar clæfit*er*. trascebthar 25 træthfider. uan **42** Uid trom leo in t-achmosan a tuarischail. dofit*er* digfit*er*. uan tenid (t)eind. deamnacda dichuibsech **43** drochrig uaibrecha dimsacha. na damaid comairli. na tescfa in trenlasair. nastollfa in trenoigread. nistamain measraidthi. isin **44** do cach cristaidi comailleann compat*ri*us. 30 corium cerd cirmairi. cendaigi cruaid. filig ciatfedamla. na fegad firindi. foichleat in rothenid **45** romiadcha. roscleathna robeg bic derlugit cia beth dia lanailli. mina beat landercaich i laithi in criathartha. bad cruim **46** Crossana cruitiri. cethirn cach cuanberla. cach cheana adchid. digfit*ir* dilfit*ir*. a druim in 35 duileaman. do reir a duthrachta. cach ina olc dib **47** Dailfit*ir* dortfit*ir* scol ca scribabthar bid a scel. taisich ac treneithiuch trocairi. taicthig can **48** minalaind. tesleamna sadaile. olc leam inan iarmairt drutha diglecca. dicles doniat cach n-uroprud **49** Olc dona sacartaib. discireacht nacenta 40

fes orchindech ecraiduech. eagnaid can earnaichi. esp*oc* ag
adaltros. imadall ngraid **50** Gnath risna brecairib. ni soin in
bregoirecht. biaid uair a achmosan. bid ec re neach. sosceli su-
aichinti. siriud i samradaib selcuireacht santugud **51** Adaim
5 anacrid tochastol tabrad dia rer. morri na mordala
timairgfeas tall ar in **52** Ticfad sin toirithin tusnigthid
tusnichter thall robeathaiged. biaid ac in breitheamnus
53 dindsaidig dosraga ticfa im gar uar taismenaid toi-
cebuid thæb t*ur*racht **54** Taiceraid firindi. beraid breath
10 brechtnaigthi acambia in chroch roceartaiged iarna at-
chifi **55** mo na cach ongfaid na ethgecu. badfid brufid
in brecthene **56** ar des ndesbeblaig (*sic*). beti na it*er* idiu
is tall trenadbal uarańgbaid enadlaid and **57** Oes trich-
taig doibsidhe. do lucht d'fir na mnai comeasa cosmaile.
15 can ænmet enordlaig. d'esbaid na d' imarcaid **58** Atræ in
fræch bid fothrann fomorda. bid feidm na fælastair bid
fuach. fri bruth fri brig frisin mbrath mbemeannach.
lemeannach **59** Locha bid luath co loiscfidear lasfaid na
luathaibne. lanantach leir. dresfid in dubthalam. fri dreich na
20 damthenead. bid bec nach taimnichfia don talmain trein
60 Fothar na tromthenead. ic tur na tromchinead. tarneach
na tendclaideb daig asa thoig borbasnach **61** ina
deargḟasach ar bith chæm che **62** grechfaidit re guth
in duileaman adbera som diṅgbad ass trenamail *con*u
25 ciul cathamail n-itmaraig n-uair **63** don lucht risn-ep*era*
ni basiad uas. tegaid *co m*bed i mbeathaich **64** adbera ria
firenchaib. imthiget madchin da tecema. don lucht nascre-
deba ebera **65** morchomdiu. mongenar gairfe-sun. chuici
nosdiultfa-som nosbrecfa-som. im brat is am biad **66** Mongenar
30 gairfe-som. mongenar glanfa-sim. mongenar charfa-som. carthain
roclas techtfa-som nem ca nochtaib sium bocht **67** Rois*em*
oentaid na n-archaingel. na sreath na sarchaingen. acht dia
bodein ni roich ág nanurrad sragalla **68** nonc*u*mtaig-
fea noncertaigfea nonbeartaigfea ar nim 's ar in rigtaig
35 raglan*n*a i n-eglais **69** co rothuilleam-ni gnathirsi. bid
fal fon faithimsea. baig brathirsi. bith dun aræn **70** ron-
focela ronfrecera rontecema. do thig de des ronfuari-
stair roḟegastair. is leir ronleidistair les **71** liaig lugort
ar leastar lan d'or. in delb ar deargastair. d'ordan is d'aireo-
40 chas. dænacht na deachta. deacht na dænnachta. in dia mor

mor 72 Moṅgenar caidchi nochomaillead umaloit inisli eclas de d'athaide. dilgud do chach 73 trocairi. caendu-thracht cobais rell reithineach. derc risna deiblenaib tidnocol. da tecma a dual 74 dubalchaib drochraitib. disli cach acobair. etach don bocht gnathfaidfeas. grema i ngna-thugud. geanmnaideacht blathchoemda 75 bas tathachtach tuirmim-sea ca fuigebthar. bid fearrdi imgabail ind almsa ḟir 76 ernedach cach rochret ar deismirecht ser (*sic*) dæine ar daig ṅdeachta. is dearb do serc 77 nos-coimetann ceneol bad ind oigi do thaiselbad. assu indamnaithrigi Ioin accu d'athathris. ni hathathris 78—80 *om. Lec.* 81 im Michel nochon i berair comit a cathu-gud ra cathmilig fri deman ndúr 82 Teacaid lecaid mo dærad-sa. bet acom d'ainglib bat astairig.

Patricius an seinen ausgefallenen Zahn.

Aus Laud 610, fol. 74a 1. — Vgl. Trip. Life, S. 140 und LL 353 d.

A fir há! foc*us* mennatān[1]) i mbá:
ūa tamma[2]) inair[3]) mbīu nochot-aca cossin[d]íu.

Cēin robāmar immalle nī fōilangar[4]) hūact nā te,
bennacht for Rīg na n-uile! roscar[5]), a dēt findbuide.

Cip ē gellas [dít][6]) nach tan imm anmaim-se cot[7]) adrad,
gellfat-sa de fīad ile issē[8]) Fīadat findnime.

And[9]) aidche co rānac[10]) rim, atberim fīad Rīg na rinn[11]),
nī dechoid feōil torut sís, nī thānic [góu][12]) anís dart c[h]enn.

In Fīada finn fil for nim, conecna[13]) lim Crīst cōemdil,
donicc[14]) fo bathis bāin bil, nomlēic[15]) fo athis ōenfir.

A fir.

[1]) *maccnutan Stokes, perperam.*
[2]) *Lies* ó atáām *oder vielleicht* ó atáim-ne. *LL hat* otú.
[3]) *Lies* inar.
[4]) *Besser mit R* nirodāmar *im Reim mit* bāmar.
[5]) *Besser mit R* ronscar *„er hat uns getrennt“.*
[6]) *sic R.*
[7]) icom *R.*
[8]) *Lies* i tig?
[9]) *Lies* ónd, *LL.*
[10]) condranac *LL.*
[11]) *Lies* rend *mit LL.*
[12]) *sic LL.*
[13]) *Lies* conacna *mit R.*
[14]) domícc *LL* domrolat *R.*
[15]) nimreilce *R.*

Aus Laud 610.

fol. 75b².

A fir tōgbas na taise, cuirim ort a fīadnaise,
nach adb*ur* cāile do*n* curp da fadb*ad* āil[l]e ar īas*acht*.

5 *Ib., fol. 121a, marg. inf.*

Acht co saothraib ar hseircc Dē, acht co n-āine 's co [n-ōighe,
fri fighlib rohsīn a acht, rorir ce*ch* dān ar dhíadacht.

Ib., fol. 32a marg. inf.

Cuma lium cidh toll mo lend, cuma lium cid seang mo [brū,
10 is roc[h]uma lium go derb gidh robeg mo ṡealb do bhū.

Ib., fol. 30b marg. inf.

Dia ndernta óeine cech lái is beith i ndóire do Dīa,
is ferr comól risin trúag, is romó[r] an lúagh rotfīa. 7 rl.

15 **Tadc mac Céin.**

Ib. fol. 74a 1. — Vgl. Death-tales of the Ulster Heroes, S. 18.

Cöica traiged tölaib tlacht fīad slūagaibh sainser srīan- [balc,
fot in gargleir (*sic*) co ngart, Taidg meic Céin ötát Cīannacht.

Die Söhne Ercs.

20 Cethri meic i nAiliuch do hEirc, ba saer sraen,
Feradach is Tigernach, Murchertach is Máen.

Cethri meic la Fergus dond Eirc cubaid cedna,
Fedilmid is Loärn, Brenainn ag*us* Sétna.

Die Söhne des Fergus mac Conaill.

25 Fedilmid, Fīachra febhda, Brénainn, Sétna særdelbdha,
Ninnid, Fidrāi fri nīth nas, Cāirthenn is Loärn lānmas,
oc[h]t meic tūaith Bregrossa baind Fergusa caind m*eic* [Conaill.

Die Söhne Conall Gulbains.

Fergus, Ōengus, Echaig, Nathí, Bōguine, dodluigtis fuilt,
hit ēat sain fri sith[f]laith sodaing sē m*eic* Conaill Gulb*ain* [*guirt*.

Deich m*eic* Eogain gil glain *ocus* m*eic* Conaill Gulpain
ō Ma[i]g Ene co Dún mBó fersat cath cach belato. 5

Mochutta .cc.

Aus der Brüsseler Handschrift 2324—2340, fol. 263b.

1 Ind ecclas næmh nemda, is sær hí, is crodh cundla:
tabr*aidh* taobh re sruithnert, is cruithnecht, is craobh [cumra.

2 Dā ngabaid ind-ecclais, curbá haltrom næidhen, 10
gurab trēn bhar mbrīathar occ bīathad a háidhedh.[1])

3 Is sīad so na háidhigh[2]) is dīr isin ecclais:
lucht lubra 7 léiginn, boc[h]tāin deiblēin dīadha:
mogēnar *dogēnad cobair ac a fēgadh, oc dēnamh a [rīara.

4 Dā ngabhaitt i n-ecclas, fōgraim dāibh a pudar[3]): 15
abraidh náchas gēbaid *nō* dēnaid a lubair.

5 Dā lubhair a tempuil: ceilebradh is crābhadh; a haltōir [maith mais*ech*,
co raibh sī arna sēnad, gurab cæmh re fēgadh iar [ndēnum a caiseal.

6 Dā ngabaid a n-ecclas, fōccruim, nī rādh rúine,
dāigh is lim as cumhan, gurab ēirghe curadh, bidh ulad 20 [ce*ch* cúile.

7 A haith[l]e na n-ulad fóccraim, is rádh bunaidh,
dā ndernaidh bar sæthar, dā mōraidh bar lubhair,
saothraighet bar ccosa, imdaighter bar lossa,
tōccbaid súas bar mbosa, bid crosa ós gach ulaigh.[4])

8 A hait[h]le cros cinnte dā cinnid bar sæthar, ní abraim 25 [ribh anad,
bar ndul amach[5]) re blīadain, gurbat faicet fīadaigh oc [īarr*aidh* bhur manach.

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[1]) *Lies* óiged. [2]) *Lies* hóigid. [3]) *Vielleicht:* cen phudair.
[4]) *Lies* ulaidh. [5]) *Lies* 'mach.



9 Gach manach dobēra   a edhbairt don ecclais,
do dhēnamh a sæthair,   do mhōradh a c[h]ille,
rob leis féin a díni   oc treabhadh a tíre,
cu rachtea ar críne   a rīghe ạr muigh nimhe.

10 Gach manach nāc[h] tiubhrae   a edbairt don ecclais,
do dēnam a sáetha[i]r,   do móradh a lubhar,
a gort ní rab genas,   rob olc gach ní treabhas,
gurab demon bheires,   gurab[1]) de lenas pudhar.

11 Ná rap pudar dāibh-si,   troiscidh ar na manc[h]aibh,
diultfaid for ind ecclais,   iss edh dlegur dūibh-si,
mad becc libh a mberaitt,   ēirghidh 7 treabhaidh,
dénaid gurta gemhair,   lenaid as in ecclass.

Ind ecclas næmh nemdha 7 rl.

König Fedlimid und der junge Priester.

Aus 23 N 10, S. 18.

Das folgende Gedicht wird einem Fedlimid, „Bischof und König von Munster zugeschrieben, worunter ohne Zweifel der bekannte Sohn Crimthanns gemeint ist, der von 820—847 König in Cashel war. Er wird zwar sonst meines Wissens nicht epscop, wohl aber in der kurzen Notiz von seinem Tode in den Annalen von Ulster ancorita genannt, *ausserdem* optimus Scotorum scriba[2]). *Ein anderes ihm beigelegtes Gedicht habe ich in der Zeitschrift III, S. 34 abgedruckt.*

Feidlimidh espoc 7 rī Muman rocan ann so dia araille (*sic*) sacart bōi ar brū na Samāire. Abond īsidhe fil hi medōn muighi Muman.

1 A ḟir uird na harāide,   mairg is meraige ạ dāna,
a ṡagairt[3]) na Samāire,   romoch dogabuis grāda.

2 Nuchar furāil fisegna   d'aithne ịn uird iarsin mbaisd*ed*,
grādha do c[h]ur for gillaib[4])   imaire eich ga*n* aister.

[1]) *Lies* gurb.

[2]) *So ist wohl zu lesen, nicht, wie Hennessy druckt und übersetzt:* optimus Scotorum, scriba et ancorita.

[3]) sagairt *MS.*

[4]) *Lies vielleicht:* grád do chur for gilla(n)raid.

3 Fot glūn nochomdeisigfinn, cid ed *no*sechnain*n* muin sin,
don esp*uc* is esindill a lūas rodlēig fon cuing-sin.
4 Ind eclas do mothugudh nī monar duine daoibil,
na grāda do c[h]othugud is feidm ūas*al* m*ō*r aonf*ir*.
A f*ir*. 5

Uga Corbmaic meic Cuilendāin.

Aus 23 N 10, S. 17.

Von diesem Gedichte waren mir einzelne Strophen aus Zitaten in den metrischen und grammatischen Traktaten[1]) *lange bekannt, ehe ich auf eine Handschrift des Ganzen stiefs. Diese findet sich* 10 *in dem ersten auf Pergament geschriebenen Teil von 23 N 10, wo sie dem bekannten Casheler Kirchenfürsten zugeschrieben wird, während LL 37 c nur Cormac nennt und die* Uraicept *die elfte Strophe zuerst Colum Cille, dann einem Cormac bard zulegt.*

1 In roghso, a Rī[2]) na rūn, īar comso clūm ocus cēol 15
mo brogad for mara mūr, mu c[h]ūl do t[h]ochar frim ēol?
2 In mbēo i mbochta ịsin c[h]ath tre rath in Rīg[3]), rī cin [meth,
cin mīad mōr, cin carpat cl*eth*, cin ór, cin arg*a*t, cin ech?
3 Cin ōl medrach mescthar druing, cin tūa[i]th truim, cin [teglach t*rom*[4]),
cin broscīath[5]), cin aile n-arm, cin cūach, cin cuirm is cin 20 [cornd?
4 Cin ētiud mīn mas ar sūil, cin clūim nat caro ce*ch* naomh,
acht barrān beithe fo bōaidh fo c[h]uilche c[h]rūaidh frim [dā taob?
5 In timgēr celebrad cōir d'innsi mōir m*a*c Mīl*ed* mūaidh?
innamtairbēr fo Chrīst cuing rīa techt tar tuind Maro [Rūaidh?

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[1]) *In der Abhandlung über* trefocul *LL 37 findet sich die 8.—9. Strophe (37 c 55 ff.) und in* Uraicept na n-éces *(BB) die 11. Strophe zweimal zitiert. Die 29. ist vollständig in dem Glossar in H. 3. 18, SS. 66 und 633, und ihr erster Vers in Cormacs Glossar § 369 unter den sogen. „Additional Articles“ angeführt.*

[2]) rig [3]) ri [4]) *Lies* torm.

[5]) brosc nia *nō* brosciath.

6 In rādiubh-sa, rād ndīu[i]t ndīan, mo c[h]oibsen cīan, comal [crūaid[1])?
in ferfat, a Rī[2]) na nēll, frasa mo dēr dar mo grūaidh?
7 In tiur[3]) mo lāim do gach crēcht for brū tuinde toirbe [bārc?
in fuicēb oc maro mūr slicht mo dā glūn isin trācht?
5 8 An toigēb[4]) mo c[h]urchān cīar ōs aigēn[5]) uchtlet[h]an án?
in rag, a Rī[2]) rīchid rēil[6]), as mo t[h]oil fēin foran[7]) sāl?
9 Im ba sessoch, im ba seng, im ba tressach folingg tond[8]),
a Chrīst, an cuingēna lium[9]) ō thī co[10]) techt tar[11]) lind [lond[12])?
10 Cīa leth cobra[13]) īar cōaird[14]) cros cossalua mo c[h]oblach[15]) [cres?
10 in[16]) ba soir nō[17]) sīar, nī sūaill, in[16]) ba u[o]thūaidh[18]) [nō budes[19])?
11 Fa mba tre fochaid co ngrāin romficfa a ndāil brātho [būain?
fa mba lasmbess det oc tōir dīlg*ud* mōr ar monar sōaill?
12 Saorsa Iacōp na cēt cloth, ba moch robo rīgmac raith,
trōcaire indlight*hech* (?) an breth resiu dogne[th] nī do [maith.
15 13 Maith slēcht in puiplecāin blāith fo *chēt*aip crēcht, comal [crūaid,
dō *no* temp*ul* (?), nīrb*o* tlāith, ar bēluiph cāich dob*irt* būaidh.
14 Būi Matha mōr, monar ndūr, fo mūr annaigh oirgce sl*ūaig*,
luid lat, lēigis leab*aid* lāin mainc[h]ine rīg Rōmān rūaid.
15 Nī rocéss an laoch don leirg i tigh pinne, bēs īar faidg,
20 ar do saordēis a baois buirb adaig daoib im aonmēis aird.
16 A mbōi in ballglandu, ba cāin, Moire Magdallda, miond ōir,
aonta demna, dreman clēir, foi for grēin in c[h]rotha cōir.

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1) *nō* nuag (i. e. n-ūag). 2) rig 3) *Lies* tiurr.
4) in tocéb *L.* 5) for inn ocian *L.* 6) in rigthigh rel *N.*
7) arin *L.*
8) fressach torgib droing *L.* tresach turme glonn *B.*
9) in congebha linn *B.* in cuúgene frimm *L.* 10) oc *L.*
11) for *L.* ar *B.* 12) long *B.*
13) ced leth co bráth *L.* cia leth gu brath *B.* 14) cuairt *LB.*
15) coalafea mo bachlach *L.* cosluidfea mo coblach *B.*
16) im *L.* 17) sair ba *B.* 18) fothuaid *L.*
19) im ba fodess *L.*

17 Dob*irt* dī la dīlgud pīan   beith ar do dreich, dīlgud mār,
mēruidh a coissc*ēl*u cīan   cēn mērus soisc*ēl*a slān.
18 Saithemail breth romb*irt* tall   ar bannscāil n-ann ō roell,
ō tarmairt ann āibel[1]) drong   cloch gach aonḟir ina ceann.
19 Coicert*u*[i]*s* in dīne ndīan,   a Rí sīde, sorcha dāl,   5
arnā clochad ria gach cūain   do c[h]ūail pecuid fer ba [slān.
20 Saor docūaid it*er* dā recht,   nī fūair let lecht ar a locht,
in adoltroch rodomert,   in malort*ach* im a c[h]orp.
21 Caín dorolgis do cach naill,   do gach pect[h]ach, brat ce*ch* [cind,
nīrb ard n-aithiseċh a greim,   inge nād n-aithersed inn.   10
22 An fer m*aith* is mōam rotc[h]ar,   Pet*ar* aupstal, aurtaig [tor,
nāchatfedir, a Dē bī,   atc[h]uitig fa t*hrī*, ba col.
23 Cīa rotsēnust*ar*[2]) ar tlās   do muinterus, mō gach drūis,
dorolgis dó, demin sc*ēl*,   īar scēit[h] a dēr tar a gnūis.
24 Gabuis dīabul cacht cin clith   for laoch roalt frie ce*ch*   15 [toich,
ō tarcuib for doma[i]n dreich   f*or* l*eith* co farguib a croich.
25 Ō creidis inniut a recc   medōn laithi, nīrbo lag,
hi parthus īar n-oidche ūair,   is ē gill*a* docūaid lat[3]).
26 In līn rolēicis fot barr[4])   it lir gainim maro min,
in[5]) līn ronescmart as cach n-ing   at lir na rind fil a nimh.   20
27 A nāsadh na n-aingel n-ān   don rīched rān rechta rēil
domficib-sa[6]) cobuir cōir   fo bīthin is tōir a n-ēimh.
28 Ar do c[h]ēsad, ar do c[h]roich,   ō cotrīs do muint*ir* [mait[h],
nīmfārgbadh-sa ạmuic[h] dodt ēis   a n-inb*aid* notēis it fl*aith*.
29 Pecud būanoll brath gach mbī,   nīrb*o*[7]) fl*aith* im c[h]rī   25 [com c[h]rō,
am[8]) daonnacht, a m*eic* Dē bī,   cid tū ba[9]) rī nī b*o*[10]) rō.

In. r.

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[1]) *Lies* in dōibel.

[2]) *Von Strachan, Ériu III, S. 114 v. 51* rotsrengustar *verlesen.*

[3]) *Hier steht zwischen den Zeilen:* hodie mecum eris in paradiso [Lucas 23, 43].

[4]) *Oder* bair.   [5]) *Auszulassen.*   [6]) *Lies* domiced-sa.

[7]) nirob *H.* nīrbo *Corm. § 369.*   [8]) im *H.*

[9]) bud *H*¹. bu *H*².   [10]) bu *H*².

Memento mori.

Aus Laud 615, S. 138.

1 Éirigh cumm na hīarmērghe, is mór oraind a hadhbar:
nī ḟidir tú sul tí ạn prīmh nāch dingna ịn Rī do marbad.
5 2 Freccair aifrinn in domhnaig! is mōr ocainn a eagla:
nī ḟedrais-[s]i sul ti ạn lūan nāch ba hí ịn ūadh [1]) do leaba.
3 An leaba si ataoí-si agus do ben geal grādhach,
nocha dōcha h'ērghi-si nō do beth marb amārach.
4 Mīr dot c[h]uid don ocarach, 's ē Ísa dít ro-athain:
10 nī ḟedrais a fuil ar do mēis nāch nech tar h'ēis rocaithfedh.
5 Lucht na luinge luchtmaire, sīad a comrādh re cēile:
meinicc ticc tonn cuca-san ō nāch fētfuidis ērghe.
6 Mē Coluim mac Feidlimidh, creidim do Rīgh na grēine:
mairg nāch guidenn Rī[g] nime ic luighe agus icc ērghe.
15 E.

Coluim Cille .cc.

Ib. S. 78.

1 Benaidh bhar cluig ar Conall doní andlighedh orainn,
gurab oínbit [2]) 's nārab rīgh [3]), go ndecha ạ brīgh ar [deimbrīgh [4]).
20 2 Domnall dorinne oirnn maith fá dheoigh goma fer raith,
sochaidhi ạg dáil a dighe, āiremh 'sa rēim rīghraidhe.
3 Conall thṡāraighes na clēirigh, guidhim-si Rīgh na grēine,
nā rabh síl aige ná ar, is nār ḟagha sē deighben.
Benaid.

25

Colum Cille .cc.

Ibidem.

1 Gabh mo thegasc, ạ Aodh na n-ech, a mhic ādhmha[i]r [Ainmerech,
bīdh do muindter agad, a ḟir, nō bī-si agan muinntir.
2 Nā bīdh [5]) ạ n-aghaidh [6]) Rīgh nime, ạ Aodh is cend ar [gach fine,
30 nā tairg gæth do dēnamh d'ḟir do baoth- dia da muintir.

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[1]) *Lies* úagh. [2]) = óinmit. [3]) *Lies* rí.
[4]) *Lies* nemní. [5]) *Lies* bí. [6]) adh- *MS.*

3 Dā fagha tú nech san c(h)ān 's gan a cen ar naomh *nō* ar dhā*n*,
nā glacadh colg re do linn 's nā bīdh at forb nō at f....

4 Gebē benus deigsith [1]) modh is benus da gach cill crodh,
madh āil let āgh ort, a fir, cuir a ngeimil g*ach* greimh gabh.
G. 5

Colaim Cille .cc.

Ib. S. 79.

1 Tiucf*a* aimser dubach cumthach brōnach dērach,
ar deredh an tsaoghail beid rīgha fá méla.

2 Nī bīa cor nā coingeall a n-éndroing do hsīl Ādhaim, 10
acht lán cruaís is gainde, siad uile cen chrāb*ud*.

3 Bīa na fir ag cesacht, nī bīa mes ar crannaibh,
nī bīa recht nō rīaghal, nā rath fēin a talamh.

4 Bīa clēirigh ag altrom, b*ud* athtrom a sg*ē*la,
bīa cealla fá m*er*si ag na sesraibh trēna. 15

5 Tiucf*a* fūacht is gorta, fūath is olc is déine,
seal cāidh ní ba treimsi, trēicf*id* íascach aibne.

6 Bīaidh airces is crīne isna dáiniph dáora,
dogēbaid trēna serba sīona garbha robha (*sic*) [2]).

7 Beidíd breithimh cama ag na tendaibh dána, 20
línf*aidh* brég na tūatha, uch! b*ud* trūagh a ndála.

8 Beid ollaimh ag g*er*án, budh derōil a n-indtind,
b*ud* tuirrsech na seinns*ir* isinn aims*ir* timcill.

9 Beid na reilge derga ōna fergaibh peac*aidh*,
bía cog*adh* is esrā a certlár *gach* teall*aig*. 25

10 Beid na rīgha bochta *go* holca re hāidhibh,
b*ud* binde leó geōcaid nā ceōil corta ō thsāithibh.

11 Bāithfight*er* *go* cinnte coindle gacha domhn*aigh*,
dober med a cor cen tor*adh* ar umhla [3]).

12 (*S. 80*) . . . . . re feire (?) na næis. . (?) 30
cen cert is cen córtus ōn tšósar don tšeindser.

13 Nī ceinneōchar ealadha 's ní ba genamhail duine,
ní bía rath nā féile ach déine ⁊ gainde.

14 Budh lethglas na sína, biaidh saoire gá brisedh,
b*udh* línta gach ēndrem do mí[gh]r[e]ann 's do miscne. 35

[1]) *An leg.* d'ēigsibh (Bergin)? [2]) *Leg.* saobha, Bergin.
[3]) *Leg.* ubhlaibh, Bergin.

15 Beid na clēirigh mealltach   ré fallsacht na litrech,
ní bía brīgh 'sna mindaibh,   bia gach fine cintach.
16 Tōigēbhthar na hindsi   ar na linntibh uisci,
bīaidh imatt na ngalar,   fūicf*id* ana cuile.
5 17 Beitt m*eic* rīgh cen chomhall,   b*ud* cumang gach murrach,
isna sīnaibh gāb*haidh*   beid dāmha g*o* dubach.
18 Beid ōgmnā cen dergadh,   b*ud* fergach a līatha,
b*ud* terc suth na loilghech,   b*ud* fingalach trīatha.
19 Nī bía menma a n-ōgaibh,   bērthar fōgra ar clīaraibh,
10 ní bía bun ar nōsaib,   bía pōsadh gan ḟiag*ain*.
20 Budh érthach na hūaisle   fana dūasaibh ganna,
rach*a* gaolta a fūardhacht,   bīaidh būannacht ar ceall*a*.
21 Ag sin deiredh dhomhain   do r*ēir* leabair dírigh,
budh ainfesach clēirigh   fana fēiltiph fīre.
15 22 Anūair is trēn a mbagur   ar lagadh a mborra,
b*ud* nemhglan magh taghaill   ōn aghaltras colach.
23 Meín caidh arís inneōsat   ō imeōchus an ḟēile,
adhbhar fá faghaid anóir   b*eth* ag fanamad fo chéile.
24 Is misi Colum Cille   antē is grinne laphrus,
20 dochī i n-am a marghán[1])   d*er*bán gacha heōlais.
25 Tuitf*id* lucht an cnūasaidh   a n-úsúracht 's a n-ēithech,
líonf*aid* saint gach craosach,   b*ud* dīmsach gach sāit[h]ech.
26 Eid*er* ingin is māthair   bīaidh ferg gnāth is gēre,
beid comursain ḟealltach   fūar fallsa fa cēile.
25 27 Bīat cāch uile ag gadaiph,   bīaidh sdat isna flath*aib*,
bīaidh mírann[2]) is secadh   it*er* mac is athair.
28 Ag sin sgeōil na ndāine   isna sínaibh thiucf*us*,
budh mesa 's b*udh* claoine   gach dīne dā tiucf*aidh*.

Tiucf*a* aimser.

30 *Ib. S. 82.*

1 Gebē benus a dhubhth*aig*[3])   do neoch ar talmain tnúth*aig*,
bentar tech Rīgh ni me dhe   a n-inadh acinaidhe.
2 Gebē dhiultus dá dúbhth*aig*   cen égōir a tr*ía*th gá múch*ad*,
nī dligh a sochur ná a har,   's ní dhligh a gort nā a ghemar.
35 3 Gebé nāch dēnann tech n-āidh*edh*   ina dubth*aig* da ríribh,
nocha dligind sé drud ré,   sé ḟiarfaig*es* sí de cé.

Gebē.

[1]) = meardhán, Bergin.   [2]) = míghreann, Bergin.   [3]) = dúthaig.

Colum Cille .cc.

Ib. S. 101.

1 A Dhē dhil! tabair dham-sa adhám digh:
cc imēt mh'einigh ar talmain, fochraig dom anmuin ar [nimh.
2 Tēid an fīal a tech Dē bí, tēd an t-ainfīal ar nemhfnī, 5
is bether *go* hīsiul de *go* tí grīsadh na grūaidhi.
3 Is romhōr lūach an enigh cidh cía donī *go* deimhin,
tīr gan fūacht is gan omhan, flaith nime gan cumsanadh.
4 Is maith misi, ar in fīal, dūthraigim mo bíad gu cían,
ferr damh asgath as gach modh mac Dé bí dom forcetul. 10
5 Is olc misi, ar an gann, is dimd*ach* dím Rī na rann,
amhail bhīos cnū caoch ar choll, gidh olc sunn mē, mesa [thall.
6 Is hē a comartha is tīr tall sl*ūaig* an enigh na ndegcl*ann*:
ēdach srōil 'ma corpaib cain is cimsa óir reá n-aichth*aib*.
7 Soichill[1]) is mian re mac nDē, gach grād *go* roithend doní, 15
gach ní mar imres a lāmh dogeibh is grād mic Dē bī.
a Dhē.

Colum Cille .cc.

Ib. S. 77.

1 Trūag lem, a Bāithīn dil bīas, fís damarfás ag Druim Līas: 20
do neoch rot*hre*ab tīr tuile cen dechm*aid* gach ènduine.
2 Dechmad na n-ōighedh tīar is tair iter Ērinn is Albain,
dosbērut bāith aneōlaig[2]) do chonaib 's do coinnleōraib.
3 Dechmad gacha treibe tra la gach fer a lāimh a mná,
is trūagh in dīl, a Dé deis, dosbērat tar cend abrais. 25
4 Dechmad na fīrēnach fīal a fogus, a n-eid*ir*clan,
a tabairt ar grādh m*i*c Dē do lucht ecna ailithre.
5 Dechmad gach rīgh nāch ric nemh do cur a lāim na [m*uinter*,
nī gēbt[h]ar taithlech nach tan, b*id* aithrech int innarrad.
6 Doragha in buidhi fa thrī do dīghail na dechmaidi, 30
do dīth m*a*c is fer is ban fer nĒrenn 7 Alban.
7 Bid olc do Conallchaib so, tiucfa muir tar a mūro,
derb*aig* dōib 7 deimnig, bāit*ir* a *cal*ainn geimrigh.

---

[1]) *Lies* soichell. [2]) = i ndeólaidh, Bergin.

8 Isinn errach ina deōigh, is ann doragha ịn ḟēil Eōin,
trūadh in bēt dotig dōib de, a n-ēc uile ạcht cethraime.
9 In cethraime ḟagabar ann do tslūadh Gāidel 7 Gall,
a mic Muire, ạs mōr in plādh, dīb nī bīa duine comślān.
5 10 Dā ḟāth ar a tig ferg Dé do dīghail na dechmaide:
olcus an aosa grāda dobērtar na mōrplādha.
11 Fer dīb toirnes ar éicin a toil n-ūathmair n-ainēitigh,
nochar toirinn saint a bfos nā ceilg nā feirg nā dīmus.
12 Is tar sárugud nGrighair adubairt na degliubair,
10 gacha bfuidhbe ạr bathais ngloin is ar cumain comaircidh.
13 Nocha fuirthe hūaid in bocht nobīad turbadach tāebnocht,
is de dleghar gan trēgadh a bīathad, a blāithēidedh.
14 Mairg dobēra ạ cend fo lāim fer ūasal an ūasalgrāidh,
go cuiredh ūad gan tlāithi ocht n-airic[h] na ndu-[bāilc[h]i.
15 15 Dā mbē aontoil dīb 'na curp go brāt[h] 's īar mbrāth bid [lōr d'ulc,
nocha cluinfe mac Muire gacha ndingna d'edarguide.
16 Cia tairnidh sís a malaig is cia ḟalchaid a agaidh,
nī rāiti crāibt[h]ech re nech minab āilgen irnaight[h]ech.
17 Cid ālaind a cruth amach iter deilb 7 cumdach,
20 nocha n-air sein berar breth, acht ar in leith bīas fri [nech.
18 Fada bīas Ēiri 'na hulc īar ndīth do Colmān easpog,
ō sin amach go bráth mbán cenn cuingi Crīst gan [co[n]gbāl.
19 Is maith do Chonall go mbāid īar n-indscuchud do [Colmān,
tairrngert fēin ō sin amach Ēre gan lāech, gan clēirech.
25 20 (S. 78) Cen lāich, gan flaith, gan luighe, is mairg taircēbe [ịn cuire,
na clēirig gan cēim n-ōigi ag timt[h]ireacht altōire.
21 Nogo mbeith secht mblīadna dēg 7 Crīst og a coiméd,
nāch īadfa a lāim am nech tan rogēba in coilech.
22 Mad ar Dīa dech fo grādhaib is ē ịs ferr do sīl Ādhuim,
30 magh d'īaruidh bō 7 brat robad ḟerr dō ịn gaduidecht.
23 Marbt[h]ar in gaduidhe glúair ar a bāidhi re haonūair,
robeir Rī ịn tsrotha ạr nem hē ar trī gotha aithrighe.
24 A Dē, ịs olc bīas Ēre sund in tan atrē donn aifrinn
in sagart sanntach sealbach celgach fergach mōrmenmnach.

25 Mairg ḟer grāidh dobeir fo c[h]oim   in lāim ara līnonn [a broinn,
bether co fada ạ mbochta,   a fūacht is a sīrnochta.
26 Mairg ḟir grāidh   ag nāch tachrat na dī lāim,
in lām t[h]imsaighes in crodh   's a lāmh eli 'ga sgāiled.
27 Nī moc[h]in   in fer grāid ibes an digh,   5
don linn mesca cidh maith leis,   is īad sin desca ịn dīmais.
28 Mairg ara leigt[h]er grādh *cert*   ma*n* fāema gan tairim- [t[h]echt,
a Dē, ịs fada fada úad   b*eth* *go* rotoirrsech rotrūadh.
Trūagh.

Ib. S. 103.

1 Rānag i Rachrainn na rīgh   gu slānab sīl Cuinn is Chē[i]n, 10
fecht foroll ga*n* gainne ngrāidh   g*o* Col*um* cāidh clainni [Nēill.
2 Naomhcathir coír clainni Cuinn   cus caomhthath*aig* an muir [mall,
is cosm*ail* re fāidhn*em* finn   ar cinn Gāidel 7 Gall.
3 Clasa aingiul, ard a modh,   dron a daingen Dia ruscar,
i p*ort* na brasairdbhi bil   fóa sir in glasḟairgi nglan.   15
4 Gabuis naom fáa soigid sl*óigh*   'sa rōimh a foilid na rīgh,
ig muime gach ratha raín   gaír na tuinne frisin tír.
5 Tórruma na naomh do nimh   is īat a ṡlōgmodo sain,
glanoll a būaid is a bl*ad*   ón uair rusgabh Colum cain.
6 Colum, Cainnech, Comghall coír,   nistorband gach tōir 20 [ga*n* taír,
rannsat na mbuidinn *go* mbrīgh   in tīr re mac Cuil*inn* [caídh.
7 Carsat Rachruinn dar do rīan   fīal re gach f*er*ch*lainn* [iar fír,
trī *cōeca*[i]t naomh do nim nár   ré tæb an *chaoc*at rán rīgh.
8 Roichell *go* robl*ad*, *go* rath,   a fuil senadh salmgl*an* sruith,
taithnid aoba for a dre[i]ch,   it caomha gan cleith a cluith. 25
9 Cathair īart*hair* betha buaín,   sam*ail* re Rūaim Letha lāin,
in Macha re cách a cé[i]n,   fīrp*or*t fēigh finn ḟlatha Fāil.
10 Ferr d'feraibh an fer rusfuair   acht Rī rogelaigh in grē[i]n,
fl*aith* ga*n* clechtgainne, gan crādh,   Colum cádh nert- [chlainni Nēill.

11 Ní bec a chuairt Col*uim* cāim, nī dūairc a rath an naoim [naír,
it ardmanuigh dó g*o* n-ūaill Gaíd*il* glūair, Albanuigh aín.
12 In rómail gu roimhsibh rīgh, in rētla día soillsig slūag,
in tuili treb 'na rith rán, an fer dían lán in bith buán.
5 13 In barrchrann bendachtach bāidh, in alchuing targa [gach tír,
in cridhi comhuirl*ech* cāidh, būaidh māil in modhaingl*ech* [mín.
14 Mac Feidlimthe in flaith maith mór, in fer gu n-imat [ra[i]th rēil,
mēt a erghnusa 'gun rīgh, uá fēn fīr Ḟerghusa fēil.
15 Is fis do Col*um* gan mheirg, nodmolaim, nodmol gach bard,
10 lán de an bith brainechda borb, f*er* na n-ord n-airec[h]dha [n-ard.
16 N*er*t Col*uim* lim is láin cēill romsaora fēn Col*um* cādh,
Colum mo din[n] is mo dūn, Colum lim re gach rū*n* rān.
Rānag. a Rac.

Charlottenburg. KUNO MEYER.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE[1]) TENSES OF THE VERB IN SCOTCH GAELIC.

According to the native grammarians there is in Scotch Gaelic no simple present tense; cf. Gillies, Elements of Gaelic Grammar, p. 85: 'There is not in Gaelic as there cannot be in any correct expression of exact thought, an indefinite present tense'. The same view is implied by Stewart, Gaelic Grammar[3] p. 89: 'This (future) tense is used in a peculiar sense in Gaelic, to signify that an action or event takes place uniformly . . . Thus: Blessed is he that *considereth* the poor, expressed according to the Gaelic idiom, would be: Blessed is he that *will consider*', &c. This doctrine has found its way also into Pedersen's Vergl. Grammatik II 305: 'Auch im Nsch. hat das Präs. futurische Bedeutung: *théid* "wird gehen" . . . es bedeutet zugleich, was zu geschehen pflegt; die Präsensbedeutung im eigentlichen Sinne wird durch eine Umschreibung ausgedrückt (*ta mi ag bualadh* "ich schlage"); das alte Fut. ist verloren[2]).' The orthodox view then is that the present tense is made with *tá* and the verbal noun, the old present is used as a future, and the old future formations have disappeared.

This view is quite untenable, and quite unsupported by the usage of the spoken and of the written language. That this is so will, I think, be made sufficiently clear by an examination of the following examples. It is scarcely necessary to say that we must begin by considering as not proved such statements as that Gaelic employs the future tense to indicate an action that 'takes place uniformly, habitually'.

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[1]) There are some traces of *ē*-futures, but they do not affect the present question, and will not be referred to.

[2]) So too II 363.

The formal distinction between verbal forms expressing consuetudinal and non-consuetudinal action is unknown in Scotch Gaelic except in the solitary case of the substantive verb. But even here *thá* and *bí* are no longer kept distinct. Both when they are used independently and when they are employed with the verbal noun to form the periphrastic pres. and imperf. tenses: there is a growing tendency to prefer *thá*, and, in dependent, negative and interrogative sentences, *bheil, eil*, to *bí*. This tendency is illustrated in the examples below, most of them taken from works written in purely colloquial language.

I. Present (imperfect) consuetudinal with *bí*.

1. *Òrd beag a bhios mi giulan am phòca nuair a ghabhas mi 'm cheann teicheadh o'n tigh*, Fear-Ciuil[1]) 151, 'a small hammer which I am accustomed to carry in my pocket whenever I think of escaping from the house'.

2. *Chuala mi iomadh uair gur e sud suidheachadh 'san bi iad nuar tha sealladh a 'tighinn mu'n coinneamh* Spéis[2]) 73, 'I've often heard that that is their customary position when a vision confronts them'.

3. *Is tric a bhitheas*[3]) *mi fhin a smuointinn*, ib. 83, 'I myself often think'.

4. *Faodaidh mi a radh nach 'eil e comasach do luingeas sam bith faotain as an aite ... ma bhios a' gaoth thun a' chludaich, bheir an sruth 's a' gaoth a dh' ionnsuidh beul na h-aimhne iad; agus ged a bhiodh a ghaoth bhar an fhearainn, tha fascadh na beinne 'ga cumail uapa*, Sgeul. Arab.[4]) III 26, 'I may say that it is impossible for any ships to get away from the place. If the wind is off the sea, the wind and the current carry them towards the mouth of the river; and though the wind should be from the land, the intervening hill keeps it from them'.

1) Am Fear-Ciuil by D. Mackechnie, 2. edition, Edinburgh 1910.

2) Gu'n d'thug i Spéis do'n Armuinn, Stirling 1908.

3) The monosyllabic 3 sg. pres. *bios* < *bis* has been orthographically confused with the disyllabic 3 sg. fut. < *bias*.

4) Sgeulachdan Arabianach, The Arabian Nights in Gaelic, Inverness, I² 1906, II 1899, III 1900.

5. *Righ nan Innsean, roimh am bi ceud elefant ag imeachd...* Sgéul. Arab. III 32, 'King of the Indies before whom a hundred elephants march'.

II. Present (imperfect) consuetudinal with *thá*.

1. *Tha moran dhaoine tha tuiteam 's a' cheart mhearachd sin,* Fear-Ciuil 133, 'there are many men who fall into that very error'.

2. *Tha Mr. C. ag radh mu'm fagadh iad tir a dhol air turus mara, gu robh iad ag iarraidh beannachaidh air a bhàta,* ib. 177, 'Mr. C. says that, before leaving for a voyage, they would ask for a blessing on the boat'.

3. *Cha'n 'eil mi fhéin a' toirt mòran géill do thaibhsearachd,* Spéis 80, 'For myself, I do not put much faith in second sight'.

4. *Faodaidh beagan deth bhi annainn air fad, ged nach 'eil sin a' gabhail beachd air mar a ghabhas cuid eile,* ib. 82, 'All of us may have a little of it though we do not view it in the same way as others'.

5. *Cha'n fheàrr òinseachan tha dol far am bheil i,* ib. 48, 'no better are the foolish women who visit her'.

6. *Tha mise gach latha air mo chlaoidh le obair chruaidh,* Sgéul. Arab. II 99, 'I am daily exhausted with hard work'.

7. *An uair a smaoinicheas mi air, tha e cur ioghnadh orm gu'n d'rinn mi leithid,* ib. III 24, 'whenever I think of it I am amazed that I should have done such a thing'.

8. *Anns gach aite tha na h-aimhnichean a ruith do'n chuan,* ib. III 25, 'everywhere the rivers flow towards the sea'.

9. *Nuair a thuitheadh an rud anns a robh a spor a sàs, bhà*[1] *'n spor a' bualadh an rud a bha thairis air an rud anns a robh am fùdar,* Seanchaid na Traghad[2] 12, 'when the thing which held the flint fell, the flint would strike the thing above the receptacle for the powder'.

10. *Is iomadh naidheachd aighearach a tha air a h-aithris gus an latha 'n diugh,* ib. 26, 'many a merry tale is told to this day'.

[1]) Here the synthetic tense *bhuaileadh* would be more usual.

[2]) Sean·na Traghad, le Iain mac Cormaic, Stirling 1911.

The confusion of the consuetudinal and the non-consuetudinal forms is evident. The cause of this confusion is probably twofold. In the first place it is quite clear that the forms of the consuetudinal present were phonetically confused with those of the future. The result was that it came to be felt that forms like *bi mí, bhios*, &c. should be reserved for the expression of the future, particularly as the present had at its disposal another set of forms *tha*, &c. which were quite unambiguous. The fact that all other verbs had only one form for the 3 sg., also, doubtless, helped the preference for *tha*. On the other hand there was a farther psychological reason for the use of the non-consuetudinal forms. In II 4 above, *ged a bhiodh a' ghaoth bhar an fhearainn, tha fasgadh na beinne 'ga cumail uapa,* the use of *thá* instead of *bí* particularises, and adds to the vividness of the picture. Instead of telling what happens to all ships that find themselves in this dangerous neighbourhood, the speaker selects one vessel to illustrate the fate of all. But for our present purpose, what is of most importance to observe is that the examples in which the consuetudinal forms are used show that *bí, bíos,* have a present meaning, not a future as one might infer from the statements of the grammarians.

I shall, in the next place, give examples of the synthetic present tense of other verbs.

I. Synthetic forms in independent sentences.

1. Positive sentences.

1. Expressing habitual action: *Tuigidh an cù féin a chionta,* Spéis 48, 'even a dog understands when he does wrong'. *'S e àite creagach, dosgach a tha 's a Choire Ghlas . . . Tha aogasg ag atharrachadh leis na sìontan . . . An samradh a' tighinn le thrusgan aotrom blàth . . . A 'ghrian a' spùtadh a gaithean á speur ghorm . . . Air a shàil thig am foghar,* Sean·na Tragh. 5, 'A craggy leafy place is the Blue Corrie . . . Its appearance changes with the seasons . . . The summer comes with its light warm mantle . . . The sun pours out its rays from a blue sky . . . At its heel comes autumn.' *Thig fear an t-saoghail fhada troimh gach cunnart,* Spéis 24, 'A long-lived man escapes every danger'.

2. Expressing non-habitual action: *'Có tha 'n sud', deir ise,* Sean·na Tragh. 29, '"Who is there?" says she'. *Chì mi luchd nan còtaichean dearga 'n an sìneadh air an raon,* Spéis 71, 'I see the red-coated folk lying on the field'. *Measar dhuinne gur mac rath thu,* Campbell, Fianns[1]) 42, 'We are of opinion that you are a child of grace'. *Guidheam ort,* Sgéul. Arab. I 5, 'I pray you'. *Feumaidh mi, thu, faodaidh mi, thu,* are constantly used with present meaning 'I, you may, must', cf. Spéis 23, 82, Sgéul. Arab. III 26.

2. Negative and interrogative sentences.

Cha chreid mi gus an latha 'n diugh, Sean·na Tragh. 12, 'I do not believe till this day'. *Cha ghabh e innseadh na bha de bhadhar luachmhor agus dé shaoibhris air a chladach,* Sgéul. Arab. III 25, 'It is impossible to tell'. *An saoil sibh nach do chuir so amhluadh nach bu bheag orm,* Fear-Ciuil 150, 'Do you doubt ...' *An cluinn sibh sin?* Sean·na Tragh. 30, 'Do you hear that?' *Cha'n fhaod thu* . . . Sgéul. Arab. III 99. *Am feumar . . .?* ib. 94.

II. Synthetic forms in dependent sentences.

1. Positive sentences.

1. Expressing habitual action: *Tha mhaise 'na chois nuair thigh an reothadh . . . agus ghlaiseas e gach ni fo eigh, nuair a bhitheas còmhdach mar ghloine liobhte air uachdar na lochan mòra,* Sean·na Tragh. 6, 'Winter has its own beauty when the frost comes . . . and locks up everything under ice . . .' *Tha rudan neònach air an innseadh gu dearbh; 's nuair a chluinneas sinn pàirt diubh a' tighinn air an cois . . .,* Spéis 35, 'Strange things are indeed told of, and when we hear of some of them . . .' *'s iomadh rud a thig duine troimhe eadar a bhreith 's a bhàs,* ib. 19, 'A man has many adventures between the cradle and the grave'. *An uair a smaoinicheas mi air, tha e cur*

[1]) The Fianns, ed. J. G. Campbell (Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition), London 1891.

ioghnadh orm gu'n d'rinn mi leithid, Sgéul. Arab. III 24, 'When I think of it, I am amazed that I did such a thing'. *'S e Buneasain a their sinn ar fad bho'n is e is fearr a thuigeas coimhich,* Spéis 58, 'We all call it B., for strangers understand that best'. *Nach neònach far an stad bruidhinn, c'àite 's am bith an toisich i,* ib. 36, 'Is it not strange how a conversation may end, no matter how it begins?'

2. Expressing non-habitual action: *A bhaobh a nigheas an t-eudach,* Campbell, Fianns 39, 'Spirit that washest the garment'. *Nach aisde leumtar am breac?* Campbell, Pop. Tales I 91, 'Is it not out of it the trout leaps?'

2. Negative and interrogative sentences.

Nan sguireadh tu de dheoghal na pìoba sin nach teid as do phluic o'n a dh'eireas gus an laidh thu, Fear-Ciuil 156, 'If you ceased sucking that pipe which never leaves your lips from the time you rise till you go to bed'. *Cha'n 'eil teagamh agam nach 'eil a leithed de ni ann ged . . . nach gabh e sgrùdadh,* Spéis 82, 'I have no doubt that there is some such thing though it does not admit of investigation'.

From the above examples it will be quite clear that the question whether the old synthetic forms of the present tense are used in modern Scotch Gaelic with the meaning of the present admits of no discussion. Independent and dependent forms (*faodaidh : cha'n fhaod*) are used in this way to express habitual or non-habitual action. But when the action is of the latter kind the periphrastic forms are, by far, the commoner except in negative or interrogative sentences. Thus, *chí mi* is much less frequent than *tha mi [ag] faicinn,* while on the other hand *cha'n fhaic mi am faic thu?* are, in the spoken language, equally common with *cha'n 'eil mi [ag] faicinn, am bheil thu [ag] faicinn?*

In certain types of sentence the present or the future can be used indifferently without affecting the sense to any appreciable extent. These will be mentioned later. But apart from them, it is often difficult or impossible to give good reasons for regarding as future rather than present in meaning forms used as in the following examples: *'s gann gu'n ruigear a leas innseadh co mu'm bheil na briathran so air an labhairt,* Caraid nan

Gaidheal[1]) 462, 'It is (will be) scarcely necessary to explain to whom these words refer'. *Ged a dh'òlainn na galain a h-uile car a théid diom, cha t[h]rodadh mo bhean rium, is cha leig i an t-aran am dhìth,* Duncan Bán[2]) 14, where *théid, leig* may be equally well understood as consuetudinal presents or futures.

From an examination of examples taken almost entirely from the modern colloquial language we have now learnt:

1. that the synthetic forms which in the grammars are called future, can be, and are, used as presents, and
2. that such forms are often used in contexts where, in the absence of external grammatical distinction, it is impossible to decide whether we should call them presents or futures.

I shall now give examples from a somewhat older stage of the language, where there can be no doubt as to the precise meaning of the forms employed.

The development of Scotch Gaelic during the last two centuries can be followed to a certain extent by an examination of the language of the successive editions of the Gaelic Bible. The earlier editions[3]) are practically reprints, in vulgar Roman characters, of the Dublin version of 1602. The first translation of the New Testament that shows any independence in matter of language is that of Stewart, Edinburgh 1767. But here, too, the influence of the Irish version is still strong, and every subsequent edition has brought its tale of modification in point of spelling, morphology and syntax[4]). A few examples of the gradual adaptation of the Irish original to Scotch usage are:

[1]) C. n. G. by Norman Macleod, D. D., Edinburgh 1910.

[2]) Songs of Duncan MacIntyre in Gaelic and English. Ed. by George Calder, Edinburgh 1912.

[3]) See Reid, Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica, Glasgow 1832.

[4]) The treatment of the nominal declension in the successive editions deserves investigation. Here one or two examples may be noticed: *rí*, pl. *righthe* 1602, Apoc. 1, 6, *righridh* Stewart, *righre* 1807, 1842; *mórain d'uisgeadhuibh* 1602, Apoc. 1, 15, *m·uisgeacha* Stewart, *m·uisgeachan* 1842; *cridhe*, acc. pl. *croidheacha* Stewart, Apoc. 2, 23, *cridheachan* 1807, 1842; *talamh*, g. sg. *talmhan* 1602, Mark 4, 5, *talmhain* Stewart, *talmhainn* 1807; *dearbhraithreacha* 1602,



Mark 5, 7 *cuirim a huchd Dé ort,* 1602,
cuiream ort a huchd De, Stewart 1807, 1823,
tha mi a' cur ort, 1848;

Apoc. 3, 19 *cronaicheam agus smachdaicheam,* Stewart 1807,
tha mi a' cronachadh agus a' smachdachadh 1842;
deirim, Stewart *pass.*, for *ata mi ag ràdh* of recent editions.

Instances of the retention of the form of the 1[st] pers. sg. in the modern Bible are *samhlicheam,* Song of Sol. 1, 9, and *cuiream,* ib. 2, 7 in 1848.

The value of the translation of the Bible for the study of the use of the verbal forms depends on the fact that the Scotch translators always have their eye on the Irish version. A comparison of the latter, therefore, enables us to say when the so-called future verbal forms of the Scotch version were intended to have a present meaning, and when a future. Thus in Mark 1, 17 Stewart and later editions have *ni mi 'n ar iasgairibh air daoinibh sibh,* the Dublin translation has *doghéna mé*; Apoc. 1, 19 *na nithe a bhitheas ann* Stewart, &c., *thiucfus* 1602; Mark 4, 13 *cionnas . . . a thuigeas sibh gach uile chosa'lachd?* Stewart &c., *cionnas tuigfídhe an uile chosmhalachd?* 1602. Here, for example in Apoc. 1, 19 the Irish form leaves no doubt as to the tense of *bhitheas.* On the other hand we can be equally confident that when the Irish version has the present, the Scotch form too is intended for such. In some case the synthetic form of the Irish is represented by the periphrastic present, as in

Apoc. 12, 14 *sa náit a noiltear hí,* 1602,
far am bheil i air a haltrum, Stewart, &c.

Mark 4, 15 *Achd taréis a chloisdeana tig Satan ar an mball,* 1602,
Agus tareis doibh a chluinntin, air ball ata Satan a teachd, Stewart.

Mark 1, 7 *tig am dheaghuidhsi neach . . .,* 1602,
ata neach a teachd a' m' dhiaigh sa, Stewart, &c.

Mark 3, 31, *bràithre* Stewart, *bràithrean* 1807; *teanga* g. pl. Stewart, Apoc. 10, 11, 1807, *teanganna* 1842; *lucht àitheachadh* Stewart, Apoc. 11, 10, *l. àiteachaidh* 1807; *do na naoimhibh* 1602, Apoc. 11, 18, *d·n·naoimh* Stewart; *ainglibh* 1602, Apoc. 16, 1, *aingil* Stewart.

Otherwise the synthetic form is used in the Scotch version as in the Irish:

Mark 1, 3 *Guth an tí éigheas ar an bhfhásach,* 1602,
Guth antí dh'éigheas ann san fhásach, Stewart, &c.

Mark 10, 12 *má léigeann bean a fear féin agus gu bpósfadh sí ré fear eile,* 1602,
Ma chuireas bean air falbh a fear féin, agus ma bhitheas i air a pósadh re fear eile, Stewart, &c.

Mark 9, 18 *Gach uile bhall a mbéireann sí air,* 1602,
Ge b'è ionad sam bith an glac se é, Stewart, &c.

Mark 4, 20 *Noch éisdeas . . . agus ghabhus . . . agus dobheir toradh uadha,* 1602,
An dream a chluinneas . . . agus a ghabhas . . . agus a bheir amach toradh, Stewart, &c.

Mark 4, 16 *An dream éisdeas an bhriathar agus ghabhus chuca í do láthair,* 1602,
Muintir, nuair a chluinneas iad am focal, a ghabhas e air ball, Stewart, &c.

It is now quite evident that Scotch Gaelic forms like *bheir, chluinneas,* have always been used with the meaning of present tenses. That the employment of such forms in the literary language is not merely an Irishism is shown by the usage of the colloquial language. We must, therefore, speak of a presens-future tense with the following forms:

Independent: *cluinnidh mi, t(h)u, e* &c.
Dependent: *cluinn mi, t(h)u, e* &c.
Relative: *cluinneas*[1])

This composite tense may be due to one or both of two causes. 1. One of the two tenses, present and future, which originally were formally distinguished, may have, while retaining its own sense, assumed that of the other as well. In this case,

[1]) The relative forms are in some dialects used independently with future meaning.

that is equivalent to saying that the old present is now used as a present and as a future. 2. The other possibility is that, through phonetic changes, the two old sets of forms have fallen together. The claims of either possibility will be considered separately.

1. In some types of verbs the present tense, owing to the nature of the action expressed by the verb, has the sense of the future[1]). Such are Eng. *go,* Gk. *εἶμι,* Skt. *émi.* The result has been that in some languages, e. g. Germanic and Slavonic, the future tense has disappeared, and its meaning is expressed by the present, or when necessary, by a periphrastic tense, cf. Streitberg, Gothisches Elementarbuch[4] p. 199, Leskien, Altbulgarische Grammatik p. 213. That the same tendency should be responsible for the use of the old present as a future in Scotch Gaelic is in itself a plausible theory, and for some forms like *théid* the only admissible one. There seem, indeed, to be some traces in Mid. Ir. of the use of some forms of *tíagu* with future meaning, cf. *cia leth tra tégi, a ro-thruag, no cindus lamai dula, no cia maith fil acut in tan tégi dochumm nime,* Atkinson PH 8217, where *in tan tégi,* even if we understand it as 'now that you are going to heaven', shows how closely the meaning of the present approximates to that of the future. A less equivocal example (if the text is sound) is *Is i ndighail marbtha Eoin Bautist tic in scuab a Fanait do erglanadh Erenn fri deredh in domain, amail do tairrnger Eleran ind ecnai 7 Colum Cille .i. I teirt do sunnradh ticfa in scuab a Fanait, ut dixit Colum Cille* F(ranciscan MS) ad Fél. Oeng., Aug. 29 (Stokes 1905, p. 190). Here both the sense of the passage and the use of *ticfa* in the second version establish the future meaning of *tic*[2]).

2. The disappearance of the old future through formal confusion with the present has parallels elsewhere. In Welsh, for example, the use of the present for the future is partly due to

[1]) The future, on the other hand, is used for the present as a gnomic tense, cf. *qui homo timidus erit, in rebus dubiis nauci non erit.* Plautus, Most. 1041.

[2]) It should be noticed that the present here occurs in a prophecy. For the use of the prophetic present in e. g. Greek, cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gr.[3] p. 486.

such confusion, cf. Strachan, Introduction to Early Welsh p. 83; Loth, Remarques et Additions p. 90f. In the more recent stages of Irish, where the *-f-* of the future has for the most part become *-h-*, the possibility of confusion between e. g. *cuiridh* and *cuirfidh* is obvious[1]). In Scotch Gaelic, where the entire disappearance of *-h-* would be general[2]), the two sets of forms could not possibly be kept distinct. *Cuiridh* and *cuirfidh* would have exactly the same pronounciation. If we now claim that where in the modern language *cuiridh*, *buailidh* are used with the meaning of the future, these forms represent in simplified spelling older *cuirfidh*, *buailfidh*, we can appeal only to the probability of the supposition. From the nature of the case absolute proof is impossible. But attention may be drawn to a fact in the older written language which deserves consideration in this connection. As has been mentioned above, every edition of the Gaelic Bible has made some advance on its predecessor in, among other things, the adaptation of the orthography to the actual sounds of the language, principally by way of omitting silent consonants. The following four examples, out of many, bear on the present question. At Apoc. 17, 8 Stewart has (in footnote) *sgriosfar è*, the edition of 1807 has *sgriosar*; at Mark 5, 23 Stewart has *mairfidh si* 1807, and following editions *mairidh i*; at Mark 1, 8 the Dublin version of 1602 has *baisdfidh*, Stewart *baistidh*; at Mark 9, 49, 1602 has *saillfithear*, Stewart *saillthear*, 1807 *saillear*.

The dependent forms of the future, *cha chuir* may be explained in the same way, < *cuirfe*, or as due to the analogy of the independent forms.

What has been said of the present and the future applies, of course, to the imperfect and conditional. *Chuirinn* 'I would (used to) put' and 'I would (have) put', represents, phonetically and in point of meaning, both the older *chuirinn* and *chuirfinn*.

[1]) Pedersen is probably right in attributing, Vergl. Gramm. II 335, the extension of the ending *-enn* of 3 sg. pres. to the desire of distinguishing between the present and the future.

[2]) This can be inferred from the fact that in the modern language unvoicing in Sandhi before *-h-* is known only in a few dialects, and is there confined to one or two petrified phrases, as *sibh fhéin*, pronounced *śpẹ́n*.

The main points which this paper aims at establishing are,

1. that in Scotch Gaelic the distinction between habitual and non-habitual action is not always expressed in the one case where it is possible to do so,
2. that the synthetic verb forms commonly called futures are used with the sense of presents, both of habitual and non-habitual action, and that the identity of the forms of the present and the future tense is due, partly to the fact that the present verbal stem has in some cases a future sense, but, particulary, to phonetic development which has removed the formal differences which originally distinguished them.

Aberdeen. J. FRASER.

IRISCHE MISCELLEN.

1. *aife* „Abhang".

In der Sage *Fingal Rónáin* (ed. Kuno Meyer, Rev. Celt. XIII 368 ff.), die noch der altirischen Zeit zugewiesen werden mufs (vgl. den durch den Reim gesicherten Genetiv *Maíle Fothartaig,* zweisilbiges *óïc, núa*[*ë*], *clóï, bïad* usw.), heifst es in dem Liede des *Máel Fothartaig* (S. 385):

Is úar fri clóï n-gaíthe
do neoch in-gair bú Aífe.

K. Meyer übersetzt „Cows of Aife". Auf S. 379 versucht der irische Schreiber, den Ausdruck *bǽ Aife* zu erklären: *.i. clocha filet la tóeb int ṡléibe. It cosmaile fri bú finna do chéin. For aife int ṡléibe ataat:* „nämlich das sind Steine am Hange des Berges. Sie gleichen von weitem weifsen Kühen. Auf der *aife* des Berges befinden sie sich." K. Meyer hat *aife* hier unübersetzt gelassen. In seinen „Sagen aus dem alten Irland" hat jedoch Thurneysen dieses *aife* mit „Abhang" übersetzt und auch *bú Aífe* in dem erwähnten Vers mit „Kühe des Abhangs" wiedergegeben. Ihm folgend hat sodann K. Meyer in seinen Contributions ein Wort *aife* „slope?" eingefügt.

Es kann gewifs kein Zweifel bestehen, dafs das erstgenannte *aife* in der Glosse des Schreibers und im Text des Gedichtes dasselbe Wort darstellen sollen. Wie der Reim mit *gaíthe* („des Windes") zeigt, mufs *aífe* hier mit einem Diphthong angesetzt werden. Ein Wort *aífe* (mit Diphthong), das Abhang bedeutet, gibt es aber überhaupt nicht. Die ganze Frage ist vielmehr auf folgende Weise zu lösen:

In dem Gedicht ist *Aífe* nichts anderes, als der Name einer mythischen Persönlichkeit. Es gibt mehrere Frauen dieses Namens. Welche hier gemeint ist, läſst sich nicht mit Gewiſsheit feststellen. Die Felsen am Abhang des Berges können sehr wohl von weitem wie Kühe ausgesehen haben und aus uns nicht bekannten Gründen als „Kühe der (Zauberin) Aífe" bezeichnet worden sein.

Der Schreiber der erwähnten Glosse kannte offenbar ebensowenig wie wir jene Geschichte, die sich an die „Kühe der Aífe" knüpfte. Auſserdem stehen die Verse, aus denen der anlautende Diphthong des Wortes erschlossen werden kann, an einer späteren Stelle des Textes, so daſs er um so leichter in einen groben Irrtum verfallen konnte. Es gibt nämlich tatsächlich ein Wort für Abhang, das ganz ähnlich in der gesprochenen Sprache klang, nämlich *aithbe* (Verbalsubstantiv zu *ad-ben*, aus **ate-bhijom*) „Ebbe, Abnahme, Zurückweichen", daher auch „Abhang (des Berges)", das im Mittelirischen, also zur Zeit der Abschrift unserer Sage, genau als *aife* (also etwa *äfe*) gesprochen wurde. Der Schreiber konnte somit das ihm vorliegende *aife* (= *aífe*) irrtümlich als das ihm wohl geläufige Wort *aithbe* auffassen. Daher fügte er aus Eigenem hinzu: „*for aife* (recte: *aithbi*, älter *aithbiu*) *int ṡléibe ataat.*" Dieses zweite *aife* ist natürlich mit dem zuerst genannten *aife*, das er näher erklären will, nicht identisch. Im Gedicht muſs es daher „Kühe der Aífe" und nicht „Kühe des Abhangs" heiſsen.

2. Wb. 33 a 2.

Diese Glosse: „*leissom atech didiu 7 ishe conidrotig*; *fer imr̃ diamuintirsom inti moysi*" enthält die eigentümliche Abkürzung *imr̃*. Im Thesaurus (I 707) ist das Wort unerklärt gelassen[1]). Ich zweifle nicht daran, daſs es einfach in *im(m)urgu* aufzulösen ist, was auch dem Sinn nach vortrefflich paſst. Kurz darauf kommt in ähnlichem Zusammenhang (33 a 5) zweimal das Wort *im(m)urgu* vor.

[1]) Dieselbe Abkürzung in Wb. 5 c 5, wo sie richtig in *immurgu* aufgelöst ist.



3. *du-cuitig* „hat geschworen", *ad-cuitecht* „ist abgewiesen worden".

Die Form *du-cuitig* zu *tong(a)id* „schwört" mufs, wie das palatale *t* beweist, auf urkeltisch **to-kon-tetoge* zurückgehen. Da vor synkopiertem *e* niemals die Hebung von *o* zu *u* eintreten kann, befremdet das zweite *u* in *du-cuitig.* Die Möglichkeit, dafs hier in der Reduplikationssilbe ein *i* stecken könnte (so zweifelnd Hessen, CZ IX 21), mufs als völlig ausgeschlossen bezeichnet werden. Es kann sich somit in diesem Fall nur um eine analogische Umbildung handeln. Das Vorbild dazu ergibt sich ganz ungezwungen. Die echt komponierte Form der 3. Sg. Perf. mufste nämlich (wenn wir annehmen, dafs hier, wie auch sonst häufig, die Synkope der zweiten Silbe durch Einflufs der unecht komponierten Form und durch das etymologische Bewufstsein unterblieb) **-tochuitig* lauten und es liegt auf der Hand, dafs **du-coitig* durch Einflufs von **-tochuitig*, wo das *u* in unbetonter Silbe berechtigt war, zu *du-cuitig* werden konnte.

Auf ähnliche Weise ist *ad-cuitecht* „ist abgewiesen worden" zu erklären. Ein ursprüngliches **ad-coitig* (urkeltisch **ad-kon-tetoge*) „er hat abgewiesen" war zuerst durch Einflufs der echt komponierten Form **-accuitig* zu **ad-cuitig* geworden. Hierauf wurde dann das passive Präteritum **ad-cotacht* (**ad-kon-tog-to-*) durch Einflufs des aktiven **ad-cuitig*, **-accuitig* zu *ad-cuitecht* umgestaltet, auf dieselbe Weise, wie z. B. das passive Präteritum **fo-ruilecht* durch Einflufs des aktiven Präteritums *fo-roíblaing* zu *fo-roíblacht* „praeventus est" umgestaltet wurde (mehr Beispiele für die Beeinflussung des passiven Präteritums durch das aktive bei Thurneysen, § 710).

4. Zur Flexion von *anim* „Seele".

Die Flexion von *anim* „Seele" zeigt im Altirischen eine ganze Reihe von Eigentümlichkeiten. Im Singular sind folgende Formen belegt: Nom. *ainim* (2), *anaim*, *anim* (4), *animm*, *anam*; Gen. *anme*; Dat.-Acc. *anim* (4), *animm* (2), *anmuin*, *anmain* (5), *anmin* (2); Voc. *anim*; im Plural: Nom. *anmin*, *anmain*, Dat. *anmanib*, *anmanaib*, Acc. *anmana*.

Fügt man dazu die im Félire des Oengus durch den Reim gesicherten Formen Dat. Sg. *anaimm* (: *caraimm*), Gen. Pl. *anman* (*talman*) und den im Gebet an Columba (CZ VIII 287) vorkommenden Nom. Sg. *anaimm* (: *Coluimm*, *colainn*), so kann man folgendes altirische Paradigma aufstellen:

Sing. Nom.-Voc. *anam(m)*, *an(a)im(m)*, *a(i)nim(m)*,
Gen. *an(m)m(a)e*,
Dat.-Acc. *anm(a)in* (*anmuin*), *an(a)im(m)*, *a(i)nim(m)*;
Plur. Nom. *anm(a)in*,
Gen. *anman*,
Dat. *anman(a)ib*,
Acc. *anmana.*

Zur Erklärung dieser Unregelmäſsigkeiten in der Flexion pflegt man gemeiniglich anzunehmen, daſs sich in diesem Paradigma ein einheimischer Stamm **ana-mon-* mit dem lateinischen Lehnwort *animā* vermischt habe. Diese Annahme kann jedoch nicht alle Schwierigkeiten erklären. Ein (wie das auslautende unlenierte *m* zeigt) jüngeres Lehnwort aus latein. *animā* würde nämlich im Singular wie folgt flektiert worden sein: Nom. *anamm*, Gen. **ain(m)me*, Dat.-Acc. *ainimm.* Der belegte Genetiv *anm(a)e*, sowie die Nominative *anaimm*, *ainimm* blieben sohin unerklärt, da man selbst bei Annahme einer analogischen Beeinflussung des Nominativs durch die andern Kasus nur die Form **ainemm* (vgl. derart entstandene Nominative, wie *maiten*, *fairenn*, neben regelmäſsigem *matan* usw.) erwarten dürfte.

Die Sachlage dürfte sich vielmehr so verhalten:

Im altirischen Plural liegt noch die reguläre Flexion des echt keltischen Stammes **ana-mon-* vor; wie der Reim mit *talman* (Félire des Oengus, 27. März) beweist, war das *m* ordnungsgemäſs leniert.

Im Singular dagegen haben drei verschiedene Einflüsse zusammengewirkt. Der Nominativ *anamm*, sowie der Dativ und Akkusativ *ainimm* stammen von dem oben besprochenen Lehnwort aus lateinisch *animā.* Der Dativ und Akkusativ *anmain* (*anmuin*) sind regelmäſsig vom keltischen Stamm **ana-mon-* gebildet; der Reim mit *adbail* und *talmain* (Félire des Oengus, 21. August, Epilog 296 usw.) beweist die Lenierung des *m.*

Die übrigen Formen des Singulars erklären sich durch Einfluſs des *n*-Stammes *ainm(m)* „Name". Der enge Zusammenhang zwischen Name und Seele ist eine derart evidente Tatsache, daſs ich darüber wohl erst kein Wort zu verlieren brauche (vgl. Frazer, The golden Bough). Auch der formelle Ausgangspunkt der Analogiebildung ist ganz klar. Es ist dies der Dativ-Akkusativ *ainimm* des Lehnwortes *anamm*. Dieses *ainimm* fiel nämlich in der gesprochenen Sprache fast vollständig mit *ainmm*, dem Dativ-Akkusativ von *ainmm* „Name" zusammen; zwischen dem *n* und *mm* hatte sich ein deutlich hörbarer Svarabhakti-Vokal entwickelt, wie auſser dem Neuirischen auch die einmalige Schreibung *senim* „Tönen, Ton" statt gebräuchlicherem *seinm(m)* beweist (irrig hierüber Thurneysen, Handbuch S. 205, 415). Der Gen. *an(m)m(a)e* ist ganz deutlich aus der Flexion von *ainm(m)* bezogen. Nun drang begreiflicherweise auch der Nominativ *ainm(m)* (sprich *än'm*) in die Flexion von *anam(m)* ein: so erklärt sich der Nominativ *ainimm*; der Nominativ *anaimm* ist eine Kompromiſsbildung aus *anamm* und *ainimm*; aus dem Nominativ und Genetiv übertrug sich dann das nicht-palatale *n* in den Dativ-Akkusativ, daher dort *anaimm* neben regelmäſsigem *ainimm*.

Die Richtigkeit dieser Annahme wird auch durch das Mittelirische bestätigt; hier hat sich nämlich der Einfluſs von *ainm(m)* „Name" noch deutlicher geltend gemacht, indem das unlenierte *n* der Endung in die Pluralflexion von *anim* eindrang, also Nom. Plur. *anmanna*, Gen. *anmann* usw.; zu gleicher Zeit war auch das lenierte *m* in allen Formen von *anim*, soweit es erhalten war, durch Einfluſs von *ainm(m)* durch unleniertes *m(m)* ersetzt worden. Vgl. z. B. die Dativform *anmmain* in Atkinsons Passions and Homilies, während das *m* im Altirischen, wie aus der Poesie erhellt, noch leniert war. Umgekehrt hat *ainm(m)* im Plural das auslautende *-a* von *anim* übernommen.

Neuirisch ist im Nominativ nur mehr die Form *anam* gebräuchlich; die andern Kasus, nämlich der Gen. Sing. und der Plural zeigen die Formen *anma*, bezw. *anmanna*, *anmannaib*, deren Entstehung oben besprochen wurde.

Es bleibt schlieſslich nur noch das mittel- und neuirische Wort *ainm(h)id(h)e* zu besprechen, das „Tier", urspünglich jedenfalls „belebtes Wesen" bedeutet. Das Wort kann nicht echt keltisch sein, da urkeltisch **anamadjo*- nur **anmaide* ergeben

konnte. Es mufs somit ein aus dem lateinischen *animā* in älterer Zeit (wie die Lenition des *m* zeigt) entlehntes, archaisch etwa **anem* anzusetzendes Lehnwort darin stecken. Wenn man sich aber gegen die Annahme sträubt, dafs *animā* zweimal, in älterer und jüngerer Zeit (nämlich mit leniertem und unleniertem *m*) aus dem Lateinischen entlehnt worden sei, so ist auch die Annahme möglich, dafs es sich um ein britannisches Lehnwort handelt, dafs zu einer Zeit entlehnt worden wäre, als urkeltisch **ana-mō* über **anamū* **anamī* erst zu **anemī* (mit leniertem *m*) und noch nicht zu **enemī* geworden war. *ainm(h)id(h)e* kann somit auf **animaide* (enthaltend latein. *anima*) oder **anemide* (enthaltend britannisch **anemī*) zurückgehen.

Es könnte sich jedoch auch um eine Kontamination eines echt irischen **anmaide* „seelisch" (vgl. lat. *animalis*) mit einem (nicht belegten) Lehnwort **ainmel* (aus lat. *anima,* woraus auch cymrisch *anifail*) handeln.

Wien. JULIUS POKORNY.

PLACE NAMES IN VITA FINNIANI.

A comparison of certain passages in the Latin Life[1] of Finnian of Cluain Erairid with the Irish Life[2] published by Stokes helps us to identify some place names found in both. Considering the confusion which the commentators display in their remarks on the passages in question, it is not surprising that Hogan's Onomasticon does not give much help beyond the collecting of references; in one case, indeed, it makes confusion worse confounded by suggesting a second wrong identification.

1. Escair Branán.

There is more than one indication that in early times an ancient road led from Cell Dara northwards into Meath through the district of Fid Gaible and the territory of Fotharta Airbrech, which latter extended eastwards from Bri Éile (the hill of Croghan in King's Co.) into Co. Kildare, as will appear later. The Connacht people, returning from Bruden Maic Dathó, fled 'past Druim Criaig, which is to-day called Cell Dara, past Ráith Imgain (now Rathangan) in Fid Gaible, to Áth mac Lugnai, past Druim dá maige[3]) over Droichet Cairpre'[4]). When Patrick went on a visit to the king of the two Munsters he travelled the same route[5]). Finnian, we are told, coming from the south, paid a visit to Brigid at Cell Dara. Proceeding by the route referred to, he came *ad fines Forthartensium*, where he met Cassanus, son of Neman. Of this Cassanus I find a trace in Cloncassan, the name of a townland

[1]) *Codex Salmanticensis*, col. 189—210.
[2]) *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 75—83.
[3]) Drumomuy in King's Co. See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1913), II 197.
[4]) *Irische Texte* I 106.
[5]) *Acallam na Senorach* l. 693.

in the parish of Clonsast, barony of Coolestown. Next he crossed the Boyne, and came *ad locum qui Escayr Branan dicitur, et ibi fundauit ecclesiam atque in circuitu eius fossauit*[1]). The Irish Life says: *táinic Finnén iar sin tar Bóinn co hEiscir mBranáin áit itá Ard Relec iniú* 'Finian came after that over the Boyne[2]) to Eiscir Branáin, the place where Ard Relec is to-day'[3]). But where is Ard Relec? Certainly not at Ardsalagh, as Cogan says in a passage referred to in the Onomasticon. He probably took this from some other writer. Nor will anyone who scans the official maps or lists of place names find it. There was once a parochial church or vicarage there, but in 1302 it was worth 'nothing, because waste'[4]). The name appears as Ardrelicke in 1597[5]), and as Ardrellick in Charles I.'s time[6]). It is still remembered in the locality of Clonard. See sheet 47 of the Ordnance Survey 6-inch map of Co. Meath.

Colgan says[7]) that Aengussius, by whom he means the author of the litany in LL 373, calls Escair Branán by the name of Ard bren ndomnaich, but we learn nothing from LL itself as to where the latter place was: *in da fer déc de muntir Finnio i nAird bren domnaig.* The Codex Salmanticensis has no such name, though the Onomasticon would imply that it has.

2. Ros Findchuill.

Colgan states[8]) that Cluain Eraird was formerly known as Ros Findchuill. For this statement he is taken to task by Reeves[9]). Let us examine our narratives:

[1]) *Cod. Salm.* § 16.

[2]) If the Yellow River, the first tributary of importance which enters the Boyne, be not thus referred to, Finnian probably crossed the Boyne itself *twice.*

[3]) *Lismore Lives* l. 2624.

[4]) *Calendar of Documents, Ireland,* 1302—1307, p. 257. The place is corruptly called *Ardrely* and *Ardri.*

[5]) *Fiants of Elizabeth,* no. 6185. 'Licence to Thomas, lord bishop of Meath, to alien to Edward Loftus, son of Adam, lord bishop of Dublin and Chancellor, the manor of Killian and lands of Molericke, Ardrelicke, Clonard, Monygaliagh and Rosan.' All these places are in the Clonard district.

[6]) *Leinster Inquisitions, Meath* no. 140.

[7]) *Acta SS.* 398, n. 21.

[8]) Ibid. n. 23.

[9]) *Life of Columba,* 236.

Cod. Salm.	Lism.
§ 17. Finnian finds his successor at Escair Branán.	ll. 2628—2639. F. finds his successors but, being warned by God, moves a little to the East (*seal soir*).
	ll. 2640—2645. The coming of three thousand disciples and the selection of the twelve Apostles of Ireland.
	ll. 2646—2652. A story and prophecy about Colum Cille.
§ 18. *Alio die uenit angelus ad eum dicens: Noli hic amplius laborare, quia non erit tua resurrectio ibi, sed familiae tuae tantum. Surgens ergo uerus obediens, secutus est angelum usque ad locum qui Cluayn Irayrd dicitur. Ingressus ergo locum dixit: Haec requies mea, &c.* Then a boar flies from him. Then an interview with a *magus nomine Fraechanus* takes place.	ll. 2653 2660. The Lismore text is here slightly wrong owing to the mistake of the scribe occasioned by two occurrences of the word *Finnén*. Following the Brussels MS. the reading is: *Táinic aingel Dé co Finnén co n-ebert fris, ní hé so inad th' eiséirghe atré dano drem mór dot muindtir isund. Táinic ria*[1]) *Finnén cu Ros Findchuill, is éisidhe Les in Memra inniu. Annsein gabhuis Finnén in fersa fáthachda. Hec requies mea ⁊rl.* 'The angel of God came to Finnian, and said to him: "This is not the place of thy resurrection, but many of thy disciples shall rise here". He came with Finnian to Ros Findchuill, that is Les in Memra to-day. Then he sang the prophetic verse *Haec requies &c.*' Then follows

[1]) The *co* in Stokes' edition really belongs to the opening of the first sentence, also the word *aingel*.

Cod. Salm.	Lism.
	an interview with the druid Fraechán.
§ 19. Coming of remarkable disciples.	
§ 20. Story of Columba.	

To anyone who reads these narratives it must be evident that they refer to the same events and places, and that Cluain Eraird and Ros Findchuill are identical as Colgan says. Compare also the words of the Irish Life with the following entry in the Four Masters[1]: *Cluain Eraird do losccadh ass an rainn as mó im Less an memra.*

The monastery which was founded at Ros Findchuill was afterwards known as Cluain Eraird, and was a little to the east of the church Finnian had already founded in the neighbourhood.

Reeves had, however, authority for stating that *a* Ros Findchuill was anciently called Eiscir Branáin. He cites a passage from a tale named *Caithréim Dathí mic Fiachra,* of which there is a complete copy in 23 N 11, R. I. A., and a portion in 23 D 15. It is quite modern in language. It states that Ros na rígh was once known by the names just mentioned. There is absolutely no evidence or reason for connecting this place with those in the Lives of Finnian. Yet it is hardly possible that the two places, Escair Branán and Ros Findchuill should be connected in succession with Finnian, and that in another portion of the country two identical names should be given in succession to one place. It seems to be a case of an old tradition retouched at a later time by a person who had not grasped the real facts.

3. Cell Rígnaige.

We read that Rignach, sister of Finnian, with her mother, and the mothers of Ciaran and Colman, resided in a cell called Cella Sanctae Rignachae[2]). Except that the Lismore Life mentions two sisters and omits Colman's mother, the texts agree[3]). Colgan,

[1]) A. D. 1143.

[2]) *Cod. Salm.* § 22. *Rignathae* is a misreading.

[3]) Stokes' .i. l. 2662 should be 7 (*ocus*).

commenting on the Latin Life, says *Killrighnaighe est parochialis ecclesia diocesis Cluanensis*[1]), meaning thereby the church of Righnach in the town of Banagher, parish of Reynagh and diocese of Clonmacnoise. By the time he compiled his Indexes he had changed his mind; he has *Killrignaighe, eccl. in occidentalis Mediæ et Lageniæ confinibus*[2]). The place is, of course, the modern Kilreiny in the Co. Kildare, on the opposite side of the Boyne to Clonard. There is record of a grant of the rectory of Kylreyny 'parcel of the possessions of the late abbey of Clonard' to William Bermyngham, Knt. in 1541[3]). Hogan's conjecture that Cell Rignaighe is in Wexford is due to the fact that it is stated to have been in Fotharta Airbrech; but Fotharta Airbrech is not the barony of Forth in Wexford.

1) *Acta SS.* 399.
2) Ibid. 881.
3) *Fiants of Henry VIII* no. 191.

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ETYMOLOGICA.

1. Ir. *tonn*, W. *ton*, 'wave'.

This words offers another example of the treatment in Celtic of initial *tu̯-* discussed recently by Vendryes in Meyer's Miscellany p. 286 ff. Celtic **tu̯on-nā* is to be connected with Lith. *tuañas* 'flood', *tuanùs* 'swelling', Goth. *þwahl* 'bath'. Both **tu̯on-* and **tu̯ok-* are extensions of the root of Lat. *tumēre*, Ir. *tom*. For the development of meaning from 'swell' to 'wave' cf. Gk. κῦμα : ἔγκυος.

2. Ir. *līth*, Br. *lid* 'festival'.

Henry, Lex. étym. du breton. mod. p. 187, connects both words with Gk. λητουργία; this seems phonetically impossible. Pedersen's explanation of *līth*, *lid* and W. *llid* 'anger' as connected with Goth. *leiþu* 'Obstwein', Vergl. Gramm. I 132, is unsatisfactory for phonetic reasons (the Goth. word has probably the dipthong), and also on semantic grounds. The Irish word points to the idea of 'festival' in a religious sense rather than to that of 'feasting' [1]). Should the Welsh word be compared with Lat. *līs* < *stlīs* (borrowed?). Ir. *līth* and Br. *lid* < **līt-* are to be connected with Lat. *lĭtare* [2]) 'to obtain favourable omens', with the alternation *lī* : *lĭ*. For the sense compare in particular *adrad lītha* 'worship of auguries', K. Meyer, Hail Brigit, p. 14, 14. *Līth* would thus mean, originally, 'a day for the taking of auguries'.

[1]) For this reason, too, Thurneysen's etymology (< **plētus*), Stokes' Festschrift p. 30 ff., is to be rejected.

[2]) For **lītare* with which Boisacq operates, Dict. étym. de la langue grecque p. 585, there is no authority.

3. Ir. *abann* 'lash'.

This form occurs with the above sense RC XIV 485, Eriu V 40. It is generally compared with W. *afwyn* 'rein', and so explained as the borrowed Lat. *habēnae*, cf. Vendryes, De vocab. hibern. p. 109, Pedersen *o. c.* I 210. But neither the form nor the meaning of the Irish word necessitates identification with the Welsh. *Abann* is the Lat. *amentum* 'the thong attached to the shaft of a spear'.

4. Ir. W. *galar*.

Pedersen, *o. c.* II 25 compares Gk. *χολέρα* 'Magenkrankheit'; other explanations are mentioned by Osthoff IF, IV 287. Against Pedersen's etymology must be urged that from the sense of the Irish word 'sickness', and from that of the Welsh, 'pain, sorrow' one would assume that the Celtic word had originally the meaning of 'uneasiness' rather than of 'disease', still less of any particular disease. The development of meaning from 'sorrow' to 'disease' is an easy one, and is illustrated by the Lat. *dolor* 'grief': *dolor laterum* 'consumption'. For this reason I would connect *galar* with Gk. *χαλάω* 'loosen', *χαλαρός* 'relaxed, languid'.

5. Ir. *idan* 'pure'.

Whether this word is or is not the same as *idan* 'faithful', the sense forbids comparison with Gr. *πεδινός* 'level', Pedersen, *o. c.* II 57. *ἔμπεδος* cannot be used to support this etymology for the meaning 'steadfast' is given to it only by composition with *ἐν-* For *idan* 'pure' we must postulate **idhenos*, and compare Skt. *idhyatē* 'is kindled', Gk. *ἰθαίνω· εὐφραίνειν*, Hes. *ἰθαραῖς· ἱλαραῖς* id., *αἴθω, αἰθήρ*.

6. Ir. *bratān* 'salmon, large fish'.

For the suffix cf. Ir. *scatān* 'herring'. With the stem we may perhaps compare Gk. *βάτραχος* 'frog', Ion. *βάθρακος, βότραχος, βρόταχος* < **βράθαχος* < **gᵘr̥dhn̥-* cf. Boisacq, Dict. étym. de la langue grecque p. 116. As to the meaning, it is to be noticed that the name *βάτραχος* was applied to a fish of the *σέλαχος* variety, Arist. H. A. 5, 5, 3. This *σέλαχος* < **selm̥-* is to be connected with the Lat.-Celt. *salmō*, cf. *Salmōna*, a tributary of the Moselle, Ir. *selige* 'tortoise', Lith. *slė́kas* 'earthworm'.

7. Ir. *sab.*

For examples of this wórd v. Glossary to Martyrology of Oengus ed. Stokes, London 1905. The spelling *saph* seems common, so in *F. ad* June 22, July 1. I take it to be the borrowed Lat. *sophus* < Gk. σοφός, cf. *fellsub* < *philosophus.* The meaning 'sage' would clearly suit in e. g. April 12 *sab sōer suidi Phetair,* July 1, *bās nÁrōin, sab sruithe.* The sense of 'strong' attributed to the word by the native lexicographers could easily develop from that of 'wise', 'clever'.

8. Ir. *ethre* 'end'.

Example of the word are: *sernait ethre nAuguist,* Fel. Oeng. Aug. 31, *sernait . . . Ochtimbir ard ethre, ib.* Oct. 31. *Ethre* comes from **petrio-*: Lat. *petere* &c. This group of words has the meaning of 1. extension in a space, Gk. *πετάννυμι,* Lat. *patere,* 2. progress through a space, Skt. *pátati* 'flies', Gk. *πέτεται* id., Lat. *proteruos*, 3. aiming at something removed by a space, Lat. *petere*, with the additional idea of attainment as in Gk. *πεσεῖν,* 4. something that bounds a space, Goth. *faþa*, Mid.-H.-G. *vade*, 'fence', Welsh *etem* 'thread'. The development of meaning from *pátati* 'flies over' to *ethre* 'end' is well illustrated by the history of Lat. *terminus* 'boundary, end', Gk. *τέρθρον* 'end': Skt. *tárati, tarana-* 'crossing over', Gk. *τερέω, τέρετρον* 'bore', Skt. *pārám* 'end': G. *fahren*[1]).

9. Ir. *torc*, W. *twrch* 'boar'.

This word comes from **(s)tor-ko-s*: Gk. *στερεός, στερρός* 'firm', Skt. *sthirás* id., G. *starr, stark, Stärke* (?). The development of meaning, 'strong': 'male animal' is common, cf. Lat. *uerres* 'boar': Skt. *vṛshan-* 'strong, mighty'.

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[1]) The development of meaning assumed here seems to me much more probable than that proposed by Marstrander, ZCP VII 384. The meaning 'feather', 'fin' O. N. *fiðri*, cf. Gk. *πτέρον*, Lat. *penna*, is based on 2. above, and not immediately connected with that of 'end'; though the two may occasionally coincide.

Aberdeen. J. Fraser.

ON THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DATE OF THE LAUD SYNCHRONISMS.

In the latest number of Ériu (VII, pt. 1), I have sought to prove that the first and second fragments of the Annals of Tigernach, the third fragment as far as Finis Chronici Eusebii, and the Annals of Ulster down to the same point, A. D. 609, are founded on an early chronicle which was written in vertical synchronic columns; and to show in the extant annals the traces of the derangement of this original form. Great then was my gratification, on examining Kuno Meyer's text of the Laud Synchronisms, to find not only Irish examples of synchronic tabulated history of very early date, but also, side by side with these, examples of the gradual derangement of part of the material through its transcription into a form in which the synchronic tabular arrangement was abandoned. As a further probable cause of derangement, I suggested that the unfilled parts of the columns were used for the introduction of glosses and supplementary matter. The Laud tract shows a good instance of this. In the first synchronic table (113 a), the second column is occupied by the list of kings of Jerusalem, but, after the capture of Jerusalem, this list is replaced by the pedigree of Saint Joseph, 'custos Mariae', from King Josias. As we may judge from the printed text, this pedigree occupied much less space than the lists on either side of it. A portion of the space thus left vacant was used to receive the added note 'Is ed innisit . . . Forgus Fortamail', 473, 15—21. The note, however, extended above and below one of the items in the pedigree, 'Eliud genuit Elispul', 473, 18. The scribe who undertook to reduce the material from its original tabular order to continuous paragraphic form did not understand the text or worked mechanically, with the result that the item 'Eliud genuit

Elispul' is now found embedded in the added note, and in such a position that it separates the name Loegaire from its epithet Lorc.

This note deserves further attention. Where it has '.xiiii.' (do rigaib hErenn), an older text must have had '.xiii.', for 'Melge 7 Cobthach' is a scribal error for 'Melge mac Cobthaich' — v. 474, 2. The note was inserted, as we have seen, while the text retained the tabular arrangement. For what purpose? In the tabular arrangement the kings of Ireland were necessarily synchronized with certain 'kings of the world'; but the thirteen kings of Ireland named in the note cannot have been exactly synchronized with the three 'kings of the world' named in the note; for in that case, the note would have been superfluous. Here therefore we see a revising hand at work on the earlier tabular text. Of what nature was the revision? We cannot say with certainty. It is indicated in the note that the text, as the reviser found it, differed from the teaching of certain 'senchaide ocus libuir'. The difference may have extended only to the chronological relation of the two lists, kings of the world and kings of Ireland. If so, it seems to me that the correction would have taken another form. It seems much more likely that the list of Irish kings in the text was greatly different from the extant list, and that the text itself was amended, at the time of inserting the note or afterwards, to bring it into accord with the 'senchaide ocus libuir', and with the developments of the legend of the kingdom of Ireland.

The text indeed retains some indications of such revision. We are told (473, 34) that Ugaine Mór began to reign in the second year of Ptolemy son of Lagus; also (472, 19) that Oengus Turbech began to reign in the fourteenth year of Ptolemy Euergetes. Between these come the thirteen kings of the note. The paragraph 'O rogaib Sirna Sirsaeglach co ragaib Ugaine &c.' requires to be completed by adding a sum of years, as in the other paragraphs of this kind (v. 474, 30. 475, 16). We find the sum of years misplaced by the scribe in the preceding item 'Ugaine . . . .xl. bliadan || no .lxuii. bliadain 7 .cc.'. The model and ultimate basis of Irish synchronic histories is St. Jerome's version of Eusebius. This gives: Ierusalem capta (= 1 Sirna, 475, 32) an. ab Abraham 1426; 2 Ptolemaei Lagi f. (= 1 Ugaine,

473, 35) = an. ab Abraham 1693; difference 267 years, as the text has it. But the sum of years of the Irish reigns given in detail in the text from 1 Sirna to 1 Ugaine is 342. It follows either that the years of certain reigns have been increased or that additional reigns have been interpolated since the tract was originally drawn up. Since there are thirty reigns in the period, giving an average of less than twelve years, and since no single reign exceeds thirty years, the addition of years to the reigns originally given seems less probable than the insertion of additional reigns.

The method and manner of this expansion of the legend of the kings is susceptible of explanation. The time of 'Gabál macc Miled' was once synchronized with Alexander the Great, 'king of the world' (v. BB 10 a 5). In the Laud tract, it is synchronized with Salomon. A later tract places it two centuries earlier, in the reign of the Assyrian 'king of the world', Mithraeus (= 'Metaralius' BB 12 a 2). Much earlier dates are found in other documents. These successive extensions of the synchronic plan necessitated corresponding adjustments of the pedigrees originating in Míl, by the introduction of additional names in each line of Míl's descendants. But the increased time assigned to the race of Míl, the Gaedhil, in Ireland, required also to be filled up with additional kings, and to provide these, recourse was had to the amended pedigrees.

How the pedigrees and the regnal lists were thus stretched out, we are able to see from another text recently published by Meyer [1]), the seventh century pedigree of the kings of Munster, which we shall compare with the regnal list in this synchronism and with the later pedigrees of the Munster kings in LL and BB. The names in the later pedigrees which are not in the earlier pedigree are marked *. The names in BB (172 b) which are not in LL (320 col. 2) are marked †. The names in LL which are not in BB are marked §. I begin with Eogan Taidlech, eponymous ancestor of the Eoganachta, and proceed, as in the pedigrees, in the inverse order of ancestry.

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[1]) Über die älteste irische Dichtung I 69.

Eogan Taidlech, diarbo ainm Mug N*uadat* roraind hĒr*inn* ra Cond Cétch*athach*.
Mug Néit.
*† Derg.
Dergthene.
*§ Derg.
*§ Dergfotha.
*§ Fothorthecht.
*Ēnda Munchain.
Lōch Mór, do cer i Tāin Bó *Cuailngi* i mBregaib.
*§ Laigne Birb.
§ Mafemis.
§ Lethdarbri.
§ Eochu Mūmo, ō rāt*er* Mumu
*Muredach Muchna.
*† Eochu Fer Āine.
Daui Donn dalta Dedad.
Cairpre Losc Lethet, diatā Lethet Luisc.
Luguid Lagne, las cētna dernit gai 7 cruen in hĒrinn [1]).
Findtad Mār, dia ro [2]) giallsat Brega fo secht.
Nia Segamon las a mbligtīs diabulbuar, .i. bai 7 elti. Flidais Foltchain a māthair diambtar bae elti [3]).
*† Adamair Foltchāin.
Fer Cerb [4]).
*† Mug Corb.
Cobthach Coel [5]).
*§ Coilub Cloair.
Rechtaid Rigderg, ro chumrig hĒr*inn*, ro ort flaith nAlban. Triur rochomort flaith nAlban do hĒrendchaib, .i. Rechtaid Rigderg, Labraid Lońgsech, Crimth*ann* Mór mac Fidaig [6]).
Oenges Obne [7]).
† Enda Doid.
Daui Find.
Findruth [8]).
Brisse Rī, imeronaisc cath for Fomaire [9]).
*Imliuch, las cētna dernta classa dūne in hĒr*inn* ar tús [10]).
Ellim Ollḟinac*hta* [11]), is leis rofer snec[h]ta fina im hĒr*inn*.
Eochu Uarcheis [12]).
Luguid (fir erduirn *BB*).
Ānruth.
Road Rothchend [13]), lasa ngabtha comgne [14]) 7 fili*decht* i Temair ar tūs.
Roan.

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[1]) ri lais c*ét*na dearnta gai 7 cruain *BB*.
[2]) lasar *BB*.
[3]) *BB omits all after* buar.
[4]) Corb *BB*.
[5]) caem *BB*.
[6]) *BB omits* rochumrig hÉrinn, *has* docompairt *for* rochomort, Gaedelaib *for* hErendchaib, *and adds* in *cethramad* Bresall Brec m. Luigdech Lain.
[7]) *LL omits* Obne.
[8]) Findrotha, *gen. LL. BB substitutes* Sedna Findarraig. *gen.*
[9]) Bresi rig, *gen. BB.* Bressi. IS é ro ḟich tricha cath for Fomore *LL*.
[10]) *Gen.* Airt Imlig prius lasa clasa duine i tosach *BB*.
[11]) Felim Olfinnsneachta *BB*.
[12]) Urchain *LL*.
[13]) Roide Rotec*ht BB*.
[14]) las cetna dernta commach *LL*.

*Rīgarlid, las cētna dérnta carpait in hĒrinn[1]).
†Failbe Ilc[h]orach, lasa *cētna* gabtha corthaig.
Cétchumnech, las cētna dernta chumni in ogmaib artūs in hĒr*inn*[2]).
*Aed Derg, las dernta fessa 7 forfessa in hĒr*inn* ar tūs[3]).
Mainmairec, las cētna crecad ór 7 argat in hĒr*inn*[4]).
*†Oithe*cht*, lasa n-air*icht* ōr 7 airgead ardūs.
Cass Clothach (confollnastar brig Breaga *BB*).
Airer Arda (*gen.* Airair *LL*).
*Cainrothec[h]taid (Indroite*cht*aig, *gen. BB*).
Russ.
Ainfechtnach (Infothaig, *gen. LL*).
*§Conas (*or* Cu Ais, *gen.* Conais *LL*).
*§Glass.
*§Nuadu Fáil.
*§Ailchid (*gen.* Ailcheda).
*§Conmael (*so the nom. is usually found, gen.* Conmáil *LL. It seems to be the Cymric equivalent of Irish* Conmál < Cunomaglos).
Ēber.
*†Bile.
Míl Espai*ne*.

In the versified pedigree, edited by Meyer, *Luath* (6) should perhaps be *Lóch* (son of Mofebes, slain by Cú Chulainn in Táin bó Cúailnge); *liath* (7) seems also to be a proper name = Lēth Darbri LL. I have not marked the seemingly corresponding names in the later pedigrees as missing from the earlier.

The pedigree in BB, like the Laud synchronic tract, claims the Psalter of Cashel as its source, and perhaps represents an older version than the LL pedigree[5]). The seventh century pedigree is increased by eleven generations in BB, by sixteen generations in LL; and since we may count three generations in a century, it will be evident that these increases must correspond to great readjustments of the chronology, and consequently of the regnal lists. Among the names that are absent from the seventh century pedigree, but are found in the later pedigrees, the following are also found in the list of the kings of Ireland in the Laud tract:

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[1]) lasa ngabtha carpaid *BB*.
[2]) *Gen.* Ceidi Cumnig, lasa ceta cumni *BB*.
[3]) Faelderg dergdoid lasa feasa *for frie BB*.
[4]) *Gen.* Muinemoin, *the rest omitted, BB*.
[5]) *Note the early relative usage* imeronaisc.

Conmael mac Ebir, 474, 27.

Eochu Faebarglas, 375, 3. He is son of Conmael, and in some pedigrees (BB 171 a 13) he takes the place of Ailchid in the LL pedigree, father of Nuadu father of Glass. His reign in the synchronic list is separated by 120 years from the reign of his father Conmael. The next king of Ireland from Munster in the list is Eochu Momo, thirteenth in the composite pedigree quoted by me. In the list, he is separated from Eochu Faebarglas by twenty years, in the pedigrees by many generations.

Allerg mac Muinemon, 475, 13.

Art Imlig, 476, 6.

Mug Corp mac Cobthaig, 474, 3.

Amadair Foltchain, 474, 9. This is the most noteworthy instance, and shows in a striking way how the chronological gaps were filled and the regnal lists extended by taking names from the pedigrees. Flidais Ḟoltchain, according to the LL pedigree, was mother of Nia Segamon. The wild deer were her kine, and so during her son's reign, two sorts of kine (*diabul-buar*) were milked. Some scribe mistook the words *amáthair Flidais Foltchain* for the name of Nia Segamon's father, and so we find the name in the BB pedigree 'm. Niad Segamain m. Adamair Foltc[h]ain m. Fir Corb'. Later on came the historian in search of names to fill the chronological void which himself, perhaps, had created; and finding this ghost-name Adamair (< Amadair < amáthair) in a suitable place, he forthwith raised it to the rank of king of Ireland! Though LL has not this pseudo-ancestor in the pedigree, the name is found surrounded with circumstance in the LL text of Flaithiusa hÉrenn, 22 b 16: 'Ai*li*ll Casfiacla*ch* m*ac* Conla .xxu. i rrīge hĒr*enn* conidromarb Amadir Flidais Foltchain. Amadir m*ac* Fir Chuirb .u. bl*iadna* i rrīge hĒr*enn* co tor*chair* la Echaig Altlethan.' When these things are done in the green wood, what may not be done in the dry? When I was a youngster, I used to hear that Colum Cille left a curse on everybody that allowed a story to lose in his telling of it. Those who have transmitted from century to century the

historical legend of pre-Christian Ireland have avoided Colum Cille's curse. Even the seventh century poet did not earn it. He makes Mafemis twenty-seventh in descent from Éber son of Míl. But the Eoganacht genealogy in BB has a preface apparently founded on an ancient Latin tract which is quoted in its beginning (171 a). According to this preface Mafeibis was third in descent from Eber (l. 15).

The stretching of 267 to 342 years in a section the Irish reigns of the Laud tract shows that the process of expansion has been at work on the face of this document, and that the original tract has been freely amplified by interpolation in its Irish section.

It seems fairly certain that the original tract was drawn up throughout in synchronic columns. The evidence of synchronic arrangement is wanting only for the first 10 lines of the printed text.

The order of the original tract can be restored by the aid of the Eusebian model.

Reges Mundi	Hebraeorum Judices et Reges	Ríg Érenn
	Thola 72 (= Metulli 471, 12)	
		Nuadu 20 (471, 13)
	Jair 22 (= Iar 471 note)	
[Tautanes 32]		Bres 7
	Jephte (Galaadites *Bede*) 6 (471 note)	Lug 40
	Hesebon (Abesan *Bede*) 7 (471 note)	
	Aelon (Achialon *Bede*) 10 (471 note)	
	Labdon 8 (471 note)	
	Samson 20 (471 note)	In Dagda 80
[Tauteus 40]		
	Heli sacerdos 40 (471 note)	
[Thinaeus 30]		
	Samuel et Saul 40 (Samuel 12, Saul 20, *Bede* [471 note])	Delbaeth 10
[Dercylus 40]		Fiachna 10
	[David 40]	
Eupales 38 (- Pales[1]) 471, 23)		Tri maic Carmada 28

[1]) Or rather Lapales, v. R. I. A. Proceedings XXVIII C 6, p. 147.

The foregoing section, in which I have abbreviated the extant Irish portion, was followed in immediate sequence by the contents of 113 a — b; all the intervening matter on 112 a 3 and 112 b having become misplaced. The intervening matter was transposed from its original tabular arrangement and brought into great confusion. It is, however, nearly all preserved, and the tabular arrangement can be approximately restored in immediate sequence after 113 b (476, 28). When the kingdom of Judea ceases in column 2, the remainder of the column is used to set forth the pedigree of St. Joseph from King Josias; this pedigree, as well as the succession of the kings of the world and kings of Ireland, is found continued on 473, 6 of the printed text.

	Azor gennit Sadoc (473, 6)	Argatmar 30 (473, 24)
Artaxerxes Mnemon 40 (= Memnon 473, 7)		**Dui Ladgair 10**
		Luguid Loethech 7
	Sadoc g. Achim (473, 8)	**Aed Ruad 21**
Artaxerxes Ochus 26 (= Ochus .xuii. 473, 9)		
	Achim g. Eliud (473, 14)	Cimbaeth 28
Arses Ochi filius 4 (Arres mac Ochi .iiii. 473, 10)		
		Macha 7
Darius 6 (473, 11)		
		Rechtaid Rigderg 20
Alexander 5 (473, 12)		
Ptolomaeus Lagi filius 40 (473, 13)	Eliud g. Eleazar (473, 18)	Ugaine Mór 40 (*here follows the list,* 473, 37 — 474, 12)
Ptolomaeus Philadelphus 38 (473, 15)		
Ptolomaeus Euergetes 26 ('.xui.' 473, 22)	Eleazar g. Mathan (473, 23)	Oengus Turbech 40

The sentence beginning 'O rogab Ugaine...' 474, 13 is found continued at 472, 18, where it has been merged in the end of a distinct paragraph: 'gorrogaib Oengus Turbech bliadain ar chet isin .xiiii. flathiusa Ptol. Euergites'. Ptolomaeus Lagi filius 2 (= Ugaine Mor 1) = Eusebian an. ab Abr. 1694. Ptol. Euergetes 14 (= Oengus Turbech 1) = ab Abr. 1784. The difference is 90 years, not 101 as in the text. The error may be explained if we suppose that, as already suggested, the reigns of Mug Corb, six years, and Amadair, five years, were interpolated, and that

the summary of years, calculated on the Irish reigns, was altered, the Eusebian data being ignored. But the total of the Irish reigns in the actual text from the accession of Ugaine to the accession of Oengus Turbech is 221 years; showing that since the summary in the text was calculated, a number of reigns have been further interpolated.

The series of 'kings of the world' between Ptolomaeus Euergetes and Octavianus Augustus is missing from the text. The continuation of the pedigree of St. Joseph, however, was preserved, and is given by the scribe in the note at the bottom of 112a and concludes with the paragraph 'Iosep . . . sechtmaine' in the middle of 112a3 (472, 10—18). We cannot well doubt, therefore, that the arrangement in parallel lists was continued down to the Passion of Christ (472, 9. 473, 5). In this section, column 1 continued the rulers of Egypt down to Cleopatra; then Julius Caesar, Octavianus Augustus (472, 1), and Tiberius Caesar (472, 8). Column 2 continued the pedigree of St. Joseph, and doubtless ended with the note on the date of Christ's birth, 472, 10—18. Column 3 contained the continued list of the kings of Ireland, 472, 20 – 473, 5. Thus the original sequence of all the material on 112a3 and 112b can be restored.

The sum of years from Oengus Turbech 1 to Eochu Feidlech 1 is given as 220. Eochu Feidlech 3 = gein Christ (472, 11) = Octavianus 40. The Eusebian total from Ptol. Euergetes 15 to Octavianus 40, is 216. The Irish reigns in the text, beginning with Oengus Turbech 474, 12, and continuing through the list 472, 20—31, give a total of 213 years. The discrepancies may easily have arisen from mistranscription of Roman numerals.

The further sequence of the text from 1. Tiberius, 2. the Passion of Christ, and 3. Conaire Mór is found on 114a (476, 31), the succession of popes now occupying the second column. The material for columns 1 and 2 is still supplied by the Eusebian chronicle as continued by St. Jerome and Prosper. This source fails after A. D. 449, and so, from the time of St. Patrick, the contents of the columns are changed. The spiritual succession is continued in column 2 in the line of 'comorbai Phátraic'. The kings of Ireland get the first column, and column 3 is assigned to the kings of Munster. There is no break in the chronological sequence from 114b to 115a. A series of regnal lists of the Irish provincial dynasties belonged evidently to the same tract,

for the initial and terminal dates correspond closely to those of the synchronic lists.

The reviser's hand may also be traced in the section that immediately precedes St. Patrick, i. e. in 114 b. At the end of 114 a, we are told, Conn Cétchathach 1 = Seuerus 6. This is A. D. 200 in the Eusebian reckoning; and, at the head of 114 b, we are told that 199 years from the birth of Christ preceded Conn's accession. The Irish reigns on 114 a = 156 years, which with 33 years of the life of Christ and 10 years of Conaire Mór thereafter (473, 4) make up 199 years. The chronology of 114 a is therefore consistent. Not so with 114 b. This section brings the history down to the year of St. Patrick's arrival, the fourth of Loeguire, the first of Pope Sixtus, the ninth of Theodosius, A. D. 432. The total of years on this page, 114 b, should accordingly be 233, but the Irish reigns amount in sum to 310, and the years of Conaire mac Moga Láma are not supplied. In this section, then, the list of kings of Ireland has once more been artificially extended, nor can there be much doubt as to the added names. In the synchronic history prefixed to the Annals of Tigernach and written early in the seventh century, the kings of Ireland from Luguid Reoderg to Loeguire, as from Loeguire onwards, belong all to the line of Conn Cétchathach. The synchronic tract embodied in the Lebor Gabála (BB and Lecan) and discussed by me in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. 28, C 6, dates from the year 721, a little earlier than the Laud tract, and in it also the kings of Ireland, during the Christian era, are all of the line of Conn. Now the years assigned in the Laud tract to the kings of this line alone are more than sufficient to fill up the time between Conn's accession and St. Patrick's arrival. Hence we may infer that the reigns not belonging to this line have been interpolated in the Laud tract.

The date of the compilation of the Laud tract is established by the terminal reigns of the dynasties.

1. King of Ireland, Domnall mac Murchada, 743—763.

2. Successor of Patrick, Céle Petair, 750—758.

3. King of Munster, Cathussach mac Etersceoil (17 years after Cathal mac Finguine), 742—759.

4. King of Dál Araidi. The names in 480, 10 belong to this list, as may be seen from the list in LL 41. Lethlobar mac

Echach † 709. For Dubthach mac Congail (mac Congarb LL) read Dub-da-inber mac Congalaig (rí Cruithne AU 725) † 726. Eochu mac Echach (regnare incipit 726, Tigernach; in recording his death, the Annals of Tigernach and the Annals of Inisfallen call him king of Dál Riada) † 733. Inrechtach (BB 167 b 35) was son of Lethlobar mac Echach, and father of Tomaltach † 790, king of Dál Araidi. Cathussach mac Ailella, who succeeds Inrechtach in the list of LL, was killed in 749. Inrechtach fought a battle in 741, and the data here cited dispose of the editorial doubt AU p. 200, note 2. The utmost limits of the reign of Inrechtach are 733 — 749.

5. Kings of Mide. The list begins without title at 480, 11 — Conall Cremthainne son of Niall Nóigiallach, and ends with Domnall mac Murchada 480, 27, already given as king of Ireland 743 — 763. As king of Mide for 46 years, Domnall should have reigned from 717 — 763.

6. Kings of Connacht (sic legendum) 482, 30. Fergus mac Cellaig, 742 — 756.

7. Kings of Ailech. Áed Ollán, 722 — 743.

8. Kings of the Ulaid. The list begins without title at 484, 11 and ends with Bressal mac Áeda Róin 735 — 750. The tract gives the length of Bressal's reign as one year. The list in LL also gives Bressal one year, and Cathussach mac Ailella, also mentioned, as his successor for 16 years. If we could take these data as authentic, we should have to suppose that Bressal was deposed c. 736, and that Cathussach, king of Dál Araidi, then assumed the kingship of the Ulaid. There is nothing in the Annals to warrant such a supposition, and we may well think that the list in LL is derived, up to this point, from a version of the list in the Laud tract. We shall see that a version of this list was used also by Flann Manistrech, and was able to mislead him. The list in LL gives, in succession to Cathussach, Fiachna mac Áeda Róin, Bressal's brother, with a reign of 38 years. Fiachna died in 789. His reign should thus have begun in 751; the Annals indicate that he was reigning in 753. The compiler of the LL list, following, as I think, the authority of the list before us, found a blank in the succession between Bressal 736 and Fiachna 751, and filled it up by transferring Cathussach from the line of Dál Araidi; but Cathussach was killed in 749. The

genealogical doctrine of the descent of Dál Araidi from Conall Cernach has caused that folk to be confused by many writers down to our time with the Ulaid. The two peoples occupied distinct territories under distinct dynasties.

There are thus eight terminal reigns which should afford anterior and posterior limits for the compilation:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
743	750	742	733	717	742	722	735
763	758	759	749	763	756	743	750

These dates, as they stand, though they suffice to show that the document was compiled about the middle of the eighth century, do not enable us to fix even the limits of its date. The latest initial year, 759, is later than the earliest terminal year, 743.

In order to find a common period, we have two alternatives. We may suppose that in the seventh list one name, originally standing last, has been omitted, the name of Niall Frossach, who succeeded his brother Aed Ollán as king of Ailech, and became king of Ireland after Domnall, in 763; and that in the fourth list two names have been omitted — Cathussach who succeeded Inrechtach and was killed in 749, and Flathruae, next in the LL list, who died in 774. This would limit the date of compilation to the year of Céle Petair's accession and Bressal's death, 750. Against this explanation, apart from the supposed omissions, there are two difficulties. The compiler, writing in 750, would not be likely to omit the name of Cathussach, slain in battle in 749; and the length of Bressal's reign would not be given as one year.

The other alternative may, I think, be adopted. The first, second and third lists have been continued by a later redactor down to the beginning of the eleventh century. The Armagh succession is given from Fer-da-chrích (481, 12), who succeeded Céle Petair, down to Mael Muire (482, 5), who died in 1020. The Munster succession is given, without heading, from (482, 6) Mael Dúin † 786 to Brian † 1014. The list in LL 320, after the name of Cathal mac Finguine, says 'atberat araile combad rí Muman Mælduin m*ac* Aeda B*ennáin*'; and does not include the name of Tnúthgal, but includes Artri mac Cathail, named before Tnúthgal

in the Laud list[1]). The succession of kings of Ireland is given, also without heading, from Niall Frossach (480, 28), who succeeded Domnall in 763, down to Mael Sechnaill † 1022. I suggest that the reviser who continued these three lists found sufficient space in his MS. to insert the first name of each list at the end of the original tabular list. On this hypothesis the original document had for its terminal reigns in lists 1, 2, and 3:

Aed Ollán { 734 / 743   Congus { 730 / 750   Cathal { 713 / 742

The tract would thus have been compiled in 742, the year in which Cathal mac Finguine, king of Munster, died and Fergus mac Cellaig became king of Connacht.

In six of the eight lists that end about the middle of the eighth century, the entire length of the terminal reigns is stated. In one list, that of Dál Araidi, no regnal years are given, and the absence of regnal years in the corresponding list in LL indicates that they were omitted in the original document. Doubtless the compiler was unable to find sufficient data. So far as I have been able to trace, we have no evidence that, down to the time of this document, any consecutive chronicle of events existed in Ireland except the chronicle or chronicles still preserved in the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Tigernach. Of the kings of Dál Araidi in our list, this record gives the death-dates of the following only:

Eochu m. Conlaid 553 or 558,
Aed Dub 558,
Fiachna Lurgu 626,
Lochéne 645,
Eochu Iarlaithe 666,
Mael Caich (not called king) 666,
Dúngal 681,
Cathussach 682,
Ailill 690,
Aed Airdd (= Aed Airech) 698,
Cú Chúaráin 708,
Lethlobar 709,
Dub-da-inber (= Dubthach) 727,
Eochu mac Echach 733.

To determine the length of a reign, the end of the preceding reign must be dated, and in our list the Annals fulfil this con-

[1]) Hence it seems probable that the compiler of the list in LL, though he possessed a version of the Laud synchronism, did not find in it the continued sections after A. D. 750.

dition only for Fiachna Lurgu, Eochu Iarlaithe, Mael Caich, his son Cathussach, Ailill, Aed Airdd, Cú Chuaráin, Lethlobar, and Eochu mac Echach, that is, for nine of the twenty-three kings.

The original tract must have been written mainly in Latin. The name of Bressal mac Aeda, last in the tract, may have been followed by the word 'an[nis]', leaving out the number, as Bressal was still reigning; or the entry may have been '(Bressal mac Aeda) roin' read by a scribe as '*regnavit* oin (bliadain)'. Had Bressal ceased to reign in 736, the name of his successor should have appeared in the tract. It has occurred to me that the document may have been first drawn up in 736, when Bressal had reigned 'one year'. If so, the terminal dates already discussed show that additions were made as late as 742. The presence of the total years in terminal reigns elsewhere in the document must be ascribed to later revision.

A version of the Laud list was a principal source of the versified list of the kings of Mide by Flann Manistrech, LL 184 b. Murchad mac Diarmata (460, 24) was killed in 715, his father Diarmait in 689. Hence if Murchad reigned only 20 years, there is a space of six years not accounted for. The names of Diarmait and Airmedach, successors of Murchad, are not found in the Annals. Aed and Colgu were brothers of Murchad, but did not succeed him in the kingship. In 714, the year before Murchad's death, Aed and Colgu fell in the battle of Bile Tened [1]). If they reigned, they must have been joint-kings with Murchad, and this, I think, may have been the original purport of the entry, for the date of these men is too near the time of compilation to admit of the supposition of a gross inaccuracy. The names 'Diarmait Airmedach' above 'Aed 7 Colgu' no doubt arise from an interlineation 'm. Diarmato m. Airmedaich', Aed Colgu and Murchad being sons of Diarmait son of Airmedach. The reign of Domnall lasted 46 years according to the Laud tract and Flann's poem. The list in LL 42 gives 43 years, doubtless to make room between Murchad and Domnall for the

[1]) Described in AU as 'bellum imesech'. The editor has 'a battle *imesech*' in his translation, explains the Irish word correctly in a note, and then goes on most ineptly to say: 'a battle *imesech* would mean "a free fight".' As the text shows clearly, the meaning is a battle with alternating fortunes, those who at first appeared to win being afterwards defeated.



five years assigned to Diarmait, Airmedach, Aed, and Colgu. Since Domnall died in 763, his reign as king of Mide should have begun in 717, leaving an interval of two years after the death of Murchad. According to Flann, Murchad was put to death by Conall Grant (Conall G*ur*ed LL 42), then apparently king of Brega. Conall Grant was put to death by Fergal, king of Ireland, in 718. He may have held the kingship of Mide in the meantime to the exclusion of the local dynasty. The years 718—763, reckoned inclusively, will give 46 years for Domnall's reign.

Flann's account is founded on a version of the list before us, containing the errors that have been shown, and a further note (as in LL 42) stating that Aed and Colgu fell in the battle of Bile Tened. Having given the length of Murchad's reign as 20 years, Flann proceeds thus:

Diarmait Airmedach iarma. Aed Colgu cóic certbliadna
.iiii. ríg Mide na mmed·romarbtha oc Bile Theined.

Like the three parallel lists, 115 a, the five lists that follow begin with the time of Saint Patrick:

Dál Araidi: the Annals do not supply death-dates for the first three kings, but Fiachra Lon (= Fiachna Lonn 480, 3) fought in the battle of Oche, A. D. 482 or 483.
Mide: Conall † 480 or 485.
Connachta: Amalgaid mac Fiachrach is named in various lives of Saint Patrick as his contemporary.
Ailech: Eogan mac Neill † 465.
Ulaid: Muiredach Muinderg 'quem benedixit Patricius' BB 165 b 22.

Since these lists synchronize at beginning and end with the three lists which have been preserved in synchronic arrangement we are led to infer that this arrangement originally included all the regnal lists, and that the whole tract followed the Eusebian model. We shall find this inference sufficiently confirmed. A feature of the Eusebian chronicle is the summation of years at various points of importance, e. g. (462, ab Abr.) '.xxxv. anno Mosis, Cecrops regnabat in Attica, a quo usque ad captivitatem Troiae fiunt anni 375'. This feature has been frequently imitated in the Irish synchronisms and in their Irish section; see 474, 31

475, 16. 477. 29 in the Laud tract. The presence of the same feature in the Annals of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries may be added to the evidences adduced in my paper on the Annals of Tigernach to show that the basis of the Annals for that period was the synchronic tract. See AU 432, 481, 482, 492, 570, 616, 663. We find the same feature in the continued section of the Laud tract 480, 33, where the deaths of Conchobar king of Ireland, and Artri successor of Patrick, who died 'within the same month' in 833, are dated '400 years from the coming of Patrick to Ireland'. Following these indications, I infer that the continuation preserved the synchronic form, and *a fortiori* that the whole of the original tract was drawn up in that form.

In fine, this tract, though it has suffered much from redaction and scribal transmission, represents one of the earliest of Irish histories. There are three that may be dated earlier, the Irish 'Chronicon Eusebii', AU 609, its continuation embodied in AU for about a century later, and the Lecan-Ballymote synchronism dated 721; not to mention writings known only in quotation, and of uncertain scope and contents, such as the Book of Cuanu.

Dublin. JOHN MAC NEILL.

ON LEBOR GABÁLA.

I. The text.

§ 1. The manuscripts.

The text commonly known as *Lebor Gabála* or the Book of Invasions, has come down to us in several MSS. which, apart from the Latin relation given by Nennius in his *Historia Brittonum*, all belong either to the Middle-Irish or the Early Modern-Irish period. The various MSS. may be reduced to four versions, the mutual relations of which I shall endeavour to establish. The versions will be distinguished as follows:

A. Book of Leinster (LL) fol. 1a—26b;
Book of Fermoy (F), p. 1—16;

B. Royal Irish Academy D V 1 (S)[1];
Royal Irish Academy D IV 1 (S)[1];
Rawlinson B 512 (R), fol. 76 A^v—97^v;
Book of Lecan (Lec I), fol. 10^r—22^v;
Royal Irish Academy D IV 3 (s);

C. Book of Ballymote (LB), p. 15a—51a;
Book of Lecan (Lec II), fol. 264^r—302^v;

D. O'Clery version. One copy is in the possession of Professor Kuno Meyer[2]), while the R. I. A. has two other MSS. in the handwriting of O'Clerys.

[1]) See p. 99 for my reason for indicating these two MSS. by the same character.

[2]) I wish to express here my sincere thanks to Professor Meyer not only for the loan of this important MS., but also for many valuable hints and suggestions as well as for the general interest he has taken in my work.

§ 2. Versions.

Professor Rudolf Thurneysen has been the first to attempt a classification of the MSS.[1]), but a careful examination of them all has led me to different conclusions. None of our MSS. provides a complete text, yet if we keep in mind that in all the versions an appendix has been added, entitled *do flathiusaib Herenn ⁊ dia hamseraib o ré Mac Míled co hamsir Tuathail Techtmair*, which originally did not belong to the body of the saga, we may form from the various MSS. a fair idea of the contents of each version; for it does not impair the text of LG proper if a part of the appendix is lacking.

I agree with Professor Thurneysen in assigning the first place to version B, though not for the same reasons. Of the five MSS. which belong to it, only two — R and Lec I — preserve the final portion which unfortunately has been lost in the other ones. After a copy of LG and a long synchronism of the kings of Ireland with the kings of the provinces since the coming of the faith, there follows in these two MSS. a second copy of LG or, as it is styled in the text, *Míniugud gabál nÉrenn ⁊ a senchas ⁊ a rémmend rígraide innso sís ⁊ ethre a mbéolu aisneisin ⁊ labra ógh dond ní remunn ó thosach ind libair cotici indso ut dicit historia.* The copy to which this heading has been prefixed, begins by a short Latin introduction, and then brings a recension of version A, differing only in a few trifles from LL. Thus the MSS. R and Lec I — and, as may be assumed, S and s also — contain two copies of LG, either of which represents a distinct version. The first of these, as it is found in R, Lec I, S and s, will be indicated as Ba, the other one, which agrees with LL, as Bb; in the same way I shall use the formulas Ra, Rb, Lec Ia, Lec Ib.

Professor Thurneysen is so much impressed by the importance of Bb that he has not realised the true position of Ba. Bb, in fact, is another recension of A, and enables us, by a few old touches it has preserved, to go back a step beyond LL. However, there is not much gain in this, A not being our principal source of the saga. In Ba, on the other hand, Professor

[1]) See: Zu irischen Handschriften und Literaturdenkmälern, 2nd series (Abh. d. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, vol. XIV no. 3. Berlin 1913, ed. Weidmann).

Thurneysen sees only an abridgment of A. This I do not understand. A glance at one of the many texts constituting version B will suffice to show that Ba not only contains an older recension of LG than A, but a much more detailed and circumstantial one, abounding in episodes for which we look in vain in A. These episodes give Ba the right to being made the starting-point for an investigation of LG, and I certainly should have designated it by the first letter of the alphabet as its *ainm ndíles* but for fear of making the matter even more intricate by deviating from Professor Thurneysen's practice. In what follows Bb will be treated as belonging to version A, while Ba will be considered as the true representative of version B.

§ 3. Version Ba.

The reason that this version has been undervalued up to the present, is that R, which does not contain the best text, has always been considered as its chief representative. S, in fact, affords a much better text; only it breaks off abruptly and lacks the portion corresponding to Rb and Lec Ib. The MS. D V 1 begins at the very beginning of LG, and runs on till the end of the invasion of the Tuatha Dé Danann. It is written in a beautiful 13th century hand, and gives all the poems in extenso and in a better form than any other MS. The MS. DIV 1 takes up the story exactly where D V 1 has left it, at the Invasion of the Goidels, and brings it down to the end of LG and even a good deal farther, until it breaks off at the end of Maolmuire Othna's poem *Fland for Erind.* The handwriting, the colours of the initials, the size of the leaves, and everything else are identical with DV 1. The conclusion is obvious: D V 1 and D IV 1 are portions of the same MS., and were bound separately in error. My view is corroborated by the fact that in each volume a portion of another tract follows, in a very remarkable hand, which is also the same in both. The obvious identity of D V 1 and D IV 1 implies that we may consider them as one text (S), so that together they contain a full copy of the Ba version. It goes back to the 13th century, and belongs to the same period as R, but is far superior to that MS., as the scribe makes fewer mistakes in the prose, and never abridges the poems. It is a pity therefore that the final section (Bb) has been lost in it.

In order to establish the true relation of S and R we must compare the texts of both carefully. No importance need be attached to the misarrangement of the leaves in R, which has upset the whole order of the MS., as it is due to later carelessness, just as the separation of DV1 and DIV1.

1. *Biblical preface.* R has lost this portion.
2. *Introduction on the Goidels.* R preserves only a few lines = S.
3. *Ceasair.* Preserved in both MSS. R omits:
   a) Poem: *Hériu cia fiarfaiger*[1];
   b) Note on Ceasair: *asberat araile comad Banba ainm na hingine sin rogab Erind ria ndilind 7 comad uaithi nobeth Banba for Erind.*

   Variants: S (*doluid Ceasair . . . a hindsi*) *Meroen*; R *Mara Hen.*
4. *Partholon.* Preserved in both MSS.

   R omits: after poem *A choemu cláir Chuinn* a short account of the division of Ireland by Partholon's four sons.

   Variants: S *seolad mís do co hAladaciam*; R *co calad Daciam.*
5. *Nemed.* Preserved in both MSS. (synchronism only partially in R). R omits:
   a) From genealogy of Nemed after Agnoman: *mic Paim mic Sera*;
   b) From genealogy of the five sons of Dela after Semeon: *mic Erglain*;
   c) A remark from Cín Dromma Snechta, which also occurs in LB: *dogníttis barca doib dia mbolgaib no is iat liberna ríg Grécc dogatsat leo do techt i nErind amal asbert Cín Droma Snechta*[2]).

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[1]) R never gives a poem in extenso, but only quotes it by a line or two. Whenever I put *R omits* a poem, even the short quotation is not given.

[2]) So we find Cín Dromma Snechta mentioned in a 13th century version of LG. This shows that Professor Thurneysen is mistaken when in his first *Abhandlung* Zu irischen Handschriften und Literaturdenkmälern he assumes that this book was unknown to any scribe of LG until version C.

6. *Fir Bolg.* Only partly in R. R omits:
   a) Particulars of King Fodbgenid (cf. LB);
   b) Particulars of King Eochu mac Eirc (cf. LB and LL);
   c) Account of Nuadu's hand being cut off by Sreng, and poem on same by Tanaide (cf. LB);
   d) Poem *Findaig in senchus diatá* (cf. LB);
   e) The division of Ireland by the Fir Bolg[1]).

7. *Tuatha Dé Danann.* Partially lost in R. R omits (unless the order was upset and the missing portions occurred in the lost part):
   a) Account of the four cities, where the Tuatha Dé Danann learned their *draoidheacht*;
   b) Poem *Hériu co n-uaill.*

   R also abridges the list of Tuatha Dé Danann.

8. *Meic Míled.* Last part lost in R. R omits:
   a) In tale of Ith's death on Mag Itha: *do ortadar demna fer do muindtir Itha .i. Ollum a ainm 7 is e cedmarb Erenn do sil Gaidil*;
   b) Mention of Fintan (Tuan mac Cairill) who wrote down the story of LG on the knees of Finnan and Colum Cille.

The above list contains all the more important variants and omissions in R when compared with S. It could easily be made longer by the addition of many minor differences, where S always has the better reading. Not only does R's rejection of the poems stamp it as an inferior text, compared with S, but also its occasional carelessness in the prose. That the extra matter of S is not due to later additions is proved by a completely independent version like A, where notwithstanding its strong tendency to abridge, some of the extra details of S have been preserved, viz. the poems *Hériu cia fiarfaiger* and *Hériu co n-uaill*, and in the Invasion of the Fir Bolg the particulars about King Eochu mac Eirc and a reminiscence of their division of Ireland.

[1]) I suppose this was already related in the beginning of Ra, which has been lost, for S has it twice, in the beginning and at the end.

On the other hand, there is no case where R affords a better reading than S. Therefore I take R to be a copy of S. As both MSS. seem to belong to the 13th century, R cannot have been written much later than S. The misarrangement of the leaves in R, in consequence of which the Invasion of the Fir Bolg and the beginning of the Tuatha Dé Danann come first and are followed by the few remaining lines of the introduction, is clearly due to a later possessor of the MS. Where we have the text of S, R has no value whatever, but, as an almost contemporary copy, it gains an enormous interest as soon as S breaks off. As regards the original form of Bb, R represents the oldest accessible version. We should, however, remember that R being itself a copy, it is liable to the intrusion of mistakes. A glance at the MS. will show how defective Rb is in this respect.

Fortunately R is not the only MS. that preserves a copy of Bb: a portion of it also occurs in Lec I. This MS. must now be examined.

The text of Lec Ia begins on fol. 10 of the Book of Lecan with the concluding lines of the poem *Findaig in senchus diatá*, which forms part of the Invasion of the Fir Bolg and is also found in S. Next come the prose tract and the poem on the division of Ireland by the Fir Bolg, which we know already from S. In the same way, there is an absolute agreement between Lec I and S as to the Invasion of the Tuatha Dé Danann, where R deviates from both by its strong tendency to abridge. Only one scribal error is there to show that Lec I is a transcript [1]). In the Invasion of Meic Míled Lec I also has but a few omissions: Loch Febail is left out in the list of places visited by Ith before his meeting with Mac Cuill, Mac Cecht, and Mac Gréine, and Fintan is not mentioned as an authority for the names of Erimon's companions. For the rest Lec I appears to be an excellent copy of S, and sometimes a more trustworthy one than R. Therefore it will be useful to compare Lec Ib and Rb carefully, as in case of variant readings Lec Ib will often represent that of the original. In fact, a comparison of the two, which must be deferred till the examination of version A, justifies this preference for Lec Ib, where all the poems are given in

[1]) *O lotar side ina n-uathbas rompo* instead of *Dolotar*, &c.

extenso. Unfortunately this second part of Lec I is but fragmentary; it breaks off in the middle of the list of pagan kings, added to the real LG, after King Sírna Saeglach and a poem on Cath Móna Trogaide, with these final words: *Finit Adam O Cuirnín do scriob do Gilla Isu mac Firbissigh .i. d' Ollamh o Fiachrach. Anno domini M°cccc°xviii.* So this text, clearly another copy of S, was made in 1418, but it has preserved with admirable conservatism many old forms, and the language, save for a few modernised spellings, is that of S.

The fourth text belonging to version B is s. It occurs in the R. I. A. MS. D IV 3, and is written in a clear 14th or 15th century hand. It begins in the middle of a poem belonging to the Introduction (*Athair cáich coimsich nime,* also in S and Lec II), and runs on through the whole LG and the appendix, through the synchronism of the Irish pagan kings with the kings of the world, and *ind áirem cétach*, and through the poem *Réidig dam a dé do nim,* to the middle of the poem *Héremón is Éber ard.* So the lost part of the MS. probably contained a synchronism of the Irish kings after the faith and a copy of Bb. The scribe of s dealt with his authorities in a much more independent way than those of R and Lec I. There can be no doubt that he followed S, but in the later portions of LG, especially in the Invasions of the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Meic Míled, he has enlarged the bulk of the text considerably by introducing important additions. From these it becomes clear that he consulted other authorities on those two invasions as well, while, on the other hand, in the beginning his tendency was largely to abridge. The following list shows that s sometimes has the same omissions as R, but as no further influence of R can be traced in the whole text of s, no importance must be attached to it. These omissions common to s and R are all found in the four earlier invasions, which seem to have appealed to our scribe less than the two later ones: there he altogether discontinues his former practice of abridging, whereas it is pursued by R until the very end.

Biblical preface. Lost in s.

Introduction on the Goidels. Verbally = S, save for a considerable abridgment in the account of the Scots in Egypt.

Ceasair = S.

Partholon. Verbally = S, but for the omission of the passage on the division of Ireland.

Nemed. Agrees with S; two omissions:

a) The wives of Nemed's sons are not mentioned;
b) The passage from Cin Dromma Snechta is left out.

Fir Bolg = S. Several omissions:

a) Particulars of King Fodbgenid;
b) Poem on the cutting off of Nuadu's hand.
c) Poem *Findaig in senchus diatá.*

In two cases the order has been changed:

a) The poem *Fir Bolg bátar sunn a sel,* and the prose tract *Fir Bolg rothamnait* have changed places;
b) The same thing has happened with the synchronism and the passage on the division of Ireland by the Fir Bolg.

Tuatha Dé Danann. This invasion may be divided into three parts: the introduction on the arrival of the Tuatha Dé Danann, their history in Ireland, and the account of their people (genealogies, *aes dána,* &c.). Of these the two first parts agree verbally with S, allowance being made for some changes in the order. In the third part, however, which is on the whole also taken from S, there is a remarkable interpolation. It begins as an abridgment of S, with sometimes slight changes in the order, until the poem *Hériu co n-uaill.* Later on, it resumes the text of S a little before the point where it was left, at *Tri mic Cermada Milbeoil.* But between these two portions taken from S, a list of genealogies is introduced, which does not occur in S, but corresponds closely to the lists in LL and Rb. There is nothing strange in this, and it does not prove that s used LL as an authority for these genealogies: the scribe of s, who was copying S, had before him a copy of version Bb — as it must have constituted the final part of S — and, no doubt, he found there these genealogies[1]).

[1]) In that case Sb had preserved several details which were omitted later in Lec Ib and Rb, for the genealogies are more elaborate in s than in those two MSS.

Meic Míled. The description of the last invasion in s is very much like that of S. But the order has been entirely upset, especially in the later parts. At the same time the wording of each separate passage was not altered, and they still coincide with those of S. So there cannot be any doubt as to the principal source used by s. It is possible, however, that here, too, our scribe occasionally consulted the text of Bb, but we do not find so conclusive a proof of it here as in the preceding invasion. The mention of Dil's death, however, *ut alii dicunt*, after the drowning of her husband Donn, might point to it. If this really is the case, it might be questionable whether the lost part of s did ever contain a version of Bb: for then there would be some probability that the scribe of s did not add Bb as a separate version, but selected the most striking details from it, and embodied them in his copy of Ba. We should then have to consider s as the prototype of version C.

Now we are able to establish the relationship of the MSS. belonging to version B. All the younger texts, R, Lec I, and s, are copies of S. Lec I has followed the examplar most closely; R and s make a few omissions, while s also introduces some notes from the text of Bb into its copy of Ba. None of these MSS. has preserved a complete text. S contains a version of Ba without gaps, which cannot be said of any other MS. On the other hand, S has lost a part of the appendix, viz. the final synchronisms and Bb, while these parts have been preserved, although but fragmentarily, in the younger MSS. Of these Lec I, as a rule, gives the most trustworthy readings.

§ 4. The versions A and Bb.

The available MSS. are LL, F, Lec I b and Rb, the two former containing version A, the two latter representing Bb. The chief characteristics of these versions, when compared with Ba, are a different biblical preface, the absence of the second visit of the Scots to Egypt, deviations in the text of the poems, and abridgments in almost all the Invasions. But these will be discussed later on.

The first thing I shall have to account for, is the position assigned here to F. In Professor Thurneysen's paper F is placed along with BB and Lec II, i. e. under version C. I do not see the reason why. The first 16 pages of the Book of Fermoy contain a version of LG — down to the end of the invasion of Nemed, where it breaks off in the middle of the poem *Ériu oll oirdnid Gaedil.* The first page is quite illegible, but in the opening line the words *In principio* may be discerned; they show that this page contains the beginning of LG. Comparing LL and F, we have:

1. *Preface.* As far as may be discerned from F and LL, F verbally = LL. Only Ibath is omitted from the second genealogy of Baath, owing to a scribal error.
2. *Introduction on the Goidels.* Verbally = LL but for one mistake (*A cin da ficid bliadan 7 da deich tra ar nenam in tuir rogab Nin mac Beil rigi in domain* for *I cinn dá bliadan 7 dá ficked*), and the addition of one poem on the exodus of the Scots from Egypt (*Cethracha 7 cethri cét*), which also occurs in S.
3. *Ceasair.* Verbally = LL, with four additions:
   a) A passage from Cin Dromma Snechta to the purport that Banba was the first to occupy Ireland with fifty maidens and three men (also in LB and Lec II);
   b) A short note on the Invasion of Cappa, Luasad and Laigne before that of Ceasair, with a poem (also in the versions Ba and C);
   c) A poem *Ceassair canas tánic si* (also versions Ba, C);
   d) A poem *Cethracha tráth* (also in Ba and C).
4. *Partholon.* The first part, again, is verbally that of LL, but some additions are subjoined:
   a) A short tract on the division of Ireland by Partholon's sons;
   b) Some short prose notes on *muinter Partholoin* with poem, *Robo maith in muinter mór*;
   c) A concluding poem *Partholón canas tánic.*

   All these additions are also found in the versions Ba and C.

5. *Nemed.* The whole of this Invasion corresponds verbally to the text of LL. I can only detect a few short additions:
   a) F mentions Nemed's wandering for a year and a half and his arrival at Inber Scéne;
   b) The number of those who died of the pestilence is given as 2000 (R: 4000);
   c) Among Nemed's chieftains the names of Ergal and his brothers Madan and Iartacht are given;
   d) After the battle of Tor Conainn, Ebath and Baath fly to the North of the world;
   e) On Semion's descendants, who returned to Ireland from Greece, F adds *No is iad libarne rig Grec rogaitsid leo do thecht amal asbert Cin Droma Snechta.*

   These intercalated particulars cannot all have been taken from a copy of Ba; they must have been drawn either from version C or from special sources, as the Book of Druim Snechta itself, a poem on the First Battle of Moytura, &c.

The material of F is too scanty to enable one to draw definite conclusions from it. Yet this much is manifest: the scribe of F was copying LL, for the two texts are practically the same, and all the characteristics of the versions Ba and C are wanting. Only a very limited use of other sources, among which probably figured a copy of version Ba, can be traced. F is, therefore, to be considered as a slightly extended copy of LL, and the text of the poems points to the same direction.

Now we come to Lec Ib and Rb, both representing version Bb, which is, as Professor Thurneysen has recognized, closely akin to A. It has already been pointed out that Lec Ib probably contains the better text, and is nearer to the lost Sb. That this is really the case, can be seen from the many instances where Rb is unintelligible, while Lec Ib preserves the original reading. Lec Ib also shows that the scribe of Rb never made any important omissions on his own account, for wherever Rb abridges in a rather arbitrary way, Lec Ib displays quite the same deficiencies, so that the very succinct treatment of the three first invasions in all texts of Bb must be imputed to their common origin,

namely Sb. Only as regards the poems does Rb follow the same practice as Ra, and quotes merely the two initial lines of them, whereas Lec I b preserves them all in extenso.

Both Lec I b and Rb are derived from Sb, the oldest attainable copy of Bb. We must endeavour now to establish the relation between Bb and A. Neither can be a copy of the other, for in both we find passages unknown in the corresponding version, while at the same time these passages may claim a considerable antiquity. So in Bb the invasions of Partholon and Nemed are dismissed in a single sentence, and that of Cesair is not mentioned at all[1]). On the other hand, the Latin preface of Bb impresses one as older, and the introductory words *ut dicit historia* point to another authority than LL. It will be necessary, therefore, to make a close comparison of these two texts.

1. *Preface.* In the beginning there is a remarkable difference. After the heading *Miniugud gabal nErenn 7 a senchas 7 a remmend rigraide innso sis 7 ethre a mbeolu aisneisin 7 labra ógh dond ni remunn o thosach ind libair cotici indso ut dicit historia,* Bb has an introductory passage in Latin on Ireland and its inhabitants. A gives instead a short survey of the creation and the deluge. After this the parallelism begins. Apart from minor discrepancies the only noteworthy thing is that Bb inserts a tract on the division of the Gaelic language and its names; it does not agree with the rest and must have been taken from elsewhere. As to the seventy-two languages, A gives a list of them in prose as well as in verse, while Bb has only the poem.
2. *Introduction on Goidels.* In some respects A is more circumstantial, especially where it speaks of Brath's companions on his expedition to Spain. I cannot make out whether these details have been added in A or left out in Bb, the whole journey of Brath with Ucce and Occe being unknown in version Ba. But, waiving this aside, we notice a close agreement between our two versions.

[1]) That Cesair was known in the original is proved by the final words of LG proper: *is amlaid sin rogab Hérinn ó cétgabáil Cesra co gabáil Mac Míled.*



3—5. *Cesair—Nemed.* Here the comparison is impossible, these three invasions being treated in too arbitrary a manner in Bb.

6. *Fir Bolg.* Bb still abridges: the wives of the five leaders, and the passage on the division of Ireland are left out. LL makes a scribal error, saying *Fodbgen torchair la Eochaid mac Rinnal,* where Rb and Lec Ib have the correct reading *la Eochaid mac Eirc.*

7. *Tuatha Dé Danann.* Bb omits the introduction relating the coming of the Tuatha Dé Danann in mists, the First Battle of Moytura, and the story of the Lía Fáil; afterwards it curtails the account of the Second Battle of Moytura, and the genealogies of the Tuatha Dé Danann. The antiquity of all these passages is shown by Ba. Bb inserts a separate tale called *Imthechta Tuirill Bicreo,* followed by a poem *Etsid in senchas sluaghach*, of which Lec Ib preserves a complete text. On account of this tale Tuirill Bicreo gets a place in the Tuatha Dé Danann genealogies. It does not belong to the old stock of LG, as it occurs nowhere else, and must have been imported from elsewhere.

8. *Meic Míled.* Bb omits many characteristic details: the whole of the story of Ith, the death of Airennán, Scéne, Ir, Donn and Herech, Amargen's poems, Érimón's wives, &c. The reason is that all these particulars occur in Ba, and it was the scribe's aim to give in Bb only the facts that were passed over in the preceding version. Therefore he has preserved in Bb three poems that we do not find in Ba, and which, strange to say, are even lacking in A: *Secht mná mac Míled, Anmand na toisech deilm tenn,* and *Sé meic Miled miad n-ordain.* Of the second poem the antiquity may be questionable, but the other two with forms like *la maccu* do not seem to be 13th century fabrications, although monosyllabic *cóir* shows that they are no survivals from the earliest period. Besides, Bb preserves the names of the *mogaid na mogad* of the Meic Míled that have been lost in all other versions, but recur later in LB. For the rest the parallelism of A and Bb is complete here also.

From the above summary we may gather that A and Bb are two versions, drawn from one common source. As the tendency of both is to abridge the text, they sometimes preserve different portions of the original, and this circumstance will account for occasional deviations of Bb from A. But as a rule the general trend of the two texts is remarkably the same. The only question now remaining is one as to the nature of the original of A and Bb, which we shall henceforth denote as O.

From the Latin preface in Bb Professor Thurneysen infers that O was a Latin *Liber Occupationis.* Whether this title is right is a subordinate question, but I may point to the fact that Lec Ib, when dealing with the Fir Bolg, says: *ut supra dicebamus in capturis, .i. i ngabalaib, Hibernie.* So *Liber Capturae* may be the more correct name. The gloss *i ngabalaib* is from the scribe of Lec I, for R has not got it, and the Latin phrase refers to Ba, which was certainly an Irish text; so no proof could be derived from it that the version Bb originated in a Latin text. But there is some other evidence in support of Professor Thurneysen's view. Rb and Lec Ib sometimes have a Latin sentence in the middle of the Irish narration, where the supposition that these Latin phrases escaped a translator's attention, might account for the sudden change of language. So the Gabál Partholoin is recorded in both MSS. by the words *Anno lx° aetatis Abram tenuit Partolon Iberniam. Ab Adam autem ii milia 7 dc 7 viii anni.* In the enumeration of Míl's descendants we read *Ni farcaib Eber Donn no Airech clann no Erannan non habuait filios quum mersus est statim in palude Scenæ.* In the pedigrees of the Tuatha Dé Danann, which section, as I have noticed already, has been preserved particularly well in s, we find another Latin note: *Orbsen proprium nomen Manannain unde dicitur Stagnum Orbsen apud occassum. Quum Manannanus sepultus est, stagnum uenit per terram per tumulum eius.* The corresponding passage in LL is also in Latin. Hence one might infer that O was a Latin version, and that both A and Bb are translations of a Latin original. But before this conclusion is accepted, it should be realised at the same time that it can only be partially true. For the poems, several of which were composed before the 11th century (see § 5), must be original Irish work. What makes the matter still worse, is the similarity of expression in A and Ba, even in the prose sections. Consequently I could,

at its best, only regard O as a somewhat Latinised version of an Irish text. Nor do I think the question of so much importance as Professor Thurneysen, who considers A as the oldest attainable form of LG. In § 5 it will be shown that Ba represents a more genuine form of the saga, and an older stage of the text, whereas A is merely an abridgment. Hence the original language of Ba must be that of LG. Now no one will hesitate to regard Ba as a purely Irish work, so that the question of the original language of O amounts only to this: has there ever existed a recension of LG partially written in Latin? The Latin preface of Bb is of no importance; it is a later addition, particular to that version, while A preserves the old biblical preface which we find also in Ba (see p. 127). The sparse Latin phrases, indeed, point to a somewhat Latinised version. Possibly O had even more of them than A and Bb, but we cannot go farther in our conclusions. Nor will this argument affect in any degree our views on the origin of LG. In Ba we possess an older and purely Irish version that has come down to us directly from the original without ever having passed through a Latin form. Besides, Ba is in another respect also a more valuable text than A, as it was never subjected to any uniforming process. This will appear best from a comparison of A and Ba.

§ 5. The original of A (or Bb) and Ba (X).

An examination of the best representative of Ba, that is of Sa, and not only of the much shorter Ra, shows that this text is more elaborate in almost every respect than A and Bb. It is a pity Professor Thurneysen has failed to see this; for this is the fact that compels us to face the principal question concerning the relationship of the MSS.: if both Ba and A descend from the same tradition, are the differences, existing between them, due to digressions of Ba or to abridgments on the part of A? A priori both solutions of the problem are equally probable. The Latinised version O, from which A has been taken, was possibly intended as a short survey for learned men desiring to acquaint themselves with the stories of the ancient Irish populations, without being overwhelmed by too many details. On the other hand, such a curious patchwork as LG was from the

very beginning, was more than any other mediaeval saga liable to continual expansion by the addition of parallel traditions that had escaped the notice of earlier scribes. Consequently it would be but natural that both these forces should have worked together, and that Ba should have enlarged the body of LG in several parts, while at the same time many details were omitted in O. In most cases internal evidence will furnish a clue to the disentanglement of these difficulties. Putting together the results of a comparison we find the principal points to be as follows:

a) *Preface.* Both have an opening passage on the creation, Adam and Eve &c., which is much more circumstantial in Ba. But the next section, the division of the earth between Noah's three sons, is more elaborate in A. Then comes a marked divergence as to the descent of Nél and Goidel Glas. The origin of this strange discrepancy will be discussed in § 13; for the present it may suffice to assign priority in this respect to Ba.

b) *Introduction on the Goidels.* A describes the struggles between the two royal races of Scythia (of Noenual and Nél) with a great profusion of details, while Ba just mentions them summarily. On the other hand, Ba has got an admirable account of the Goidels' stay in Egypt, and also records their second visit to that country, which is altogether unknown to A. For the rest there are only minor differences.

c) *Cesair.* In Ba there precedes a short passage on an invasion by Capa and others even before Cesair; it does not occur in A. For the rest the conception is quite the same in the two texts, but where A has nothing but a short note, Ba offers a pleasing narrative.

d) *Partholon.* On the whole the two relations are identical, save for the summarising of A. A remarkable genealogical difference will be explained in chapt. II. A mentions Tuan mac Cairill.

e) *Nemed.* The identity of Ba and A is evident, only A is much shorter and deviates in the enumeration of the plains which where made by Nemed and his sons.

f) *Fir Bolg.* A has not the digression on the origin of the names *Fir Domnann* and *Galeoin*, or the concluding account of the later adventures of the Fir Bolg in the islands, and their taking service with Coirpre Niadfer and Medb. Ba omits the names of the five queens.

g) *Tuatha Dé Danann.* A leaves out the history of the Tuatha Dé Danann in the North, their magic cities, their battle with the Philistines, and the way they reached Ireland. But Ba has fewer genealogies.

h) *Meic Míled.* In A the tale of Íth is not so elaborate, and the tract *Caiti tairthiud fir Mac Míled* is lacking altogether. The order of the story is also different in both.

The above list shows that Ba is in almost every section more extensive than A not only in the number of details but also in the manner of telling. After each invasion, there is a synchronism of the Irish events with the kings of the world, and Ba also contains several poems of which there is no trace in A: *Doluid Míled assin Sceithia* (Introd.), *Robo maith in muinter mór* (Parth.), *Findaig in senchais diadá* (Fir Bolg); the contrary, however, is the case with a few other poems: *Déne mo fresnéis a mic* (Fir Bolg), and *Eistid a eolchu cen ón* (T. D. D.). As has been said already, every additional passage either of Ba or A must be examined separately in order to discover whether it belonged to the stock of X or not. An investigation of this kind would, however, take us far beyond the scope of the present chapter, which deals only with the mutual relation of the MSS.; it must be reserved for Chapters II and III. At present I only want to prove that neither A nor Ba are copies of one another, but that both are independent copies of the same original. This will be seen best, if a few salient points are brought forward, where there is an inherent disagreement between the two; for then it is clear that both have found their own way through the various literary traditions, preserving genuine elements by themselves, without being indebted for them to each other.

According to A, Fénius Farsaid was a son of Baath mac Magoch meic Iafeth, whereas Ba has an entirely different genea-

logy. Although Ba preserves the older recension[1]), that of A has also a claim to considerable antiquity, for it occurs in the Liber Sex Aetatum, from which it must have been taken. This points to a purposed alteration of the text, so that A cannot be considered as a mere copy of Ba: the author of O may have omitted as much as he chose, but he also put a personal stamp on his recension by introducing this and similar modifications. In the same way the antiquity of some parts at least of the additional matter in Ba, too, can be shown. There is a poem by Maol Muru Othna, who died in 887, beginning *Canam bunadas na nGaedel* (LL 133 b). Here we discover why it was that the the Goidels left Egypt under Sru's guidance and fled to Scithia: because they had not supported Pharao Cincris against the Israelites, and therefore were afraid of the Egyptians' vengeance. LL never mentions the fact that the Goidels had intercourse with the Israelites, but Ba has a long episode about it, and this episode apparently preserves an old tradition. By these few examples the relation of A and Ba is sufficiently illustrated: neither of them is dependent on the other, but each represents a distinct version of its own, though descended from a common ancestor.

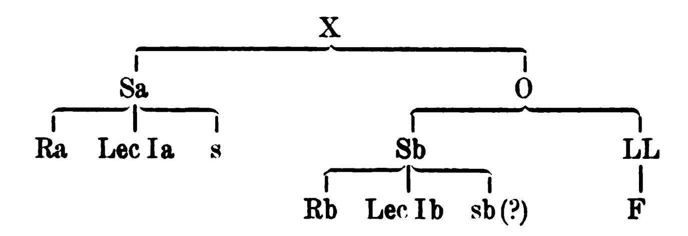
Which of the two has diverged least from the common original (X), cannot as yet be anticipated. Still, as Ba offers a much fuller text, and as we have found that in one very important instance at least it has preserved an undoubtedly old trait, there is some probability as to the genuineness of Ba's traditions in general. But even if a tradition of Ba is genuine, it need not have formed a part of X, for there were evidently isolated tracts current among the Irish which were never embodied in the official LG. The Book of Lecan has preserved some of these along with its two versions of LG. Every additional passage of Ba therefore must be submitted to careful examination before we may infer that it really once belonged to X, and was omitted from in A.

As to the age of X it can be established approximately by that of the poems. There is a considerable stock of poems common to both A and Ba. They are either ascribed to early poets such as Ferchertne and Fintan, or to Eochu ua Floinn

[1]) On the very interesting problem of these genealogies see § 13.

who died in 1003 [1]). Of the latter we have *A choemu cláir Cuind* (Parth.), *Heriu co n-uaill co n-idnaib, Éstid æs ecna aibind* (T. D. D.), *Toisig na loingse tar ler* [2]) (Meic Miled), and *Ugaine uallach amra* (continuation on Irish kings). All these poems are found in A, and in S as well, except *Etsid æs ecna* which does not occur in A; but we know that the scribe had it before him, for he saw his omission, and wrote in the margin of fol. 18a: *hic debet esse Etsid*, &c. So X cannot have been written before the time of Eochu ua Floinn, that is before the second half of the 10th century. But in LG there are poems by later poets too. S has a poem *Doluid Milid asin Sceithia* by Cennfælad († 1048), LL has one by Flann Mainistrech († 1056: *Eistid a eolchu gan ón*), and a few by Gilla Coemain († 1072: *Gaedil Glas otád Gaedil, Tigernmas mac Ollamhan aird*, and *Eriu ard inis na ríg*). So already in the second half of the 11th century A and Ba must have existed as separate versions. The conclusion is that X was composed between 950 and 1050, which takes us back more than a century before our earliest MS. And if we assume — what seems highly probable, owing to the large number of his poems — that Eochu ua Floinn was himself the author of X, the date of this MS. could be approximated even more closely, and placed between 950 and 1003.

We are now in a position to draw up a pedigree of the MSS. belonging to the versions A and B. It is as follows:



On the left are the MSS. belonging to group Ba, on the right those of groups A and Bb. A secondary influence has been exercised on s by some MS. of the group to the right, and by some

[1]) I am not able to identify *Tanaide* who composed *Tuatha De Danann fo diamair*. This poem occurs in both versions.

[2]) The prose of LL ascribes this poem to Flann Mainistrech, but in the poem Eochu ua Floinn is mentioned as the author.

MS. of the other group on F. Two groups of MSS. still remain to be dealt with, C and D. These have a quite different character from the others, being typical compilations. This will be manifest from the following survey.

§ 6. The version C.

C is represented by two MSS.: LB and Lec II. It is generally assumed that LB was written about 1391, and Lec II after 1416. So LB could not have been taken from Lec II. The two texts are practically identical, as the mixing together of the versions Ba and A has been accomplished in both in exactly the same way. The only natural conclusion seems to be that either Lec II is a transcript of LB or that both have a common ancestor. Lec II presents a better text than LB, being less corrupt, especially in the poems, and written in an older orthography. This would point to an older lost MS. But this is not the only possible solution, and as it is advisable not to postulate more lost MSS. than are strictly necessary, I prefer another one. There is sufficient proof that Lec II also knew S, for it contains portions of S that are missing in LB. So, while following LB closely in its composition and arrangement, Lec II may have consulted S at the same time, and taken over in many cases its older orthography and its better readings. In this way can be accounted for the many survivals of 13th century orthography in a MS. even later than LB. Moreover, Lec II also uses other sources than S and LB, as will appear from a survey of the contents of the two texts.

a) *Preface.* In LB a leaf is missing, which may have contained everything we find in Lec II. But in any case the section on biblical history is shorter in Lec II than in LB.

b) *Introduction on the Goidels.* The two texts are identical; only Lec II inserts a short passage on the name Fenius Farrsaig.

c) *Ceasair.* There is but one difference: the names of Cesair's companions given by LB in the poem *Cáin roind rorandsamar* occur also in the prose in Lec II.

d) *Partholon.* Here the influence of Sa (or some other text of Ba) may be traced in Lec II: the account of Partholon's wanderings cannot have been taken from LB, but must have been corrected after S. For the rest Lec II has a remarkable tale which is found nowhere else (except in the younger version D) of Partholon's wife Delgnat and his servant Toba, whose misconduct caused the *cét-ét Erend.*

e) *Nemed.* Although this section is practically the same in Lec II and in LB, Lec II shows clearly traces of different sources too. For here we find not only two short synchronisms added, different from those in LB and S, but also a tract on the origin of the name Fir Bolg, and another on the real nature of the Tuatha Dé Danann. In these latter tracts a great many opinions are discussed, which may be partly the results of the scribe's own reflections. One unknown authority, however, is mentioned at the end, namely, the 'Libar de Subternis'. This book has not yet been identified.

f) *Fir Bolg.* Lec II differs from LB only by the insertion of the poem *Déne mo fresnéis a mac* by Colum Cille, which also occurs in A and Bb. No final synchronism.

g) *Tuatha Dé Danann.* Lec II adds a few particulars of the arrival of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and the reasons why they burnt their ships on landing. The synchronism at the end is made up from the synchronisms belonging to Nemed, Fir Bolg and Tuatha Dé Danann in LB and S. For the rest the two MSS. are identical.

h) *Meic Míled.* On the whole Lec II = LB, but the younger MS. gives a much more detailed list of the descendants of Erimon and Eber.

So far the relation of LB and Lec II has been illustrated. Lec II follows LB closely, corrects from S, and adds from unknown sources. It remains to investigate the sources from which LB, the older of the two, was compiled. A glance at the text will convince us that LB made use of a text of all the versions we have distinguished until now, that is to say of A, Ba and Bb.

And as LB must have had a copy of the two B-texts containing the complete poems, the MSS. used must have been: LL, Sa and Sb. Each of these contains passages or traits that are unknown to the others, and they are found in LB. From LL have been taken the prose list of the seventy-two languages, the parting words of Noah to Cesair, the allusion to the story of Tuan mac Cairill, the circumstantial narrative of the battle at Conang's Tower, and many details of the second battle of Mag Tuired. To Sb the scribe of LB was indebted for the curious tract on the division of the Gaelic language and its names in the four chief tongues of the world, as well as for the names of the 'mogaid na mogad' who came over with Míl. Sa was LB's authority for the story of Nél's intercourse with the Jews, and the Goidels' second visit to Egypt, for the coming of Capa to Ireland, for the tale of Cesair and the angel, for Partholon's wanderings and his battle with the Fomoraig, for the adventures of the Fir Bolg after the first battle of Mag Tuired, and those of the Tuatha Dé Danann before they reached Ireland; the alleged descent of all the invaders from Rifath Scot can only be founded upon Sa. The almost endless catalogue of the Tuatha Dé Danann is a compilation from the three older versions, and of the two genealogies given of Partholon one is based on Sa and one on LL. These instances will suffice to show that LB did not neglect the work of his predecessors.

Thus version C represents a new stage in the development of our text. The period of filiation has passed, that of compilation has come. And, all the older MSS. being ready at hand, none of them was left out of account. This development has gone still farther in Lec II, where even sources not belonging to the regular tradition of LG have left their trace. This, however, has also happened, though in a lesser degree, in LB. LB has a few notes taken from Cin Dromma Snechta, cf. Professor Thurneysen's paper quoted on p. 101. One of these, as has been pointed out, was already known to the scribe of Sa. Another, that on Banba's occupation of Ireland before the Deluge, also occurs in F. The third quotation from the same book, that of the colloquy of the Meic Míled with Banba and Eriu, does not occur anywhere else: but F has a gap in this section, and it may have been there. Yet there is at least one decisive proof that the redactor of LB also consulted the Book of Druim

Snechta himself. In the Invasion of Partholon, LB has a short passage on the division of Ireland by Partholon's sons. It also occurs in Sa, from which it may have been taken. But in a marginal note in LB we are told that the passage is based on the Lebor Dromma Snechta. F omits it, though the whole Gabáil Partholoin is preserved in that MS. There is but one possible conclusion: the redactor of LB had the famous old book before him. Of all the references to Cin Dromma Snechta in the Lebor Gabála text of LB this marginal note is the only one that proves this fact conclusively. Therefore it deserves a place in the list of instances given by Professor Thurneysen. The matter is even more significant: it shows us that the redactor of LB intended to do more than give merely a somewhat fuller copy of LG, his desire being evidently to bring together all the existing traditions, even those that had not yet been embodied in a coherent text. In this respect he continued in the direction of his predecessors, for, as will appear in chapter II, S was put together upon the same principle. Lec II elaborated it even more by adopting passages from numerous other sources. And it is this general character, uniting LB and Lec II, which justifies us in treating these two texts as belonging to one version, however considerable the additional matter of Lec II may be.

§ 7. The version D.

O'Clery's version is principally included here for sake of completeness, rather than for its own interest. It was compiled by Cucogry O'Clery from earlier texts by omitting a great many details that seemed inconsistent with the rest of the story, and by making the order and the contents uniform. O'Clery's characteristic way of working will appear from the short account of D given in § 14. The introduction on the oldest Goidels, Fénius, Nél, &c. is transferred from the beginning of the whole work to the end of the Tuatha Dé Danann section. The adventures of the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann after the battle of Conaing's Tower are no longer given as an appendix to the Invasion of Nemed, their common ancestor, but as introductions to the two subsequent invasions. And there are more instances of arbitrary changes introduced by O'Clery. This, however, need not prevent us from

tracing the older versions he consulted. A few illustrations will disclose his authorities.

According to D Partholon came to Ireland *ona atharda .i. Siceil Greic.* C has *asin Megind .i. asin Greg Sceitheagda,* whereas S says *asin Micil Greic.* The influence of some text belonging to the Ba group is evident here. This is also the case, when in the Invasion of Nemed D mentions the names of Nemed's daughters-in-law, or when we are told that Macha died on the 12th day after her arrival in Ireland; for C does not know the names of these women, and according to the same version Macha's death took place in the 12th year. Still these unmistakable traces of Ba are not very numerous, and on the whole the text is that of C, allowance being made for O'Clery's introducing his own style in many episodes. Of the two MSS. constituting version C O'Clery apparently follows Lec II and not LB, for he has all the characteristics of Lec II and none of LB's. The account of Partholon's wanderings is that of Lec II, and the tale of Delgnad (Elgnad) and Toba occurs only in Lec II and D. The explanation of the names of the Fir Bolg, Fir Domnann and Galeoin — especially the last named — can only have been taken from Lec II. D tells us the Tuatha Dé Danann came from the *innsi tuaiscertacha na Grecci,* just as Lec II makes them begin their wanderings *asa Grec Sceitheacda*: no other MS. mentions them in connection with Greece. All these salient points prove that Lec II was the real source of D, though there is clear evidence of O'Clery's having consulted some version of B also. This is only natural, for if he worked at Lec II, Lec I must have been also in his hands. O'Clery had no need to look for a second MS., for the Book of Lecan provided two different versions, and these are the very same versions of whose influence there are traces in D. Nothing points to his having known A or F. The text of the poems is quite untrustworthy as it abounds with conjectures by O'Clery himself; what makes these poems interesting are the numerous glosses he adds, although they are often merely attempts to elucidate corrupt readings.

For the understanding of the structure of LG, D has no value whatever. Its immediate exemplar, Lec, is one of the most valuable of our MSS.: in Lec I it contains the oldest version of LG attainable in a fixed and uncorrupted form, while in Lec II it shows the latest development of the story, where all the scattered

traditions extant have found a place. In D, O'Clery has endeavoured to bring these incongruous traditions into harmony with one another. And this could not be effected without violating the text. The uniforming process it underwent, rendered many departures from the traditional LG inevitable. They can all be accounted for from the standpoint of O'Clery's preconceived design. Therefore a thorough study of this version would be of more significance for the understanding of the man and his work than for the present investigation.

II. The Introduction on the Goidels and the Preface.

§ 8. The tradition of A and Ba.

The most important differences between the two oldest versions present themselves in the Introduction; therefore this portion of LG will more than any other furnish a clue to the solution of problems concerning the growth and evolution of the saga. In order to understand fully the signification of these differences, we must have before us a separate survey of the two traditions.

Leaving alone the biblical and genealogical preface for a moment, we have in A first an account of Fénius Farsaich[1]), king of Scythia and his two sons, Nél and Noenual. Fénius leaves his kingdom to Noenual, while he himself goes to Asia in order to assist at the building of the Tower of Babel; there Nél is born. Nél comes to Egypt, where he begets a son, Goidel Glas, who forms the Gaelic tongue out of the seventy-two languages. The names of all the languages are given. Sru and Eber Scot, Goidel's descendants, leave Egypt for Scythia. Eber Scot seizes the kingdom, but is afterwards killed by Noenual's son Noemius, and from this time on the descendants of Nél and Noenual alternately usurp the kingdom of Scythia but are always killed by their rivals. At last Refloir, a descendant of Noenual, becomes

[1]) We find *Farsaich*, *Farsaig* and *Farsaid*. I prefer the first form. *Farsaid* = old, can only be a late etymology, for the Old Irish form of this word is *arsaid*. The Latin preface of Rb has *Fenius Farisaeus*, which must convey the real meaning of the name. *Farisaeus* is, indeed, an excellent epithet for the man who knew all languages. On *Farsaid* = *Pharisee* see Atkinson, Passions and Homilies, p. 953.



king of Scythia, and expels the Goidels. After many wanderings they reach Sliab Rife, under Agnomen and Laimfind, where their *drui*, Caicher, prophesies that one day their progeny will possess Ireland. They remain in the Maeotic marshes until one of Láimfind's descendants, Brath mac Deatha, leads them to Spain. Here they fight three battles, 'for Toisenu, for Bachra, for Longbarda'. Great numbers of them die from the plague. Bregon, Brath's son, erects the city of Brigantia and a high tower in it, from which Ireland was seen for the first time by Ith.

According to Ba, Fénius Farsaich and his school wander from Scythia to the Tower of Babel, after it had been built by Rifath Scot and others. There they learn the various languages. On account of his learning Nél is invited to Egypt by Pharaoh Cincris, who gives him his daughter Scota in marriage. Nél makes friend with Aaron, the leader of the Israelites, especially when his young son Goidel Glas is saved by Aaron from a snake's bite. After Cincris has been drowned in the Red Sea the Goidels are banished, because of their friendship with the Jews. Under Esru and Eber Scot they reach Scythia. Here they live in constant struggles with the other royal race, until Míl[1]) mac Bile kills Refeloir. Míl is expelled, and goes with his people to Egypt. They are well received by Pharaoh Nectinebus, and Míl is married to his daughter Scota. The Goidels learn the arts in Egypt. Míl is a contemporary of Alexander the Great, who invades Nectinebus' country, founds the city of Alexandria, and turns out the king. Míl and his people fly, and after endless troubles they land in Spain. There are not three but fifty-four battles now, *for Fresseno 7 for Longbardoib 7 Bachraib 7 rogabsat Espain ar eigin 7 rocumtaiged cathir and la Breogund mac Bratha .i. Brigancia ainm na cathrach 7 tor for a h-inchaib 7 is on tor sin atcessa Eriu hi fescur gaimrid. Atascondairc Ith mac Bregoin.*

The principal differences between the two texts may be summed up thus:

1. In Ba, Fénius does not build the Tower of Babel himself, but it has been built before this time. This is a consequence of the different genealogies of Fénius given by A and Ba. See § 13.

[1]) I use the earliest form of the name, though S and R always have *Miled*; the oldest genealogical poems have *Mil*.

2. The adventures of the Goidels in Egypt are related much more circumstantially in Ba.
3. The feuds of the two royal races of Scythia are more detailed in A.
4. Ba has a second visit to Egypt, of which there is no mention in A.
5. In A the Goidels are led out of Scythia by Agnomen and Láimfind, and in Spain by Brath; in Ba both these acts are performed by Míl.
6. A has three, Ba fifty-four, battles in Spain.

In order to trace what is old in these traditions, we must now examine the scattered remnants of the saga that have come down to us from an earlier period than any version of LG. Among these there are three whose date may be approximately fixed; viz., the account in Nennius' Historia Brittonum (HB), Máilmuru Othna's poem *Canam bunadas na nGaedel* (MO), and a note to Fiacc's Hymn (Thes. Pal. II p. 316).

§ 9. The earliest vestiges of the story.

It may be useful to reprint the passage from HB (sc. § 16) once more in extenso. *Si quis scire voluerit quando vel quo tempore fuit inhabitabilis et deserta Hibernia, sic mihi peritissimi Scottorum nunciaverunt. Quando venerunt per Mare Rubrum filii Israel, Aegyptii venerunt et secuti sunt eos et demersi sunt, ut in Lege dicitur. Erat vir nobilis de Scythia cum magna familia apud Aegyptios, et expulsus est a regno suo, et ibi erat quando Aegyptii mersi sunt, et non perrexit ad sequendum populum Dei. Illi autem, qui superfuerant, inierunt consilium ut expellerent illum, ne regnum illorum obsideret et occuparet, quia fratres illorum demersi erant in Rubrum Mare, et expulsus est. At ille per quadraginta et duos annos ambulavit per Affricam; et venerunt ad Aras Philistinorum per lacum Salinarum et venerunt inter Rusicadam et montes Azariae et venerunt per flumen Malvam, et transierunt per maritima ad Columnas Herculis, et navigaverunt Tyrrenum Mare, et pervenerunt ad Hispaniam usque et ibi habitaverunt per multos annos et creverunt et multiplicati sunt nimis, et gens illorum multiplicata est nimis. Et postea venerunt ad*

Hiberniam post mille et duos annos postquam mersi sunt Aegyptii in Rubrum Mare, et ad regiones Darieta in tempore quo regnabat Brutus apud Romanos, &c.

The other early allusion to LG, in a note to vs. 35 of Fiacc's Hymn (*Patraic pridchais do Scottaib*) is as follows: *Do Scottaib o Scotta ingen Foraind rig Egipt nominantur, ocus is asso roásdetar* (leg. *roássatar*) *.i. Nél mac Goedil Glais meic Feniusa Farsaid, fer foglama he, uoluit scire lingas. Venit a Scithis ad Campum Sennar ubi sunt diuisæ lingæ; 7 ita uenit .i. cum .lxx. duobus uiris, 7 missit eos sub regiones mundi ut discerent lingas; unum ad unam misit, et postea uenerunt ad eum cum peritia omnium lingarum. 7 habitauit in Campo Sennar 7 docuit ibi lingas. Et audiuit Farao rex Egipti illum studiosum esse, et uocauit eum ad se ut doceret Egiptios circa lingas 7 dedit ei filiam suam 7 honorem maximum 7 ab illa Scotti nominati sunt. Góidil immorro do rad dib o Goediul Glas, mac Feniusa Farrsaid patre Niuil.*

The above two Latin accounts belong to quite different periods. That of Nennius, whether it already existed in the first recension of HB or did not come in until the second stage, takes us back at least to the end of the 8th century. The note to Fiacc's Hymn, on the other hand, only occurs in one of the MSS. of that hymn, and was written, at the earliest, towards the end of the 11th century; so it is very little older than LL, and later even than X. The more remarkable is the fact that it represents a different tradition. For here Nél is not Goidel's father, but his son; and it was Nél, not Fénius, who taught the languages in the plain of Sennar. So even at this late period there was no fixed tradition concerning the three eponymous ancestors of the Goidels. This will prove an important conclusion in estimating the general character of LG, but for the earlier history of the text it has no significance.

Next in age to Nennius is Máilmuru Othna. As this poet died in 887, his poem must be placed in the 9th century. In any case it is later than HB. It contains the following tradition of LG. The Goidels descend from Jafeth mac Noe. When Nembróth has built the Tower of Babel, Fénius leaves Scythia and goes to the tower, where he teaches all the languages. There his son Nél is born. Pharaoh sends for him, and gives him his daughter Scota. Their son is Gaedel Glas. The Goidels do not support Pharaoh against the Israelites, and, fearing the vengeance

of the Egyptians, they take flight in the king's ships. They wander through India, Asia, Scythia, the Caspian Sea, the island Coronis, Sliab Riffi, Golgatha[1]), where they remain two hundred years, Creta, and Sicily to Spain. Bregond conquers Spain, and founds the city of Brigantia. There he erects the tower, and from its summit Ireland is discovered by Ith. Then the story of the Meic Miled follows.

§ 10. The earliest evolution of the story.

We shall now compare HB and MO with A and Ba, with special reference to the points of difference between the two latter MSS. enumerated on p. 122 f.; for such a comparison will enable us to make out which of the two has least diverged from the original version.

1. HB does not mention the Tower of Babel at all. MO agrees with Ba: Nembróth builds the tower, and Fenius visits it from Scythia.
2. Both HB and MO relate some of the details concerning the stay in Egypt. HB relates that the noble Scythian in Egypt *non perrexit ad sequendum populum Dei,* and that the Egyptians turned him out of the kingdom for fear that he should occupy it himself. In the same way MO tells us that the Goidels did not take arms against the Israelites. A has none of these particulars, and Ba dwells with preference on the friendship between the Goidels and Israelites, and also mentions that Esru and Eber Scot were expelled by the Egyptians.
3. The struggles between the two royal races in Scythia, which are told so much more circumstantially in A than in Ba, are not even mentioned in HB and MO.
4. The second visit to Egypt, being known only to Ba, does not figure either in HB or MO.
5. Neither HB nor MO give the names of the leaders of the expedition to Spain.
6. The two earliest sources do not speak of the battles in Spain.

[1]) A marvellous corruption of the Gaethlaig Maeotecda!

Nos. 1—3 prove that Ba preserves old traditions which were lost in A, but at the same time no. 4 shows an inclination on the part of Ba to add to the original text. Still it will not be difficult, following HB and MO, to separate from the body of LG the later additions, and this done, we possess in Ba a much more perfect text than A. For not only has A left out several important episodes, but the text has been unreasonably altered in this version: for instance, it was an unnecessary innovation of A to make Fénius build the Tower of Babel himself. Consequently the superiority of Ba is now established once for all.

A careful study of the succeeding accounts of HB, MO and Ba makes it possible to trace the growth of the earliest traditions on the Goidels throughout the 9th and 10th centuries. The original story, existing in 800 A. D., so far as we can judge from HB, was this: A noble Scythian, called Miles Hispaniae or Míl, was living in Egypt at the time of Moses. He was expelled by the Egyptians, and fled by the shortest route, through Africa, to Spain. There his descendants increased in number, until they came over to Ireland. This happened because they had discovered Ireland from the tower at Brigantia[1]).

The additions which were introduced gradually, may be classified thus:

9th century. The Scythian chieftain[2]) becomes Fenius Farsaich, a teacher of the seventy-two languages in the plain of Shinar, or rather his son Nél who visits Egypt in order to propagate linguistic knowledge in that country, and is married there to Pharaoh's daughter Scota. She gives birth to a son, Goedel Glas (MO). After being expelled they wander through India, Asia and Scythia, and even remain for two hundred years in the Maeotic marshes (MO). Their adventures in Spain are related with more details, for Míl has now to fight for the possession of the country.

10th century. The next stage is X, the common source of A and Ba. Here a biblical preface is prefixed, because of the opening story of the Tower of Babel. — Elaborate

[1]) That this is an original trait of LG may be inferred from the occurrence of *Bregond* in a 7th century genealogy, see § 13.

[2]) On the oldest genealogical traditions relating to this person see § 13.

genealogies are added [1]), see § 13. The stay in Egypt is elucidated by a circumstantial relation of the Goedels' connections with the Israelites. But the most important innovation is introduced in the passage relating their journey from Egypt to Spain. HB does not mention at all the Goidels' passing through Scythia, in MO this country figures as one of the places they visit on their way to the West, but of a prolonged stay there is no mention. In X this hurried passage through had developed into a settling for many generations. For in Sa we find the following account, which is not even so elaborate as that of LL. *Ond aimsir sin* (sc. the coming of Eber Scot to Scythia) *co h-aimsir Refeloir meic Nema 7 Miled mac Bile .i. Galum a ainm: mor do cathaib 7 do chongalaib 7 do choicthib 7 do fingalaib roimirset etorru frissin re sin corrogon Miled mac Bile Refelair mac Nema .xii. bliadna ar noe cetaib robui in cosnum sin. Doluid Miled for longais iar sain .iiii. longa doib 7 .v. lanamna dec 7 amas in cach luing dib.* As has been said, LL goes even farther and gives the names of the kings of the two races who killed each other successively; perhaps these names were already known in X and for some reason omitted in Sa. When the Goidels are banished from Scythia they have to wander once more over many seas and lands, until they reach Spain at last. But in this last section of their adventures A and Ba diverge so much from each other that it would be impossible to establish the original tradition of X without first examining the two texts separately.

§ 11. Version A (11th or early 12th century).

In the first place A expands the biblical preface by a digression on the tribes of Europe and Asia and their lineage. In Ba this preface begins with the words *In prindcipio fecid deus celum et terram. Dorighne dia neam 7 talmain ar tus,* &c. Then

[1]) The genealogies themselves are, of course, older, but there is no reason that they should have been embodied in LG before the 10th century.

follows an account of the creation, of Lucifer, of the first sin, and of Noah and his sons, ending in a short poem. After this Ba goes on: *Cam tra rogab side inn Affraicc 7 deisscertleth na hAissia. Sem for medon Aissia o sruth Eofrait co tracht airthir in bethad. Is Iafeth tra tuaiscertleth na hAissia 7 lucht na hEorpa uile 7 dia clainn duinde innar nGaidelaib.* The story of Fénius, Nél and Goidel follows immediately. A has a much longer passage instead, which I quote from a text of Bb (viz. Lec I), practically identical with that of A, and where it has been better preserved: *O tri maccaib Noe tra rolínait tri randa an talman .i. Eorpa 7 Africa 7 Aissia. Sem mac Nae tra rogab i nAisia 7 .vii. cenela xx. uad innte. Cam i nAffraic 7 xxx. genela uad. Iafeth i nEoraip 7 tuaiscert Aissia. Coic genela dec uad inntib, de quibus hoc cairmen:*

Sem rogab in Asia n-ait, Cam cona clainn in Afraic
Iafeth uasal is a meic, it e rotrebsat Eoraip.
Tricha chenel, comol ngle, cinset o Cam mac Noe,
A ocht fichet uad o Sem, a coic déc ó Iafeth.

O Iafeth dano int airthertuaiscert, Scithecdai 7 Armendai 7 lucht na hAisia Bice 7 ergabala 7 ciniuda na hEorpa uili co lucht na n-innsi atait fria anes 7 atuaith 7 aniar otha Slebi Ripe atuaid co traig hAespaine. Ocht meic Iafeth, 7 Magoch, ba se ant ochtmad. Da mac dano la Magoc .i. Baad 7 Ibad. O Ibad iarum rig Roman. Mac dano la Baad Fenius Farsaich o fuil Scithecdai 7 is dia sil Gaidil. O Ibad Frainc 7 Romain 7 Saxain 7 Bretain 7 Albanda. O Magoch mac Iafeth na tuatha rogabsat Erinn ria nGaidilaib. Partolon mac Soera mic Sru mic Esru mic Bramin mic Fathecht mic Baaid mic Magoich mic Iafeth mic Noe. Nemed mac Agnomain mic Phaim mic Tait mic Sera mic Zru 7 clanna Nemid .i. Gaileoin 7 Fir Bolc 7 Fir Domnann. De quibus hoc carmen dicitur *Finntan.*

Magoch mac án Iafeth ataseinnte[1]) *a chlann*
dib Partolon Banba roba chalma a bann.
Ba dib Nemid noethech mac Agnomain oen,
Gann dib, Gœnann Sengann, Slaine soer.
Clanna Elatha imdha [ba dib] Bres cen breic
mac Elathain felgaith mic Delbœth mic Neit,

[1]) Sic. *at aichinte* R, *ata cinti* F.

Mic Inndui mic Alldui, *Alldui ba mac Tait*
mic Tabuirnn mic Ceno *mic Baaid mic Ibaith aitt.*
Bethach ba mac Iarboneol *mic Nemid hui Paim*
Paim mac Tait mic Sera *Zru mac Ezru Briaim bain* [sic].
Briamain ba mac Fatecht *mic Magoch, mor blad,*
robassa riana n-aimsir *co taibsin ria magh.* *M.*

Atberat araile combad Baad mac Ibaid meic Goimeir meic Iafeth et is uad Gaidil 7 fir na Scithia 7 mac dó Fenius Farsaich.

Here we find the first significant interpolation in A. Though the tendency of A as a rule is rather to abridge the text as it existed in X, it sometimes borrows illustrations from other sources, and inserts them in extenso in the text. The reason of the present interpolation is obvious. As appears from Ba, a connection had already been established in X between the biblical preface and the history of the Goidels through the statement that the Irish were descended from Jafeth mac Noe (see the sentence quoted on p. 128), the genealogies serving also for the same purpose; and even in MO Jafeth had been indicated as the ancestor of the Goidels. So it was but natural for A to make a digression on this subject, if there existed a special Irish work dealing with it.

In the Irish Liber Sex Aetatum (LSA), in the Secunda Aetas, there is a tract on the descent of the 'Clanna Iafeth', which we possess in a very old recension (Lebor na hUidre, fol. 1), although Rawl. B. 502, fol. 69 (facs.) contains a better text [1]). It runs thus: *Da mac Magog mic Iafeth mic Noi .i. Baath 7 Ibath. Baath mac do side Fenius Farsaid a quo sunt Scithi et Gothi .i. Fenius mac Baath mic Magog mic Iafeth mic Noi 7rl. Ibad dano in mac aile do Magog, mac do side Elonius no Alanius. Tri meic aici side .i. Armon, Negua, Hisicon. Coic meic ic Armon .i. Gothus, Uolegothus, Cebidus, Burgandus, Longubardus. Negua dano .iii. meic les .i. Uandalus, Saxus, Bogardus. Hisicon dano .iiii. meic aice .i. Francus, Romanus, Albanus ota ind Albain airtherach isind Asia Mor, Britus o rater Inis Bretan. Is andsin rorrannaid in domun i tri rannaib .i. Eoraip, Afraic, Asia .i. Sem i nAsia, Cam i nAfraic, Iafed i nEoraip. 7 is é céthfher de sil Iafeth tánic i nEoraip .i. Alanius mac Ibath mic Magog mic*

[1]) According to LU there are 44 tribes claiming their descent from Cam, while Rawl. B. 502 has 27, like LG.

Iafeth mic Noi. Is amlaid tánic Alanius 7 a tri meic leis .i. Armon 7 Negua 7 Hisicon conid i fus rochlannaigset na maccu atchuadamar. Saxus mac Negua mic Alanii mic Ibath mic Magog mic Iafeth mic Noi, is uad atat Saxain. Iaban dano mac Iafeth mic Noe .iiii. meic aca side .i. Elisa, Tarsis, Cethrim, Dodanim. Tarsis is uad 7 Cilecdai. Cethrim is uad Cethri, uadib side ainmnigther cathir na Ciprecda .i. Citheum. Dodanim dano uad side Rodii. Is uadib sidi rofodlait inse Mara Tirritæ frisin abbertar Muir Torren cona cenelaib écsamlaib 7 cona mberlaib. Is iat sain .xv. primchenela clainni Iafed cona fochenelaib roselbsat feranna imda isin nAsia o Sleib Imai 7 o Sleib Tuir co sruth Tanai 7 connici in Scithia 7 roshelbsat inn Eoruip uli connici inn ocian muridi fuineta, insi Bretan 7 inn Espain co h-uilinn talman [1]).

The whole interpolation in A, except the poem, must have been derived from LSA down to the words *O Magoch mac Iafeth na tuatha rogabsat Erinn ria nGaidilaib.* It is nothing but an abridgment of the above passage in LSA. It begins with the limits of Jafeth's race, given at the end of the tract in LSA. Here LL mentions the Armenians as belonging to the 'clanna Iafeth', a name not occurring in LSA. But the *Sliab Imai* of Rawl. B. 502, or rather *Sliab Imari* as it is called in LU stands for Armenia: *Cinel fil i Sleib Armenia .i. Hibiri a slonnud,* says a separate tract in Ba. For the rest our interpolation down to the sentence quoted is identical with LSA, but all that does not concern the Goidels is omitted. What follows then was added by the scribe himself on his own initiative: it was necessary for him to give a survey of the invaders' genealogies, as he had to make them conform to the preceding interpolation. See § 13.

It may be inferred from the above that although the author of LSA was no doubt acquainted with the saga of LG (he mentions 'Fenius Farsaid'), there was no connection whatever established between the two works, until the preface of A was amplified by materials from LSA. The accounts of the Invasions of Ireland in HB, MO and Ba bear no trace of having been influenced by LSA. So Zimmer was certainly wrong in supposing that 'die Abhandlung über die *Sex aetates mundi* und der Lebor Gabala eng zusammengehören, erstere gewissermafsen als allgemeine

[1]) LU has *in Espain ulide.* The variant from Rawl. B. shows the real meaning of the usual epithet for Spain in Irish poetry.



Einleitung galt' (Nenn. Vind., p. 226). He consulted only LL and LB, the two principal representatives of the versions interpolated from LSA, which never until the redaction of A formed a part of LG.

In addition to the interpolation on the descendants of Jafeth from LSA, there is another section in A that does not appear to have belonged to the original LG, there being no trace of it either in MO or Ba. It is the list of the seventy-two languages, out of which Goidel Glas formed the Gaelic language. There is nothing unnatural in its having been introduced into LG after Fenius and Nél had become teachers on the plain of Shinar and in Egypt. There undoubtedly existed lists of these languages in a metrical form at a very early period. Consequently the poem on them in LG is likely older than the prose-paraphrase, given in LL; besides, Lec Ib and Rb have only the poem. I give it here from Lec Ib, which seems to be the better text.

Berla in domain dechaid lib: Bethin, Scethin, Scill, Scarthain,
Goith, Grec, Goill, Germain co ngrain, Poimp, Frigia, Dal- [*mait, Dardain,*
Paimpil, Morinn, Liguirn lir, Ogu, Creit, Coirsic, Cipir,
Tesail, Caspia, Armen ain, Reit, Sicil, Sarait, Sardain,
Belgait, Boet, Britain binn, Espania, Romain, Rugind,
Huminn, Innia, Araib oir, Magoic, Moesic, Maicidoin.
Parthia, Calldia, Siria, Sax, Achain, Achait, Alban cass,
Ebra, Ardain, Galait glain, Troia, Tesalia co laich,
Moessia, Media, Fairne, Frainc, Grinni, Laicdemoin, Long- [*baird,*
Tracia, Numia, Achaid, Eisil eirc, Hircain aird, Ethoip, Egipt.
Acsain lin mberla cen meirg as roteip Goedel Gaidilc,
Aichnid do ara n-ergna an aicme na n-ilberla. Berla.

In this form the poem is certainly corrupt. Some of the names are unintelligible, others are given twice over (l. 4 *Tesail* — l. 8 *Tesalia*, l. 6 *Moesic* — l. 9 *Moessia*), l. 10 is too long owing to the repetition of *Achaid* (= *Achait* l. 7), and, moreover, there are not 72 names. Still it is a most interesting fragment of Irish literature, as the list of languages (or names of places, as they mostly are) diverges considerably from the various lists which have come down to us from earlier writers,

all of them modelled on the lost *Διαμερισμός*: Isid. Etym. IX, *Excerpta latina Barbari*, *Liber Generationis* (MGH Auct. Ant. IX). Several oriental nations have been supplanted by Teutonic ones, what makes it probable that the same Frankish list of nations was used in the composition of the poem that is also embodied in LSA (see Zimmer, Nenn. Vind., p. 231).

Fortunately, however, we possess this poem in a much older form. In his 'Über die älteste irische Dichtung' (Kgl. Preufs. Akademie d. Wiss., Berlin 1913, pp. 26 and 51) Professor Kuno Meyer includes two poems in rhythmical alliterative form, *In Fursundud aile Ladcinn* and *Luccreth mocu Chíara .cc.*, with genealogies of the kings Enna Cennselach and Cu-cen-Mathair backto Jafeth. The couplets 41—50, or 23—31, contain an alliterating list of 64 or 56 languages, and Professor Meyer suggests that one or two couplets may have been omitted. It cannot be a mere accident that this list also begins:

> *Bethin, Scithin,* *Scuit, Scill,*
> *Scarthaig* (*Scarthin*), *Greic,* *Gothia* (*Guith*), *Gaill.*

Of course, the scribe who modernised the form of this poem, and made it conform to the rules of syllabic poetry, was obliged sometimes to upset the order of the names, but wherever possible he left it as it was. So in both versions *Dalmait* and *Dardain, Croit* and *Coirsic, Athain* and *Achait* are brought together. This shows that the alliterating list, which is placed by Professor Meyer in the first half of the 7th century, was the source of the poem we find in A and Bb. There are slight differences between the two, and in each are found names unknown to the other, but neither of the two is free from corruptions or even complete. We can even make out which of the two alliterating poems is nearest to the later syllabic one. Ladcenn has *Scarthaig, Gothia, Point, Nombithi, Bethain,* where Luccreth has *Scarthin, Guith, Poimp, Numin, Boet*; thus the poem in LG agrees with the latter. A conclusive proof that this alliterating list really was the source, is furnished by the words *grinne fairne,* translated by Professor Meyer as 'ein Bündel von einem Volk, d. h. eine Völkergemeinschaft': the redactor of A has misunderstood them, taking them for names of nations, and separated them accordingly.

So far the additions in A. For the rest this version is identical with that of MO: the poem *Canam bunadas na nGaedel* is based on exactly the same recension of LG as A. As A preserves more details than MO, it is impossible that this poem could be the only source of A: a prose version underlies both. Yet A knew the poem, for it quotes two lines from it:

Féni o Ḟenius asambertar, clu cen dochta,
Gaedil ó Gœduil Glas garta, Scuitt o Scotta.

This quotation was not introduced into A until a very late period, that is to say, by the scribe of LL, for Bb, the text most closely akin to A, has not got it. It will be our present task to examine Ba in the same way, and to establish its relation also with X. The problem that will most claim our attention is this: did Ba, too, add some new matter to the text, or leave it just as it was before?

As to Bb, this version differs in no way from A save for one very curious addition. In Bb the intercalation of a poem on the 72 languages has caused another interpolation on the division of the Gaelic language and its names. It is a tract not found elsewhere; and it is difficult to make out the exact meaning. I give the text from Rb with variants from Lec Ib:

*Ceithri ranna da*no *ac lucht an eolusa for*sin *nGoidilc se roteip Goidil 7 ceithri anmann for*aib. *Senchas mor 7 bretha nemed, ai Cermna 7 na cane in cethrumad*[1]), *7 canoin an rann sin 7 a ainm*[2]) *ar imat a fír 7 a rosc*ad. *Tri coecait ogam 7 na remenn*[3]) *7 rem n-ena*[4]) *7 na duili feda 7 in as dir doib inn rann tanaise 7 gramatach a ainm, ar imat a sois, a*r *is i sdiuir*[5]) *eolusa in labartha cirt. Na fesa didi*u *7 na foirbesa 7 na togla 7 na tricha scél 7 in .xl.*[6]) *roger 7 in as dir doib i*sed *in tres rann 7 a stair a ainm ar is innte luaiter scela 7 coimgneda. Bretha Cae imm*orro *cona n-imtegar*[7]) *in cethram*ad *rann 7 rim a h-ainm. De quibus dicitur:*

[1]) *na chan in cetran.*
[2]) *a h-ainm na rinde sin.*
[3]) om. *7 na remenn.*
[4]) *remenna.*
[5]) *ar as i a stiair* (?).
[6]) *.lx.*
[7]) *n-imtecor.*

Cethri ranna raiter de for suidiu[1]) *na Gaidilce:*
canoin, gramatach 7 stair 7 rim cona *rogail*[2]).
Is i an canoin, ni celeb[3]), *senchas mór, bretha nemed*
nochasderna[4]) *dui de ai cane 7 na cermna*[5]).
Is in an gramatach[6]) *na* tri coecait *craobogam,*
na remend[7]) *reim n-ena 7 na duili dagfheda.*
Is i an sdair rosdiuir mesa na fessa, na forbessa,
togla, tana[8]) tricha *scél 7 tri fichit roger.*
Is i an rim nochasrecab[9]) *breth Cai* con *n-imtecar*
his ęsba a sechna sona[10]), *cnesda na ceitri ranna. C.*

Ceithire anmann dano for an Goidilc fo rainne[11]) no *conad ainm cech primberla dona trib primberlaib .i. Ebra 7 Grec 7 Latin 7 a h-ainm diles o Gaidil. Ticcolatha ainm Ebra, Maloth ainm Grecda, Legulas*[12]) *a Laitin, Tinoiltech a Gaidilc la Gaidel rostoba*[13]). *De quibus hoc cairmen dicitur:*

In berla tobaide tric rolesaig Goidel glainglicc
huathad[14]) *do sil Gaidil gairb duine ga mbeith a firainm.*
Gaidilc atberas[15]) *som fris in lucht aineolach*[16])
ni nesa do Gaidil[17]) *glic indas da cech ní as airdirc.*
Mad ail dam a rádh fri cach coraib co fallus in fath
atat sunn cen gnimradh ngae[18]) ceithri *anmae in berlæ.*
In berla.

Ticolad a Ebra ard Maloth a Grec glegarc
Legulas a Laitin le Tinoiltech a re fene.
Gebe bes or aniar air etir dascair[19]) *is diamair*
Is eol dam cen time tra anmanna binne an berla.
In berla.

1) *suithe.* 2) *robail.*
3) *ceiledh.* 4) *nochon as dernai.*
5) *ai cermna 7 ai chanæ.* 6) *gramatach na nglonn.*
7) *remenna.* 8) *tana togla.*
9) *nochorcobb.* 10) *so.*
11) *fo comniumir a rainne.* 12) *legulus.*
13) *rodostoba.* 14) *o uathad.*
15) *Gaidel getberat.* 16) *aineolach ainbfiss.*
17) *Gaideleg.* 18) *ngle.*
19) *descair.*

§ 12. The version Ba.

Leaving the question of the genealogies over for the next paragraph, we have now to fix the amount of work done by the redactor of Ba for the evolution of LG. Did he import any passages from other known works, as for instance the scribe of A? Did he alter the aspect of the saga in any other way?

It has already been pointed out that those portions of the Introduction bearing on biblical history are related quite circumstantially in Ba, and it is uncertain how much is genuine in these biblical passages. But the germ of them is very old. The long preface on the creation &c. recurs in A, though in a much more concise form. All that is lacking in A need not be an addition in Ba, for A abridged as much as possible; and Maolmuru Othna, who was celebrating the origin of the Goidels, left out the biblical stories simply because they did not refer to his subject. In any case A shows conclusively that there was a biblical preface in X, and all that Ba may be accused of, is to have amplified it a little. In the same way HB proves that the relations between the Jews and the Goidels in Egypt — which Ba dwells upon with evident satisfaction — were known already in the 8th century. Here, too, it is only a possibility that Ba embellished the tale by a few digressions on this point. And even in assuming this we should be on our guard; for the epithet of Glas applied to Goidel which occurs as early as MO, seems to have been derived from the snake's bite, which made him blue in appearance until Moses cured him: and this story of Goidel and the snake is found only in Ba. And even if the biblical passages did assume somewhat larger proportions in Ba than in a previous stage of the text, this is of no great importance, for it does not affect the subject matter of the saga to any extent. So if we want to characterize the part played by Ba in the evolution of LG, we must not look for salient points in those biblical portions.

As to the adventures of the Goidels themselves, Ba is identical with MO in the beginning. Fenius comes to the Tower of Babel after it has been built, his son Nél goes to Egypt, where he marries Pharaoh's daughter. His descendants Esru and Eber Scot have to leave the country, being expelled by the Egyptians. They fly to Scythia, where their race

lives in endless struggles with their kinsmen, until they are driven out. So far Ba does not deviate in any respect from X, being virtually identical with A, notwithstanding its greater length.

But now the agreement ends. The journey to Spain by the 'Muinchend Mara Caisp, Muir Libis, Sliab Riffe, Gæthlaige Meotecda, Creit, Sicil, Colomna Hercuil', as it is given with slight variations in MO, A and Bb, turns into something quite different. Another visit to Egypt is introduced, and an entirely new tradition is formed. It is no longer Agnoman and Láimfind who leave Scythia, but Mil[1]) mac Bile with four ships. He and his companions wander through 'Aissia sairdess' and 'Inis Deprofane', where they remain for three months, and only reach Egypt after another three months' wandering on the sea. There they are received by Pharaoh Nectinebus, the 35th or the 15th king after Cincris. Nectinebus gives his daughter Scota in marriage to Mil; he remains in Egypt, until his father-in-law is expelled by Alexander the Great, who occupies the whole kingdom and founds the city of Alexandria. Mil's companions had learned the principal arts *(na prímdána)* in Egypt. Mil does not remain in Egypt after the expulsion of Nectinebus. He leaves the country with his wife and his companions. On his wanderings he has the same adventure with the mermaids as Agnoman and Láimfind had, Caicher having to save him and his people from their advances by putting wax in their ears. At length they come to Spain and occupy the country after fifty-four battles. The city of Brigantia is then founded.

What have we to think of this passage? Obviously it is an interpolation, for none of the older versions has it. It bears a general likeness to some of the older traits of the saga: e. g. Nél's first visit to Egypt and Agnoman's travels from Scythia to Spain. We have noticed that there existed a tendency to prolong the journey from Egypt into Spain: MO inserted a second visit to Scythia, which X elaborated into a settlement of many generations. Did Ba but follow this same tendency by introducing the second visit to Egypt, borrowing its characteristics from the first? This supposition is only partially true. There was a still better reason for the interpolation.

[1]) The oldest form of the name is *Mil*, cf. the genealogical poems quoted on p. 132. In the prose texts we always find *Míled*.



In the Invasion of the Meic Míled, midway, Ba has a curious tract. It does not occur in other versions, and spoils the context. After the account of Ith's expedition to Ireland, which ended with his death at the hands of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and the enumeration of the sons of Mil and Bregon who determined to avenge their former companion, we should expect to find something on the Milesians' coming to Ireland. And there is, in fact, a passage beginning *O dodeochatar morlongais mac Míled do gabail in nInber Slaine* &c. But first comes another story, which seems to be quite out of place here.

Here it is. Ceist: *caiti tairthiud fir mac Míled?* Niansa. *Cinel fil i Sleib Armenia .i. Hibiri a slonnud. Bai ri amra occo .i. Mile mac Bile meic Nemain. Bui sen oc cosnam flaithiusa fria brathair a athar fri Reflair mac Nema*[*in*]. *Dolluid .iiii. barca for longais 7 .v. lanamna déc cecha bairci 7 amas forcraidh cen mnai. Da tuisech amra occa .i. Uca 7 Occe. Lotar for Muir Caisp amach for inn ocian n-imechtrach. Dollotar timchul na hAisia sairdes co hInis Deprofane .iii. mis doib inti .iii. mís aili for fairci co riachtatar co hEgipt fodeoid i cinn .iiii. mbliadan .l. ar. ccc. ar mili o cetgabail hErenn do Partolon. I cinn .iiii. mbliadan .x. ar .dcccc. iar mbadud Forainn for Muir Ruad rosiachtatar Egipt. Paro Nectonibus ba ri Egepte an inbaid sin 7 is e sin in coiced rí .xl. iar Forann Cingcris robaided i Muir Ruad; ocht mbliadna do for Egipt co robaided. Paro Ceres ba rí ina diaid .xv. bliadna. Is coir a fis conid Forann ainm cech rig i nEgipt amail asberar Cesair da cech rig i Roim 7 Ptolomeus da cech rig i nAlaxandria. Armadis iarum .v.b. Ramesses post .lx. Amenoses .xl. Amenemes .xxviii. Tures .vii.b. Is ria lind side rotoglad Troi 7 is cuici rosiacht Menelaus 7 Elena iarsin togail. Dremendis .iii.b. xx. Psenres .xl. Thusthus .ix.b. Oscorus .vii. mbl. Psinachus .ix.b. Psusenes .x. bliadna fichet. Sessonchos .xxi. Psamus .xl.b. Bachor .xlvii. Is re lind rolabar an t-uan i nEgipt. Ethops .xii. Sibiccus .vx. Ethiops .xx. Etiops Nemes .xii.b. Stabantes .vii.b. Encepros .vii.b. Nechdo .viii.b. Psanet .x. Nechod .vi. Psamates .xii. Hufripis .xxx.b. Amiris .xlii. Amarteres .vi.b. Nefrites .vi. Anchoris .xii. Muteis .i.b. Nectonibus Faro .xviii. Is é ba ri Egipte ar cinn Mili meic Bile cona longais 7 fuair failte oca fri re .viii. mbliadan 7 dobeir a ingen Scota do. Et ba si sin aimsir dolluid Alaxandair Mor mac Pilip isin Aisia 7 rotairbir an Egipt fo reir 7 roinnarb Faró Nectonibus a Egipt asin Etheoip 7 rondichuir Artarxerxes*

ar tus fecht n-aili i nEgipt. Cumdaigther iarum cathir la Alaxandair i nEgipt .i. Alaxandria a h-ainm. Et diścailter flaithius diles a nEgipt ann sin 7 gabais Grec fortamlas indti 7 ic Greic Alaxandair robai flaithius ind Egipt o sein amach, conid and sin tanaic Mili a Egipt dochum a cinil fein[1]). *Finit.*

The initial *Ceist* and the concluding *Finit* give this tract the character of a separate tradition, not belonging to the body of LG as we found it in MO and X. The passage quoted on p. 124 from a note to Fiacc's Hymn shows that there were such separate traditions current as late as the end of the 11th century. For the redactor of Ba, whose aim was to include every detail available, it was but natural to bring this tradition into his version of LG. Its contents are quite simple. There was an Armenian king who was expelled from his country because he had opposed his uncle. He comes to Egypt, where he marries Scota, Pharaoh's daughter. Afterwards he leaves the country, and reaches Ireland. For the rest it consists of chronological and historical allusions. The reason Mil had to leave Egypt is that the country was conquered by Alexander. So Míl's father-in-law must be identified with Nectonibus, who according to Eusebius was the last Egyptian Pharaoh. From this it follows that the whole list of Pharaoh's was introduced from Eusebius. The mention of Pharaoh Cingcris (*Akhenkheres annis .xvi; sub hoc Moses Iudaeorum ex Egipto egressus dux fuit,* Euseb. ed. Arevalo I 145) in the beginning makes no allusion to any visit of the Goidels to Egypt during the reign of that king, nor does it prove that such a visit once was part of this tradition. On the contrary, if it had been so, there certainly would have been an allusion to it in this tract, and it is not too much to hasard the hypothesis, that this earlier visit never was a part of this tradition at all. Consequently we have here a tradition parallel to that of MO and A: both speak of a Scythian king who came to Egypt, who married the king's daughter Scota, and afterwards left the country[2]).

[1]) i. e. to the Tuatha Dé Danann, *ar ba do cloinn Rifaith Scuit doib dib linaib* as Ba says previously. The common descent of all the subsequent populations of Ireland from Rifath Scot is one of Ba's favourite tenets. See § 13.

[2]) Another interesting detail is that both speak of the two leaders Ucce and Occe.

Along with the version of MO and A we have traced now another tradition preserved in Ba. The heroes of the former are Nél, Goidel Glas and Agnoman, the latter mentions only Mil. Neither has a claim to priority. Zimmer (Nenn. Vind p. 220) was the first to discover the existence of this second tradition. But he did not draw the right conclusion from it. For he identified it with the tradition in HB, and if this were right, it would prove that the tradition of Nectinebus and Mil existed before that of Cingcris and Nél. But as HB states that the *vir nobilis de Scythia* who resided in Egypt *non perrexit ad sequendum populum Dei,* there can be no doubt that Nennius was thinking of the tradition we find in MO and A, and not of Nectonibus and Mil. This is a very important fact, for it implies that Zimmer's theory as to the relation of HB and LG cannot be upheld.

We can now go back even a step farther. From the two parallel versions may be reconstructed their common original which existed even before HB was written. It was the history of a noble Scythian, called Míl or Miles, who lived in Egypt at an indefinite period, and who was married to some Pharaoh's daughter Scota. Afterwards he left that country, without any stated reason, for Spain. From thence Ireland was discovered. All chronological connections, either with Cingcris or Nectinebus, have come in later, for this is the point at which the two traditions diverge. Each version established a chronology of its own, and this involved divergent reasonings as to the cause of the Goidels' flight from Egypt. See on this § 22. A comparison of the original tale, as it has been retraced now, with the 7th century genealogical poems treated in § 13, will show that only one additional element may be pointed out as an essential trait of the original story, namely the discovery of Ireland from the tower of Brigantia (see p. 126). This reconstruction of the introduction in its germ will prove of no small help in retracing the origin of LG.

Now let us return to the Introduction of Ba and compare the account of the Goidels' second stay in Egypt with the newfound parallel version on Mil. In both Mil is the hero, in both the route of his journey to Scythia is exactly the same. Nectinebus and Alexander occur in the same connection in the two versions. Ba evidently interpolated the loose tradition concerning Mil into the text of LG. The scribe who found the tract did not know

what to do with it; he did not understand that it was but a variant of the other tale, and finding a later chronological reference in it, inserted it in its place. It was a very easy task to accomplish this. The return to Scythia and the long struggles between the two royal races, which had entered in X, afforded the necessary lapse of time to bring the history down from Cingcris to Nectonibus. Nothing was more natural than that the redactor of Ba should think the second tradition referred to the journey of the Goidels after this repeated visit to their native country. Therefore he left out the end of the story as it occurred in X, and put instead of it the whole second tradition. This manipulation did not involve any insuperable difficulties, for the interpolation fitted in quite well with the rest of the story.

There are still a few particulars in the passage introduced into Ba that claim our attention. The end of the Introduction in this version does not agree in every respect with the isolated tract quoted above. In the first place the Introduction speaks of Nectinebus' daughter Scota, who is not named in the separate tract; nor does the tract say anything of Mil's expedition from Egypt to Spain and from thence to Ireland, whereas the Introduction treats this in a very circumstantial way. It might be suggested that these latter details were borrowed over again from the original narrative in X that had been done away with. But this seems scarcely probable. Of course, so far as the introduction of a second Scota is concerned, there could be no objections against the supposition. But with the rest it is otherwise. Although both have the same story of Caicher protecting his companions from the mermaids, Ba hasn't the account of Caicher's prophecy. Moreover, the localities belong to different spheres. Whereas X made the Goidels pass by Sliab Rife, the Maeotic marshes, the Tyrrhenian Sea, Crete and Sicily, Ba speaks of Inis Deprofane (=Ceylon), India, Asia, Scythia, the Indian Sea, &c. These, in fact, are the localities of the second tradition, where India and Asia are also found. Then, after the arrival in Spain there are not three but fifty-four battles *for Fresseno 7 for Longbardaib 7 Bachraib.* All this cannot have been taken over from X, for it differs too much from the tradition of MO and A. There is but one possible explanation left, namely that these details also all belong to the second tradition.

The separate tract, quoted on p. 137 must originally have contained more than in its present form. Scota must have figured in it as well as Mil's companions who learned the principal arts in Egypt; and it must have ended with an account of Mil's wanderings from Egypt to Spain and the building of Brigantia — everything in accordance with the end of the Introduction in Ba[1]). Why then was all this omitted by the scribe of that version? Because he had already given it once. He had already embodied the whole story in the Introduction: why then copy it once more in its unabridged form? There was no sufficient reason for this. It is fortunate enough that the isolated tract was preserved at all, and we probably are indebted for this happy circumstance to the list of the Pharaohs that had been incorporated in it. This list seems to have aroused the chronological interest of our scribe so that he determined to give it a place in his version of LG, leaving the framework of the tract, in a shorter form, around it. But if we wish to know its original contents, we must refer back to the Introduction on the Goidels in Ba, where we find it unimpaired without omissions. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this fact; for now we possess a variant of the other tradition, preserved by HB, MO and X. It looks very old, being quite simple: Mil, a chieftain from Armenia or Scythia, is expelled from his country; he flies to Egypt; afterwards he leaves this country and settles in Spain. In fact, this version is very near akin to HB. Zimmer was wrong doubtless in identifying the two (see p. 139), for HB manifestly contains the tradition of MO and A in its germ, though they have much the same aspect. Only the difference in the chronological references stamps them as two distinct variants. A comparison of these two variants brings us nearer to a solution of the problem as to the origin of the saga. See on this chapt. IV.

[1]) As I have shown on p. 139 that this tradition diverged from that preserved in HB at a very early period, even before Nennius, it is impossible that the details both have in common — such as the story of Caicher drui — could have already been present in the original version from which these both arose. Therefore we must assume that the close relation between them was never wholly forgotten: when a new element was adopted in one it was liable to be introduced into the other version too. But in other instances each went its own way.

§ 13. The genealogies.

The most salient divergence of A (and Bb) and Ba lies in the genealogies. The first traces of the tale of the coming of the Goidels to Ireland must have arisen in a period when classical and biblical studies were already flourishing in Ireland; this appears from the allusion to Egypt and the Israelites, which occurs as early as HB. So no wonder that the Irish wanted to establish a genealogical connection between themselves and Noah, the common ancestor of the human race. According to all the versions of LG it was Sru mac Esru mic Goidil who brought the Goidels from Egypt to Scythia. We have now to examine every single version as to the descent of Goidel Glas from Noah. We can distinguish three versions:

a) The first version of A and Bb: 'Goidel son of Nél son of Fenius Farsaich son of Baad son of Magoch son of Jafeth'.

b) The second version of A and Bb: *Atberat araile combad Baad mac Ibaid meic Goimeir meic Iafeth* (thus Bb; in LL the initial words *atberat araile* have been omitted).

c) The version of Ba: *Gaidel Glass ar senathair. Mac side Niuil meic Feniusa Farrsaidh meic Eogein meic Glunfind meic Lamfhind meic Etheoir meic Thóe meic Boidb meic Sem meic Mair meic Aurthacht meic Abuith meic Ara meic Iara meic Sru meic Esru meic Baaith meic Rifaith Scuit.* According to Gen. X 3 Rifath is a son of Gomer.

Among the sons of Jafeth there are two from whom the Goidels claimed their descent, Magoch and Rifath. The reason is obvious, for from these two the Gauls and the Scythians descended. Cf. Isid. Etym. IX 1, 26—27: *Filii Iafeth septem nominantur: Gomer, ex quo Galatae id est Galli; Magog a quo quidem arbitrantur Scythas et Gothos traxisse originem.* Two questions arise: is *a* or *b* the primary version of A, and does A or Ba preserve the original tradition of LG? So far as the first question is concerned, we have a clue to its solution in the text of A (and Bb) itself. In the genealogical poem quoted on p. 129 we read in l. 8: *mic Baaid mic Ibaith* (Lec I b) or *mic Baaid*

mic Ebaith (LL, F), while Rb has *mic Baaid mic Magoich.* In l. 11 Rb and LL have *mac Baaith mic Magoch* [1]). The prose, however, always makes Baad the son of Magoch. So the poem belongs to a different tradition than the prose; Rb felt the anomaly, and altered the poem accordingly. On p. 130 I have shown that the prose preceding the poem is an interpolation from LSA. This work mentions Baath as the son of Magoch, and hence after the prose interpolation, Magoch was put instead of Ibath in the poem also. Fortunately Lec Ib and LL did it rather carelessly, so that in l. 8 Ibath was overlooked. Here we have a proof that Ibath was the original ancestor in A, whereas Magoch did not come in until the adoption of the genealogical theory of LSA.

In fact, LSA attributes two sons to Magoch, namely Baath and Ibath; Fenius Farsaich is a son of Baath. So *a* was taken from LSA at the same time that the passage on the division of the world was interpolated from that work. Consequently *b* represents the old tradition of A; it has been preserved in the sentence beginning with *atberat araile.*

Now the other question remains: is *b* or *c* the original version? There are two salient differences between *b* and *c*: they make Baad descend from different sons of Gomer (Ibad and Rifath), and *b* hasn't the fourteen intermediate links between Baad and Fenius, figuring in *c*; for the rest the two are identical.

Among the ancestors of the Goidels there are three eponymous heroes: Fenius, Nél and Goidel Glas; Scota, Nél's wife, is closely connected with them. As Maolmuru Othna puts it:

Féni o Ḟenius asambertar, *clu cen dochta,*
Gaedil ó Gœduil Glas garta, *Scuitt o Scotta.*

As to Nél, I take his name to be derived from the glorious royal family of the Uí Néill (perhaps in connection with that of the Nile? Nél lived in Egypt). These eponymous heroes do not occur in the oldest sources. Nennius, who in § 17 gives a long pedigree from Noah downwards, does not name them at all, while they are also unknown in the 'second tradition' of Ba, see p. 137. In some later genealogies they come in at a quite

[1]) Here Lec Ib deviates by saying *mac Fatecht mic Magoch.*



different point. In 'Fianaigecht', p. 28, 30, there is a list beginning with Jafeth, in which Glas and Scot figure as the son and grandson of Lámfhind, while Nél is made the son of Míl! And in the note to Fiacc's Hymn (see p. 124) Nél is the son, not the father, of Goidel Glas, who is himself a son of Fenius. What results from these contradictions is this: Fenius, Nél and Goidel did not originally belong to the tradition of LG but were invented by the Irish as their eponymous heroes after the example of Britus, Saxus, &c. Now they had to get a position in the genealogy of LG also, but were by different scribes put in at different places. Wherever Fenius was made the son of Baad, and the grandson or great-grandson of Jafeth, he was supposed to have lived at the period of the Tower of Babel; for Cham's grandson Nimrod and Sem's great-grandson Phaleg assisted at its building and undoing. Thus arose the legend of Fenius' adventures at the Tower. It cannot therefore belong to the old stock of LG.

Who then was the ancestor of the Goidels, living at the time of the Tower of Babel? This was another grandson of Jafeth: Rifath son of Gomer. Gomer, as we have seen, was made an ancestor of the Goidels, because, according to Isidorus, the Gauls descended from him. His son Rifath seems to have been chosen as the next link because of the similarity of his name with that of Sliab Rife, the range of mountains enclosing Scythia[1]). And now there is a passage in Ba — which has preserved so many genuine traditions — showing that originally it was Rifath and not Fenius, who assisted at the building of the Tower of Babel. It seems that the redactor of Ba knew the innovation of A, for at the end of the genealogy, where he makes Goidel Glas descend from Rifath Scot, he states: *isse Rifath Scot tucc tuccastar* (sic) *Scotic on tur ar ba se in sesed primtuisech roba ic cumtach in tuir Nemruaid. Is follus desin nach raibe Fenius hi cumtach in tuir mar atberat na senchaide cen comshiniud comhaiseraid. Is aire so ón, ar isse Foenius Farsaich in seissed fer dec do sil Riafaid tuc Scotic on tur . . . xl. bliadna o scailiud in tuir co tanic Fenius Farsaidh atuaidh asin Scithia cona scoil*

[1]) The same connection is made by LSA: *Paplagoni gens, doini filet i Slebib Riphi qui et Colchi sunt;* cf. Isid. Etym. IX 1, 33: *Rifath a quo Paphlagones.*



do iaraidh na mberla. Here Ba evidently defends the old tradition against a later one. Fenius originally had nothing to do with the building of the Tower, he only had a school where the languages were taught. But in A Rifath had to make place for Magoch, who came in from LSA, and consequently Fenius took the part of Rifath at the erection of the Tower of Babel. His son Nél was in Egypt when Pharaoh and his host were drowned in the Red Sea. In HB the Scythian living in Egypt was still a nameless hero; now the eponymous hero Nél had also to get an occupation, and probably the one in Egypt was reserved for him because of the general likeness of his name to that of the river Nile. But these changes involved a complete upsetting of the chronology: Fenius lived when the Tower of Babel was built, Nél in the time of Moses! It is clear that in another respect, too, Ba preserves a better tradition than A: there are some fourteen generations wanted between those two episodes of biblical history, which fortunately Ba has preserved. A priori it is highly probable that the fourteen names given in *c* (see p. 142) are old. This supposition is confirmed by the second genealogical poem edited by Professor Kuno Meyer in his 'Über die älteste irische Dichtung' (see p. 132), where an almost identical genealogy occurs (cf. vs. 36—39):

Gablach gliad Agni ān,
art glonn Glūnfind lān.
Lāmfind, Fethēr, Agnoman, Tāi,
Bodb, Sem, Māir, mō cach āi.
Ethecht, Aurthecht, Aboth, Aur,
Āra, Iara, cāinem caur.
Cāin-Srū, Esrū, airir ban,
Boad, Rifad, Gomēr glan.

Eogan must be a corruption of Agni, and Ether of Fether, whereas Agnoman, Ethecht and Aur were omitted; for the rest the two lists are the same. The two next poems in Professor Meyer's collection contain the same genealogy. The poems are dated by him as early as the 7th century. They prove conclusively that *c* preserves the oldest tradition of LG as to the genealogies. As father of Agni (= Eogan) the poem names Éber Glass; instead of him *c* put Goidel Glas, and with him Nél and Fénius came

in. It is an interesting fact that the genealogical poems, too, were subject to the tendency to introduce these eponymous heroes, for one of the MSS. has instead of vs. 36: *gablach gliad, Nel fri hág, án fer Foenius, Glunfind bár*. As to the origin of all these strange names I can offer no suggestion whatever. There existed variants, however, as appears from a comparison of the lists in 'Fianaigecht' p. 28, 30 and HB § 17. When Fénius Farsaich in A took the part that was originally assigned to Rifath, namely the building of the Tower of Babel, all the intermediate links were left out.

Still, A also has preserved a portion of the old genealogy. As we have seen, in the oldest form of the saga, as preserved in the 'second tradition' of Ba, it was Míl who led the Goidels from Scythia to Spain. When, however, the settlement for several generations in the Maeotic marshes was introduced into this story, as was done in A, the chief who left Scythia with them could no longer be Míl, since he had to conquer Spain for them. Then A assigned the former task to Glunfind and Laimfind, who took the Goidels down to the Maeotic marshes; their descendant Brath afterwards found the way to Spain for them. A (and Bb) gives this genealogy of Brath: *Brath mac Death m. Erchada m. Alloit m. Nuadat m. Nenuaill m. Ebir Glais m. Agni m. Ebir Glunfind m. Laimfind m. Tait m. Ogamain m. Beomain m. Ebir Scuit*. In Lec Ib the end is different: *Glunfind m. Agnomain m. Thaitt* &c. So the original reading might be: *Glunfind m. Laimfind m. Agnomain m. Tait m. Ogamain* &c. Cf. again: 'Über die älteste irische Dichtung' II 33—37:

Brāth
batar flaithi fedma fāth.
Art fri dūir ndorair ndeirgg
Dēaith mār mandras Eilgg.
Aircid, Alldoit, nōidiu nass,
Nūadu, Nōenal, Eber Glass.

&c., see p. 145.

If *Tait* = *Tāi*, the two genealogies are identical save for Ogaman, Beoman and Éber Scot in A; these innovations were probably introduced, because A had to establish a connection with Goedel Glas, who did not occur in the poem. A evidently

used the old genealogy to fill up the gap between the leaving of Scythia and the conquest of Spain. And so Ba and A together furnish the proof, that LG once had exactly the same chronology as the 7th century poems.

There is one question left. What have we to think of Ibad, who according to *b* was the son of Gomer, from whom Baad descended? He takes the place of Rifath in *c*. I think the passage quoted from Ba on p. 144 shows that Rifath was the real ancestor of the Goidels in LG. Still, Ibad seems to be an old variant of Rifath. While nos. II and IV in Professor Meyer's collection give Rifath as the father of Baad, III has Ibath, son of Gomer. In LSA Ibad is a son of Magoch, and HB § 17 mentions Jobaath son of Jovan (Javan). So this personage figures subsequently as the son of three different sons of Jafeth, and he was probably nothing but a kind of passe-partout that could be employed everywhere. In LSA he is not even an ancestor of the Goidels but of the Romans. Nor does Nennius regard him as such, for the genealogy he gives in HB § 17, though it corresponds in many respects with that of LG, is one of Alanus, a progenitor of Teutonic tribes. Therefore Ibad's occurring in some traditions of LG also must have been caused by mistake or carelessness; possibly on account of the resemblance of his name to that of Rifath.

There are a few other genealogies in the Introduction of LG. As least in version A (and Bb): that of Refloir (Refelair), descendant of Noenual, second son of Fenius; of Occe and Uicce; of Caicher and Mantan. They must all have been newly compiled, as they refer to episodes that were added in A. For the most part they consist of names taken from the old genealogy preserved in Ba: Noenual, Alloit, Ogaman, &c. Perhaps the other names too will be found in old genealogical poems. In any case these genealogies are of no further importance.

The comparison of the genealogies in the different versions of LG appears to be of the highest significance. It confirms what has been stated in §§ 8—12: Ba is the only version preserving the genuine traditions. A modifies the text after the model of other authorities, especially LSA, from which source A has taken not only the preface on the population of the world (see § 11) but also its entire genealogical system.

§ 14. The versions C and D (14th and 15th century).

The versions C and D represent a further stage of evolution of the saga: that of compilation. We shall recognize almost every portion in these versions as one originally belonging to A, Ba or Bb. For the rest some details were added independently, and the scribes, for example, were in the habit of adding in the accounts of the routes from Egypt to Scythia &c. all the geographical names they could lay hold of. It is unnecessary to point out all these insignificant additions here.

In LB and Lec II we find the biblical preface, the story of Nectinebus and Míl &c., based upon Ba; the descent from Magoch, the aid given by Fenius at the building of the Tower of Babel &c., all borrowed from A; the tract on the division of the Gaelic language and its names clearly points to BC. There is but one thing interesting in the composition of C: the way it brought together the traditions of both A and Ba on the relations of the Scythians with the Egyptians. As we have seen, in A Sru and Eber Scot lead the Goidels from Egypt to Scythia, where they struggle with their royal kinsmen for many generations, until Lamfind and Glunfind lead them from Scythia to the Maeotic marshes, and a few centuries later Brath takes them from thence to Spain. In Ba Míl guides them from Scythia to Egypt, where he is married to Scota, daughter of Nectinebus; afterwards Míl brings them to Spain. In C Sru and Eber Scot arrive with their companions in Scythia, where they and their descendants also have to fight for the supremacy with the ruling race.[1]) At last Míl, though his wife, Seng, is one of the rival family (a new episode), has to leave Scythia. Then follows the entire tradition of Ba: they go to Egypt, Nectinebus, Scota and Alexander are mentioned, and Míl takes the Goidels to Spain[2]). There they fight 54 battles; Brigantia has no longer to be founded, for it existed already, but *fa falam siden ara cionn.* This last sentence contains the first deviation from Ba. The reason is obvious, for the text runs on: *atbearat araile do*

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[1]) These struggles are not described in the same way as in A. In Ba they were only mentioned incidentally.

[2]) In Míl's travels an interesting episode is interpolated on a meeting of the Goidels with the Picts in Germania.

eolchaib is i seo gnathsliged na nGœideal, uair is ac Ogamain ro facsamar 7 ge roleanamar do Milig cona muinter is lind impod co hOgamain torisi (sic). Now we are told that some of the Goidels had remained in Scythia after Míl; to them belonged Agnoman and Lamfind, and thus a connection with A is established. The whole tradition of A follows, in Spain Breogon founds the city of Brigantia, so that this explains why Mil found it ready on his arrival. Thus the Introduction affords a splendid illustration of the way version C was compiled.

In version D (O'Clery) we also find A and Ba reproduced, though not in the same way as in C. Here the tradition of A is given first: the Goidels come from Egypt to Scythia, they leave it again under Lamfind, and reach the Maeotic marshes; afterwards Brath, and with him Occe and Uicce, leads them to Spain, where Brigantia is built. One of the Goidels, Galamh (i. e. Míl), has a fancy to visit his relations in Scythia. With grandsons of Occe and Uicce, bearing the same names, he goes to the land of his fathers. There he is married to Seng, but notwithstanding this he has to leave the country because of difficulties with his father-in-law, Refloir. He flies to Egypt, where he is received by Nectinebus, who gives him his daughter Scota in marriage. From thence he goes back to Spain, as in Ba, where the city of Brigantia has been destroyed and is rebuilt by Galamh or Míl. The reader may discover, in which of the two the combination of A and Ba has been most ingeniously effected, in C or D.

III. The invasions.

§ 15. The first Invasion.

The earliest Invasion, before the Deluge, is in the principal MSS. styled that of Cesair, daughter of Noah. But there are other traditions too, deviating more or less from that of A and Ba. There is one in Cín Dromma Snechta, a lost MS. placed by Professor Thurneysen in the 8th century, and another has been preserved in a separate section in Ba. Moreover, we find indications that this first Invasion, whatever old traditions it may contain and in whatever form it may present itself, was only at a late period

prefixed to LG; so it must have first existed as a separate legend.

In the first place Cesair (or any equivalent) is not mentioned in HB, where we have a full account of the invasions in Ireland; there that of Partholon is the first one. Besides, Ba ends the tale of Cesair with the following words: *in gabail tra Cessra nisgabsat araili hi son gabala, acht is iat fosfuair Erind ar tus.*

So there existed at least one version of LG where Cesair did not figure at all, and the final words of the sentence quoted sound even as an apology of some scribe who had inserted Gabál Cesra himself. In the same way the Tale of Tuan mac Cairill shows that the first invasion does not belong to the original body of LG. This is the story of the only man among Partholon's companions who survived the plague, which destroyed them all, and all the subsequent invasions, in order that he might preserve the memory of them to later generations (LU 15α—16β). The ingenious Irish invented this story as a necessary commentary to LG. But if they had known from the very beginning an earlier invasion than that of Partholon, they never would have selected a man of his people to transmit Ireland's oldest 'history', but one of Cesair's. The tale of Tuan mac Cairill must have arisen at a time when the invasion of Cesair formed no part of LG. Later the mistake was noticed and Fintan, Cesair's brother or uncle was given a part similar to that of Tuan. Cf. LL 12a: *is iat so in sessiur ar .xxx. do thoesechaib amal roscrib Fintan mac Bochra Ruaid — .vii. mbliadna rian dilind co secht mbliadnaib do fhlaith Diarmata mac Cerbaill ba sé sen a shægul Fhintain — for glun Finnen 7 Coluim Cille.* All this is nothing but an imitation of the Tale of Tuan, who also related his adventures to Finnián and Colum Cille [1]).

On the other hand, the Invasion of Cesair had already been added in X, for both A and Ba have got it. Cesair was a daughter of Noah [2]), who forty days before the Deluge came from the island of Meroen [3]) to Ireland; she had three men and fifty maidens with her. The three men were Bith, Ladru and Fintan. They came

[1]) In Ba Fintan and Tuan are identified; cf. Ba fo. 84a2; *asberar co mba se* (sc. Fintan) *Tuan mac Cairill.*

[2]) In other sources Cesair is a daughter of Bith. Cf. Rennes Dindsenchas § 1 (RC XV p. 277): *o aimsir Cesra ingine Beatha.*

[3]) The town Merom in Egypt might be meant.

to a place called Comar na tri nUisce, and there the three men divided the fifty maidens. Ladru had to content himself with only sixteen of them; but obstinate as he was, he left his companions and died in Ard Ladrann. Then Bith and Fintan each got twenty-five maidens; Bith went to the North and died in Sliab Betha. Fintan had now all the maidens; he left Cesair with them and fled to Tul Tuinne near Loch Dergderc. Cesair herself went to Cúil Cesra and there her heart broke for grief. It is obvious that all the personal names have been derived from names of places. This points also to a comparatively late origin of the story. Fortunately we can catch a glimpse of an older form of the same tale. In Ba, after the introductory phrase of Gabál Cesra, we read: *asberat araile comad Banba ainm na hingine sin rogab Erind ria ndilind 7 comad uaithi nobeth Banba for Erind.* It is not difficult to make out which authority is meant by this *araile*, for LB gives a note from Cín Dromma Snechta that Banba was the first woman who occupied Ireland, together with Ladru, before the Deluge. The author of Ba knew the Cín Dromma Snechta, cf. p. 100, so he probably took his remark on Cesair or Banba from that book. Originally Banba seems to have been the heroine of this Invasion, which agrees with the fact that in Lec II *Cesair* is glossed by *Eriu* and *Fotla*. In this case its purport is clear enough: it was intended to explain the poetical names of Ireland and other topographical particulars. Afterwards a connection was established between this story and LG, and it was prefixed as the earliest Invasion. At the same time it was embellished with biblical ornaments: Bith (called after Sliab Betha) was made a son of Noah, and in some versions he was no longer Cesair's father, but had to yield this position to Noah himself. These biblical touches point to the same period of the evolution of LG as the elaborate treatment of Nél's connections with the Israelites in the Introduction, namely the 9th century. We cannot follow the evolution of Gabál Cesra step by step as was the case with the Introduction, all the versions of LG being practically identical on this subject, but from the few indications that may be found in the text, it may be inferred that the same forces were operating in it.

My view on the original position of Gabál Cesra, viz. that it arose from a separate tale of Banba, which served to explain certain names, is corroborated by the coincidence that we know another similar story, which was never officially embodied in LG

and never was taken *hi son gabála.* It has been preserved in Ba, which was not subject to the same unifying process as A, but eagerly assimilated all dispersed traditions. Before the tale of Cesair, Ba says: *Asberat araili co mbeith gabáil ind-Erind ria Cesair. Capa 7 Laigne 7 Luasat, triar iascaire do lucht na hEspaine dochumlaisetar co hErinn co facatar a suthaige, co romidraiset techt ar cula ar cenn a tri mban. Oc tinntud doib dosfarraid an diliu co rosbaid oc Tuaig Inbir 7 ni farcabsat clanna. De quibus hoc carmen: Capa is Laigne is Luasat grind 7 rl.* A lacks this episode, so it need not have belonged to X. But the redactor of Ba found it in some older authority. It was apparently never intended as a part of LG, for it represents a separate tale, probably a local tradition, of three fishermen coming from Spain to Ireland. It never was so fortunate as to find a place among the official Invasions, but just on this account it is the more instructive. It provides a plain proof that at an early period there were isolated traditions on men coming to Ireland from foreign countries. It throws a light on the composition of LG, but it never influenced the growth of the saga in any way.

§ 16. Partholon.

The Invasion of Partholon was already a part of LG when that of Cesair was prefixed. It occurs in the very earliest account of the saga we possess, namely in that of Nennius. As is related in HB § 13: *Primus autem venit Partholomaeus cum mille hominibus, tam de viris et mulieribus, et creverunt usque ad quattuor millia hominum; et venit mortalitas super eos et in una septimana omnes perierunt, et non remansit ex illis etiam unus.* We also find an early allusion to Partholon in Cín Dromma Snechta, preserved in LB, as appears from a marginal note in that MS., on which see p. 119. This note, however, only concerns the division of Ireland among Partholon's sons, and does not tell anything about the tradition represented by the Cín. The next mention of Gabál Partholóin is that in Ba.

According to Ba Partholon came 311 or 1002 years after the Deluge, *assin Micil Greic* by *Aladacia, Gothia and Espain* to Ireland. He had with him three sons and four women, and a great retinue besides. Seven years after his arrival he won a

battle over the Fomoraig under Cicul Grigenchos; it was a magic battle and was fought against men with one foot, one hand and one eye. Many rivers, lakes and plains were made in his age. Partholon lived thirty years in Ireland; then he died on Mag Elta. His sons divided Ireland into four parts, and this division remained until five hundred years after Partholon's death. For then all his descendants, 5000 men and 4000 women, died of a plague. Three poems illustrate the story of Partholon: one on his companions (*Robo maith in muinter mór*), one on his arrival (*Partholon canas táinic*), and one on his adventures (*A choemu cláir Cuind*).

In A the narrative does not deviate from that in Ba, but it is much shorter. Now one might suppose that A represents the version of X in a purer form, while Ba may have expanded it by introducing interpolations from elsewhere. But, at least in one instance, there is a clear indication that, here also, the redactor of A was abridging in his usual manner. According to A Partholon died of the same plague as his *muinter*, while Ba records an interval of 500 years between the two events. Now the poem *A choemu cláir Cuind*, which forms part of both versions, agrees with Ba, so that here A makes a mistake in order to be brief. This makes it probable that in other instances, too, Ba represents X better than A. In A the battle with Cicul Grigenchos is left out as well as the passage on the *muinter* and the plague. Of course, omissions of this kind do not stamp A as a new stage in the evolution of LG; but some other trifling modifications do.

In the first place A introduces the tale of Tuan mac Cairill (see p. 150), which is so far unknown to Ba. As I have already pointed out, its earliest version occurs in a fragment in LU, and it arose from a reasonable desire to explain the existence of surviving traditions on the earliest invasions, after the people who had taken part in them had perished. Yet it cannot be ancient, as Nennius expressly states that not even one of Partholon's companions survived. This remark of Nennius shows that here A added on its own account. Of course the story of Tuan itself may be much older than its interpolation in LG, and this even must be so, as it is older than the Invasion of Cesair (see p. 150), which occurs in both A and Ba. Only Ba represents an older stage of LG, where it had not yet been introduced into the body of the saga.

Of even more importance is the genealogical connection. As we have seen in § 13, Ba has preserved the oldest form of a genealogical connection between the Goidels and Jafeth son of Noah, by making them descend from Rifath mac Gomer meic Iafeth. A on the other hand, does away with the original genealogy and adopts that of LSA by giving Magoch and his son Baad the place that was first assigned to Gomer and Rifath. Now Partholon, according to Ba is: *mac Sera mic Sru mic Esru mic Baath mic Rifaith Scuit,* for, as it is expressed in Ba: *is clann Rifaith Scuit cech gabail rogab Eri acht Cesair 7 ic Sru mac Esru cutric cairdes Partholoin 7 Nemid. 7 Fer mBolc 7 Tuath nDe Danann 7 Milid Espain.* So here already a genealogical connection has been established between Partholon and the Goidels, and I think it is a genuine element of Gabál Partholóin, cf. § 23. A has changed the whole matter, according to the principles of LSA: *Partholon mac Sera mic Sru mic Esru mic Briamin mic Fathecht mic Baaid mic Magoich mic Iafeth.* But the assimilation to the new genealogical principle of A was accomplished in a very imperfect way, for in the Introduction Esru is the son of Goedel Glas, while here an older tradition still peeps through.

So far the innovations of A. They are important enough as concerns the leading forces in the evolution of LG, especially the character of A, but they do not effect a great change in the general trend of the story, and both A and Ba, but for A's giving way to the authority of LSA, may be said to represent fairly well their common original X. Only Ba has preserved several details more carefully. Nor does the tale seem to have changed much in the centuries lying between HB and X. For, waiving the possibility that so many details were not known in Nennius' time — who will inform us? — the general character was quite the same in the 8th century and in the 11th. Nennius does not speak of rivers and lakes bursting from the earth, or of plains being laid down, but even these insignificant details may have been omitted by him in his short account. In any case, the Gabál Partholóin does not show such a gradual evolution as the Introduction.

Nor do the later versions bring many important innovations. Yet there existed isolated traditions of Partholon, too, just as was the case with the first Invasion. We find some of them in the versions C and D but not in LB, which is entirely based on Ba, save

for a few additions from A (or Bb), but in Lec II. So Lec II has another tradition of Partholon's death, in connection with the battle of Cicul Grigenchos: *Mad iar n-aroile slicht is re mParrtholon domebaid* [sc. in cath] ⁊ *is and romarbad Cicol mac Nil* ⁊ *tucad ara muintir* ⁊ *co ngonad Parrtholon* ⁊ *co rob do gaib cro na ngon si fuair bas iar trill mair tar eis in catha.* More remarkable is the episode on the first jealousy of Partholon (*cét-ét Erend*), when his wife Delgnad or Elgnad was taken in adultery with his servant Topa. It is entitled *Do gabail Parrthaloin beos* ⁊ *dia ṡligid* ⁊ *dia imthechtaib o Meigind*[1]) *co hErinn,* and makes the impression of being an isolated tract. It is interspersed with short poems, the text of which is unfortunately very corrupt. It was also adopted by O'Clery in his copy. The intercalation of this story of the first jealousy represents the last episode in the evolution of Gabál Partholóin, for neither in C nor in D were any other additions made. Therefore no more details on this Invasion need be given now. As to its origin see § 23.

§ 17. Nemed.

The third Invasion also, was first mentioned by Nennius, HB § 13: *Secundus ad Hiberniam venit Nimeth, filius quidam Agnominis, qui fertur navigasse super mare annum et dimidium, et postea tenuit portum in Hibernia, fractis navibus ejus, et mansit ibidem per multos annos, et iterum navigavit cum suis et ad Hispaniam reversus est. Et postea venerunt tres filii cujusdam militis Hispaniae cum triginta ciulis apud illos, et cum triginta conjugibus in unaquaque ciula, et manserunt ibi per spacium unius anni. Et postea conspiciunt turrim vitream in medio mari, et homines conspiciebant super turrim et quaerebant loqui ad illos et nunquam respondebant; et ipsi uno anno ad oppugnationem turris properaverunt cum omnibus ciulis suis, et cum omnibus mulieribus, excepta una ciula, quae confracta est naufragio, in qua erant viri triginta totidemque mulieres. Et aliae naves navigaverunt ad expugnandam turrim; et dum omnes descenderent in littore quod erat circa turrim, operuit illos mare et demersi sunt, et non evasit unus ex illis; et de familia illius quae relicta*

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[1]) C has *Meigind* for *Micil Greic* in Ba. According to A, P. came *de Grecaib Scythia.*



est propter fractionem, tota Hibernia impleta est usque in hodiernum diem. Et postea venerunt paulatim a partibus Hispaniae et tenuerunt regiones plurimas.

The next allusion to Gabál Nemid is that in Cín Dromma Snechta, but this does not throw any light on the version contained in that MS., for LB and S have transmitted nothing from it but a short remark belonging to the last portion of the Invasion: *gnídís barca doibh dia mbolgaibh no siad libhearna rig Grec dogadsad leo do theacht i nErinn, amal asbeart Cin Droma Snechta.*

So we have no text to compare with HB until the 10th century, namely X. In order to fix the tradition of that authority, it will be necessary to examine Ba and A first.

After the pestilence that carried off all the descendants of Partholon's colony, Ireland lay waste for thirty years. Then Nemed came from Scythia. According to both A and Ba he is a son of Agnoman and a descendant of Sru, who sprang from the race of Rifath (Ba) or Magoch (A). He brought thirty-four boats and in each boat there were thirty men. In the midst of the sea they found a golden tower. A vehement desire for the gold seized them, so that they did not perceive the rising of the sea with the tide, and all were drowned except the crew of one boat. After a year and a half they reached Ireland. The story of the tower and the long wanderings is only found in Ba. Both texts give the names of Nemed's four sons (Ba with the addition of their wives) and of the lakes, plains and raths that were made in their age, as well as of the battles they fought against the Fomoraig. There are only a few slight differences between A and Ba, and besides A omits all superfluous details. At last Nemed himself dies of the plague. His progeny is put under a heavy tax by the Fomoraig. A son of Nemed, a grandson, and a great-grandson, Fergus Lethderc, Semeon mac Iarboneoil Fatha and Erglan mac Beoain mic Stairn, lead an army of sixty thousand men against the oppressors. They attack the tower of Conang, king of the Fomoraig, and they are about to conquer it, when another Fomorian, Morc, comes up with a large fleet. At the same time the tide comes in and the descendants of Nemed are all drowned save thirty men. Bethach, son of Iarbonel Fáith, remains in Ireland with ten men and their wives, but they all die after sixty years. Semeon flies to Greece, where his descendants are enslaved by the Greeks, until they escape and return

to Ireland as Fir Bolg. Fergus Lethderc and his son Britan Maol go to Britain, where they fill the country with their progeny, together with the race of Britus mac Isicoin, until the arrival of the Saxons. The descendants of Bethach son of Iarbonel, at last, leave Ireland for the northern islands of the world, whence they return later as Tuatha Dé Danann. The account of the struggle with the Fomoraig is more detailed in A, while for the rest the two texts are pretty identical.

As we may assume that not only A but also Ba must have abridged the text in some respects, there results but one important question concerning the tradition of X from the above comparison of A and Ba: is the tale of the golden tower in the sea old, or is it but an interpolation in Ba? For the solution of this problem we have to go back to the passage quoted on p. 155 from HB. A careful reading shows that it is somewhat corrupt. The sentence on the *tres filii cujusdam militis Hispaniae* does not fit well in the context. The writer, who had first related Nemed's return to Spain, overlapped the rest of the story and mentioned Míl and his sons, because they also came from Spain. Then he returns to Nemed. The reason of the introduction of a sentence[1]) on Míl lies apparently in the fact that the end of Nemed's invasion was given before the details of their struggle at Conang's tower. The rest of Nennius' description of the battle of Tor Conaing agrees wonderfully well with that of LG. The men of Nemed besiege the tower in the sea *cum omnibus ciulis suis*; then there come *aliae naves ad expugnandam turrim*. The other boats cannot have been Nemed's but the enemy's: so it is understood that Nemed had conquered the tower, for the enemy wanted to attack it again. This is exactly what is told in LG and the *aliae naves* correspond to Morc's fleet in A (so this represents an old tradition though it is not mentioned in Ba). Afterwards they were all swallowed up by the sea, except the crew of one boat: here, too, we find again the tradition of A and Ba. Now does HB contain a trace of the story of the golden tower, visited by Nemed before

[1]) I think this sentence was misunderstood by Zimmer (Nenn. Vind. p. 221). HB § 13 says the Meic Míled remained in Spain *per spacium unius anni*, while § 15 has *per multos annos*. This controversy is removed if we take *apud illos* in the sentence quoted as 'with the descendants of Nemed': the Meic Míled had arrived in Spain many years before, but they did not meet their kinsmen until then; they remained together in Spain for another year.



he reached Ireland? I think it does. The words *tenuit portum in Hibernia fractis navibus ejus* cannot have any other meaning than that Nemed's ships were wrecked before he came to Ireland, and the story of the golden tower is the only means to explain it. Consequently the fact is once for all established that A and Ba represent together the exact tradition of X, which — leaving aside the creation of plains, lakes &c., a usual ornament of every invasion — had not changed in any respect since HB.

But there is a portion of Gabál Nemid, which does not properly belong to it at all: the end, containing the adventures of Nemed's descendants. According to LG some of them went to Britain, others to Greece, and a third group to the Northern Islands. Of all this HB has not one word; in § 13 it is understood that Nemed went back to Spain and that from thence his descendants came to Ireland; then § 14 goes on: *novissime venit dam hoctor, et ibi habitavit cum omni genere suo usque hodie. Istorith, Istorini filius, tenuit Dalrieta cum suis; Builc autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam, et alias circiter; filii Liethan obtinuerunt in regione et in aliis regionibus, id est Guir et Cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a Cuneda et a filiis ejus ab omnibus Brittanicis regionibus.* On the *filii Liethan*, who do not concern us here, see Nenn. Vind. p. 92. Zimmer has made it probable that with *dam hoctor* the Tuatha Dé Danann are meant (Nenn. Vind. p. 222), while Builc, of course, is a designation for the Fir Bolg. The tradition that they populated Man and other islands is doubtless genuine, as appears from the Gabál Fer mBolg: *co ragaibset i nAraind 7 i nIle 7 a Rechraind 7 a nInsib Gall 7 a n-arailib innsib olchena ut dicitur in Britania*[1]) (Sa). Nennius evidently knew similar traditions about the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann as LG, but he made them come from Spain; afterwards LG introduced an innovation by designating Greece as the origin of the Fir Bolg — probably in order to create a new connection between the Irish and the Greeks —, and the northern islands as that of the Tuatha Dé Danann on account of their magical powers, cf. § 26. It is obvious that HB represents an older tradition, as it agrees with the general idea of LG that all the colonies of invaders

[1]) *Ut dicitur in Britania* shows that this passage was taken in Ba from the Irish Nennius, where it occurs in exactly the same words. So the Irish translator of B did not draw it from LG; but he must have had some other Irish source, where it occurred.



came over from Spain, which again is based on a sentence in Orosius' 'Adversus Paganos' (see § 22). Here we have again an indication of the evolution of LG in the earliest centuries. As to the Fir Bolg, we are even able to establish the exact time when the innovation was introduced. For LB preserves a sentence from Cín Dromma Snechta quoted above on p. 156, proving that at the end of the 8th century the two traditions existed alongside of each other. Probably the one current in Britain at the time was somewhat older than the one in Ireland, but there cannot be a long interval between them, and we may take the second half of the 8th century as the period when the Greek origin of the Fir Bolg was established.

These details on the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann bring us to the two following invasions. Are the short phrases on *dam hoctor* and *Builc cum suis* in § 14 the survivals of Gabál Fer mBolg and Gabál Tuath nDé Danann in LG? It is hardly possible. Of Partholon and Nemed HB gives a full account, why not then of their successors? We should expect to hear something of the two battles of Magh Tuired and so much more, if Nennius had found the two invasions after Nemed related circumstantially in his copy of LG. From the text of HB as it is now it can only be inferred that Nennius never saw a complete account of the invasions of the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann. His short remarks on these invaders have doubtless for their origin only the final passage of Gabál Nemid in LG. For there the descendants of Nemed are enumerated in the same peremptory way as in HB. Nennius may have left out some details, but at the same time there were in his copy particulars of other descendants of Nemed that do not figure in LG: Istorith and the sons of Liethan. This is an important conclusion: in Nennius' time the Invasions of the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann did not yet exist as separate portions of LG, but only as an appendix to the Invasion of Nemed. And even here these two invasions were yet in an older stage of their evolution, both still having for their starting-point Spain and not Greece or the northern islands.

So far the period of organic evolution (HB, A, Ba). In that of compilation (C, D) not much was added. LB again gives the text of Ba with a few interspersed remarks from A. Thus the passage on the battle at Conang's tower, where Ba omits all details of Morc and his sixty ships, is completed in LB from A.

In the same way some other insignificant particulars are introduced from A. Lec II goes a little farther than LB by giving some new traditions, at least in the final section. But as these additions mainly refer to the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann, it will be better not to give them here, but in the two next paragraphs. As to Gabál Nemid itself, Lec II only adds a genealogy of Nemed and Partholon, which does not agree with any other tradition and probably was taken from a rather corrupt source: *Is examail fogabar in genelach sa Parrthaloin* 7 *Nemid .i. da mac Agnoimean mic Sdairn mic Thæid mic Beoem mic Mair mic Airrthecht mic Iathacht mic Iathfeth mic Næi mic Laimiach. Sil mBeothoich mic Iardanainis. Sil Semiainis mic Sdairnainis. Sil Fergusa Leithderg mic Nemid, is ead fil i Mainn Conain.* Nowhere else is there a tradition that Partholon and Nemed were brothers[1]), and the rest of the genealogy, though it contains some very old names (see § 13), is quite incomplete if compared with the original genealogy in Ba. So it may be dismissed here as a corrupt offspring of the pedigree quoted on p. 142. For the rest there is nothing new on Nemed in Lec II. The same thing may be said of D, except the account of the battle at Conang's tower. This story is more elaborate in D than in any other text, and probably O'Clery used other sources for it. All the additions in D cannot be based upon mere fiction, as the poem 'Togail Tuir Conainn' (LL b 7), for instance, agrees with D in some respects; thus in both sources the three chiefs who escaped from the battle, divide Ireland into three parts, and do not leave the country until they are compelled by a pestilence and by fear of a second attack by the Fomoraig. It is very likely that there existed a separate account of this battle, just as there were separate tales of the two battles of Mag Tuired, but it would be beyond the scope of the present investigation to look for traces of it here.

§ 18. The Fir Bolg.

Builc cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam et alias circiter, this is all HB has of the fourth invasion; besides, as has been shown on p. 158, HB still made the Fir Bolg come over from Spain

[1]) Ba and C preserve an additional tradition that Nemed descended from Agla, a son of Partholon.



and not from Greece. So the tradition of their sojourn in Greece and the hard slavery they endured there did not yet exist. HB does not teach us anything more. That the Gabál Fer mBolg occurred in Cín Dromma Snechta, even with the Greek episode in it, is seen in the phrase preserved in Ba and C, and quoted on p. 155. Yet neither HB nor Cín Dromma Snechta knew this invasion as a separate portion of LG, for, so far as we can judge from the scanty vestiges, both treat the story of the Fir Bolg as a sequel to Gabál Nemid: in HB only one short sentence is devoted to it, while the preceding invasions are given at full length, and the one phrase of Cín Dromma Snechta bearing on it that has survived, is given in the MSS. under Gabál Nemid, and not under Gabál Fer mBolg. An *argumentum ex silentio* is always somewhat dangerous, but here it seems to be justified by the wording of HB. If the whole of Partholon's and Nemed's invasion is ancient and the full history of the Meic Miled, why then not give the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann in extenso too? The supposition that the fourth and the fifth invasion did not yet exist as separate episodes in Nennius' time attains a high degree of probability, which is increased by the consideration that they are given twice in our texts of LG: once in a short form at the end of Gabál Nemid, and once more elaborately afterwards. But of course, the supposition needs to be corroborated by more conclusive arguments; on which see §§ 24—26.

The first full account we have of the fourth invasion is that of Ba, as preserved in S. Semion and his companions fled after the battle of Tor Conaing to Greece, where they were enslaved and had to make fertile plains out of the rocky soil: *tarrudh uire for leccaib lomma comtar muighe fo scothaib*. Loathing their bondage, they made boats from the bags (*bolga*) in which they had brought the soil from Ireland, and went back to their own country. This happened two hundred years after the battle. They divided Ireland into three parts, and of their five chiefs Slaine got the first part, Gann and Sengann the second, Genann and Rudraige the third. These three groups are the Fir Bolg, Fir Domnann and Galeoin. Then follow different etymologies of these names. The five chiefs just mentioned were the first five kings of Ireland. Their successors were Fiacha Cennfinn mac Stairn, under whom all the cattle had white heads, Rinnal mac Genainn, Fodbgenid mac

Sengainn, under whom spears grew on the trees, and Eochu mac Eirc. During the reign of the last king came the Tuatha Dé Danann and the first battle of Magh Tuired was fought. In this battle Eochu was killed. In his time there had been no rain but only dew in Ireland, there was no year without harvest, and he was the first to make laws. Nuadu, king of the Tuatha Dé Danann, lost his hand in the same battle, so that he had to get a silver hand. The Fir Bolg fled to the surrounding islands, where they lived until they were banished by the Picts. Then they came back to Ireland, and received land from Coirpre Niafer; but afterwards they were exterminated by the Ulstermen under Cuchulainn and Conall Cernach. The whole narrative is illustrated by these poems: *Fir Bolg batar sunn a sel,* on the length of each king's reign, *Findaig in senchus diadá,* on the whole Invasion, *Coic coicidh* on the division of Ireland.

The tradition of A, of course, is much shorter, especially as it lacks the adventures of the Fir Bolg after the first battle of Mag Tuired, and even the account of the battle itself. Is this an addition in Ba, or was it omitted in A? The battle of Mag Tuired had no need to be described here, for a longer narrative on it recurs in the Invasion of the Tuatha Dé Danann. In fact, here it serves only as an introduction to the later adventures. In those further adventures there is an allusion to the Ulstersaga, which does not occur anywhere else in LG. Besides, Ba states in the middle of the story: *is í sin imirci Mac nUmoir,* and the narrative breaks off suddenly with the words *7rl.* Hence it follows that we have here a separate tale, entitled *Imirci Mac nUmoir,* which was interpolated by the author of Ba, as it bore on the same subject as the Gabál Fer mBolg. For the same reason the poem *Findaig in senchus* seems to be a recent addition in Ba, as well as the account of the first battle of Mag Tuired. But A also introduced a few additions: a poem by Columcille (*Dene mo fresneis a mic*) and a genealogy of King Slaine back to Nemed: *Fir Bolc clanna Dela mic Loith* (or *Loich*) *mic Tait mic Ortait mic Tribuit mic Gothoirb mic Goiscen mic Fortech mic Semion mic Ergalain mic Beoain mic Stairn mic Nemid.* This genealogy does not occur in Ba, and may have been taken from elsewhere. For the rest Ba and A are identical, save for some slight details.

The same may be said of C, at least of LB, which obviously is but a compilation of A and Ba. But Lec II introduces a few innovations, especially on the origin of the Fir Bolg and the etymology of their names. These are given, however, in the final portion of Gabál Nemid, where the Fir Bolg are mentioned for the first time. Of course they do not all represent ancient traditions, but are rather the results of recent speculations. I give them here as a curiosity:

Fir Bolg immorro do rada riu ona bolcaib criad rocuirsead forna lecaib loma 7 Fir Domnand o domain toirneam na h-uiri forna lecaib loma 7 Gaileoin ona gaib leoin robai aco oc tachailt na h-uiri. No Fir Bolc do rada riu dia fuaridar crich urchoideach sa Greic o rig Grec lan do piastaib neme co robe cæmna doronsat forna piastaib uir Erenn do tharrad leo i mbolcaib combo Fir Bolc iad ona bolcaib uiri rucsad leo na curchaib. . . . Is airi adbearar Fir Bolc friu uair doberdis uir leo a Herind da reic re Grecaib ar or 7 ar airgead do thuigiudug na cathrach. Uair dobadar naithreacha nemnecha nemi 7 piasta urchoidecha isna cathrachaib sin la Grecu 7 is esin bunad firindi in adbair fa n-abar Fir Bolc riu 7 no theiddis cusin cendaigecht sin soir 7 anoir cacha bliadna 7 Fir Domnann o domain toirnem na h-uiri isna bolcaib 7 Gaileoin ona tachailt. Ocus is do síl Nemid doib diblinaib [sc. Fir Bolg and Tuatha Dé Danann]. All this is but an expansion of the etymologies given in Ba, though there is no mention made there of the venomous animals in Greece: but the well-known legend that Ireland does not tolerate serpents or snakes will easily account for this additional etymology. On the other hand it should be noticed that Lec II omits a second etymology of 'Gaileoin' that was given in Sa: *gaileon no gailfhian, .i. in trian nogebedh lama forna da trian aile*; this was adopted by O'Clery: *Galeoin eccin (.i. go deimhin) ona ngail rogabhsat ainmniucchudh.*

As to D, it does not contain anything new, but for the introduction of another poem *Ere áras na n-iorgal.* But the composition of the whole section is changed. O'Clery had omitted the final portion of Gabál Nemid on the further adventures of the descendants of Semion and Bethach. He prefixed the passage referring to the Fir Bolg to the fourth invasion, and that on the Tuatha Dé Danann to the next. Though this change doubtless meant a considerable gain to the unity of the work, its original aspect was to a large extent altered by it.

§ 19. The Tuatha Dé Danann.

Zimmer (Nenn. Vind. p. 222) suggests that the following passage in HB § 14 contains an allusion to the Gabál Tuath nDé Danann: *novissime venit dam hoctor* ('a company of eight men'); *et ibi habitavit cum omni genere suo usque hodie.* He compares it with a passage in Ba, which apparently represents a very old tradition: *Atberat co mbad é Bethach mac Iardainis tuisech na gabala* 7 *na n-eladan* 7 *secht toisig iar sin .i. Dagda, Diancecht, Creidni, Lucha, Nuada Argatlam, Lug mac Cein, Goibnenn.*

Unfortunately Zimmer does not adduce any arguments in favour of his hypothesis, and therefore it is better to leave the question open as to whether Nennius knew at all of the Tuatha Dé Danann or the 'Clanna Beothaig'. In any case he does not give their name nor was there in his copy of LG a separate chapter devoted to them; but if they really are implied there, they were treated as the Fir Bolg, that is to say in the appendix to the Invasion of Nemed. From Cin Dromma Snechta not even the slightest allusion to them has been preserved. Our oldest trustworthy authority on the Tuatha Dé Danann is the next one: Ba, where we find the following account.

The Tuatha Dé Danann came to Ireland in clouds and mists and burned their ships after them. They had been living in the northern islands of the world, where they had learned the art of sorcery. They had used it in a battle between the Athenians and the Philistines by resuscitating the Athenian dead. They had learnt their art in four cities, Failias, Goirias, Finnias and Muirias; from the first of these they brought the Lía Fáil to Ireland. On their arrival Nuadu was their king; but when in the first battle of Mag Tuired his hand had been cut off by the Fir Bolg, they put Bress in his place. Afterwards Diancecht made a silver hand for Nuadu, and he was restored in the kingdom; but in the second battle of Mag Tuired the Fomoraig killed him. In the same battle Lug killed his grandfather Balar Balcbéimnech. For this same Lug the feast of Lugnasad was celebrated; his fostermother was Tailltiu, who was married successively to Eochu mac Eirc and to Eochu Garb mac Duach Daill, and who gave her name to the town of Tailltiu. The successive kings of the Tuatha Dé Danann were: Nuadu, Bress, Lug, Eochu Ollathair or the Dagda, Delbaed mac Ogma, Fiacha mac Delbaed, and the

three sons of Cermad, Mac Cuill, Mac Cecht and Mac Gréine. For the rest the whole chapter consists of the names of their *aes dána* and their genealogies. Along with a few shorter poems, there are two long ones illustrating the prose text, *Heriu co n-uaill co n-idnaib* and *Tuatha Dé Danann fo diamair.*

On the whole the account of A agrees with that of Ba. But in some particulars there are salient differences. A omits the story of the Athenians and the Philistines as well as the four magic cities, although the mentioning of the Lía Fáil makes it probable, that they did occur in the source of A. In the same way A hasn't the statement on the eight leaders of the Tuatha Dé Danann, quoted on p. 164, or a tract as to whether they were demons or not. On the other hand, A adds to the list of people belonging to the Tuatha Dé Danann several genealogies — perhaps in order to make good the loss of some mythical *aes dána* —, and a poem *Estid a eolchu cen on* by Flann Mainistrech. It is impossible now to make out what is ancient in these traditions, and what is due to recent speculations; an investigation of the Gabál Tuath nDé Danann would be in itself very interesting, but out of place here. It is very likely that both A and Ba, after they diverged from X, added some passages; for there were so many tales extant on the Tuatha Dé Danann. Even in Bb this was done, as appears from the tale entitled *Imthechta Tuirill Bicreo,* which is not even found in A. Besides, it should be noticed that Gabál Tuath nDé Danann in its literary form is still in the process of formation more than any other Invasion. The traditions it contains are not yet fixed. Thus Ba first says of the Tuatha Dé Danann *dolotar dochum Herenn cen ethru cen barcco i nnellaib ciach co rofersait for Sliabh Chonmaicne Rein i Connachtaibh,* but *atbearat araile comad i n-ethraib nothiastais.* The second opinion recurs in the next portion: *atberat immorro fairenn aili comad morlongas tancatar Tuatha Dé Danann a n-Erinn ⁊ roloiscsit a mbarca ⁊ is don dluim ciach bai dib ica loscad adubratar araile conid isin dluim ciach thistais ⁊ ni h-eadh on, ar is iat so na da fochaind ararloiscsit a longa .i. arna fogbatis fini Fomra iat do fogail forro ⁊ arna fogbatis fein conair theichid a hErinn.* There is another controversy as to whether the Tuatha Dé Danann were demons or not, which is answered by Ba in the negative, because the arts that were introduced by them never were destroyed, not even after the coming of the Faith.

The numerous stories current on the Tuatha Dé Danann caused a gradual amplification of their Gabál during the evolution of LG. In LB different opinions are expressed (as on Orbsen, whether he was Manannan himself or his brother) and many names of *aes dána* are added, new particulars on Lug are given, and the whole of the 'Tuatha' are summed up in a long poem *Eisdead æs eagnai.* This poem was left out in A as appears from a marginal note in LL: *Hic debet esse Estid æs egna.* Lec II does not deviate from LB in the Gabál Tuath nDé Danann itself, but it adds many suppositions as to the origin of the Tuatha Dé Danann, just as it does for the Fir Bolg in the final part of Gabál Nemid. They are as follows:

Adbearaid aroile Tuatha Dé Danann comad do sil Beothaich mic Iardanainis doib .i. do muinter Nemid, don lucht dochuadar soir do chuindgid na h-ingine ar gabastair, 7 doronsat feis mair thair co tangadar iarum cind re maire a n-ui 7 a n-iarmui; la med a n-eolais dano dolodar cen noithi cen eathra co ndeisidar for Sleib Conmaicne Rein i Condachtaib. Atberaid araile comad deamna grada ecsamla teachadar do nim aræn risin loinges dodeachaid Luitcifear cona deamnaib do nibh, ar fæmad chuirp ærda umpu, do millead 7 d' aslach for sil nAdaim. Is he les fristucadar æs in iarmorachta sin i ndiaid demain 7 a muintiri. Tiagaid thra in lucht sin i sidaib 7 tiagaid fo muirib 7 tiagaid i conrechtaib 7 tiagaid co h-amaide 7 tiagait co tuaith cingtha. Is as sin is bunadas doib uili .i. muinter demain. Ni ruca genelach na ndaine sea for cula nocho rofeasidar fir in domain olchena. Ocus doræbadar in sluag sa uili la firindi Mac Milead 7 la tairchidal chreidme Crist. Acht ata isin libar de subternis asbeartadar araile comad fileada do Grecaib Tuatha Dé Danann co n-imad a cumachta co n-imthigdis for muirib cen leasdru i ndiaid ina deasorbibain bithfaithi (sic). *Robdar tuatha rig 7 cenela, it e anmanna na coimthech cona tuathaib dea .i. Dealbæth 7 Ealathan 7 Breas, las roferad cath Bresi .i. cath Muigi Tuiread fri Fomorchaib, 7 Dagda 7 Lug Lamfota foden.* With this theory of the mysterious 'Liber de Subternis' cf. the statement in the Gabál Tuath nDé Danann of Lec II: *tancadar asa Grec Sceitheacda.*

As to version D, the Gabál here begins with an introduction taken from the appendix of Gabál Nemid, in the same way as Gabál Fer mBolg. O'Clery makes the Tuatha Dé Danann come from the *innsi tuaiscertacha na Grecci.* The section on the *æs*

dána is very succinct. No innovations are introduced, but for a very strange genealogy of Bress' grandfather Nét, who according to all the other versions was a grandson of Alldui, the ancestor of all the Tuatha Dé Danann; while D has: *Breas m. Ealathain m. Néd m. Ciolcaigh m. Ploisc m. Lipairn m. Galaim m. Larccaidh m. Mercill m. Sailtchlaraigh m. Sdairn Fhiaclaigh m. Sipuirn m. Sadail m. Ucad m. Effic m. Pelist m. Fedil m. Cuis m. Caim m. Nóe.* By tracing this genealogy back to Cam, O'Clery probably wanted to corroborate his view that the Tuatha Dé Danann really were demons.

§ 20. The Meic Miled.

Nennius § 13 speaks of the sons of Míl: *et postea venerunt tres filii cujusdam militis Hispaniae cum triginta ciulis apud illos et cum triginta conjugibus in unaquaque ciula, et manserunt ibi* [sc. in Hispania] *per spacium unius anni,* and again in § 14: *et postea venerunt ad Hiberniam post mille et duos annos postquam mersi sunt Aegyptii in Rubrum Mare.* From Cín Dromma Snechta LB has taken a remark concerning the meeting of Banba and Eriu (queens of the T. D. D.) with the sons of Míl; and a note on the same matter is quoted from Liber Hymnorum in the Trip. Life of S. Patrick (ed. Stokes p. 426). Another note in Liber Hymnorum, glossing Fiacc's Hymn vs. 37 (Thes. Pal. II, p. 316) says: *Se meic Miled ⁊ se meic Bile meic Breguin simul venerunt ad Hiberniam sed clariores sunt filii Miled quam filii Breguin. Haec sunt nomina filiorum Miled: Eber, Erimon, Ir, Donn, Amargen, Colptha. O Eber atat fir Muman et ab eo Mumonia dicitur; o Erimon immorro ata Leth Cuind ule ⁊ Lagein cenmithaat Ulaid, o Ir immorro ataatside. It uate dano clanna in triir aile ⁊ nescio ubi sunt. Acht is o Dund nominatur Tech nDuind fri Herind aniar. O Cholptha dano Inber Colptha ubi Boand in mare exit.* Except these sparse statements on the sons of Míl we have no sources on their early exploits other than Ba and A. Fortunately the notes in HB and in Lib. Hymn., scanty though they be, teach us something. Both A and Ba record nine sons of Míl, only two of whom left children, Erimon and Eber. HB knows but three sons of Míl, and Lib. Hymn. states that only Erimon, Eber and Ir were the progenitors of Irish tribes. This

genealogical theory seems to be very old, for in the 7th century genealogical poems edited by Kuno Meyer the sons of Míl already figure as ancestors of royal families. So the three sons of Míl alluded to by Nennius must have been these three progenitors of the Irish race[1]). The other six were added later, as well as, of course, the sons of Bregon &c. No further information can be drawn from the earliest sources. Let us now consider the earliest texts of LG.

The Gabál Mac Míled consists of two parts: the story of Ith and the invasion of the sons of Míl proper. On a fine winter-evening Ith saw Ireland from the tower of Brigantia. Though he was mocked at by his brothers, he crossed to the unknown country. His help was required there to settle a controversy between the three reigning Tuatha Dé Dannan kings on the partition of a certain treasure. Ith advised them to keep friends with each other, and he praised their country, *is maith for n-innsi, as imda a mil 7 a mes 7 a cruithnecht, 7 as mesraigthe ar thes 7 uacht, ata for furthain uili innte.* The Tuatha Dé Danann fearing his envy killed him on Mag Itha. His companions took his body to Spain, and it was to avenge his death that his brothers went after him. One question obtrudes itself immediately: is this story old? Nennius does not allude to it, but no great importance should be attached to this argumentum ex silentio. There are other proofs, however. The praise of Ireland by Ith seems to be an anticipation of that by Amargen, son of Míl, whose priority is vindicated by a (corrupt) retoric occurring in it (*Iascach muir — mothach tír — tomaidm n-eisc — iasc und fo thuind — én lethach — mil partach lág — tomaidm n-eisc — iascach muir*). The quarrel among the three T. D. D. kings has nothing to do with Ith but belongs to the stories of the Tuatha Dé Danann. The name of Ith is merely an abstraction from Mag Itha. And LL (14b20—22) preserves a

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[1]) Notice that they are the three whose names are taken from various place names: *Erimon* from *Eriu*, *Eber* from Irish-Latin *Eberia*, *Ir* from Old-Norse *Iraland* or *Irar*, or perhaps rather from Anglo-Saxon *Irland* or *Yrland*. My view is corroborated by a line in the poem *Naoimsenchas naomh innsi Fail*, of which there are two copies in the Brussels MS. 5100—5104: *Eiremhon, Hir, Eimher ail tri meic Miled go morghrain* or *Eireamon, Eber, Ir ail tri meic Miled a hEaspain.*



passage showing that originally the sons of Míl had themselves seen Ireland from Brigantia: *doronsat meic Miled immarbáig imrama ic tiachtain dochum Herend assin baile in fhaccatar Herind uadib.* These words along with the other indications furnish a conclusive proof that the story of Ith is but an interpolation, and it is no mere accident that it is altogether lacking in HB. As we possess no intermediate stage between HB and X, we cannot infer from external evidence at what time it came in, but this happened in any case before the end of the 10th century, for both A and Ba have it.

In the Invasion of the Meic Miled proper we read of accidents during the crossing, of struggles with the T. D. D., who try to keep them off the coast, of the battles of Sliabh Mis and Tailltiu against the demons, of the meeting with Banba, Eriu and Fodla, and of Amargen's retorics in order to ascertain the conquest of the island by the Goidels. Then a struggle arises between Eber and Erimon on the division of the country, but Amargen makes peace. Henceforth the descendants of Erimon live in the North, and those of Eber in the South.

A comparison of A and Ba shows that this section is almost the same in both. The order is somewhat different as A mentions the death of Airennán, Ír, and Scéne before the Meic Míled reach Ireland, whereas in Ba it is recorded later, along with that of Donn and Erech. A does not speak of the battle of Tailltiu, and Ba, on the other hand, has but a very summary account of the meeting with Banba, Eriu, and Fodla. But all these slight modifications should be imputed to the scribes, and not to variants in the tradition. Though Ba has one poem, *Ocht meic Galaim,* which must be based on the story of Galam and Nectinebus, that is to say on a tradition unknown in A, most of the poems are the same in both, even the retorics by Amargen. Another poem that only occurs in Ba, *Tascur Mac Miled dar muir*, must be quite late, and the same must be said of *Se meic Miledh* in A. We may fairly assume that, but for unimportant additions and modifications, A and Ba represent the text of X. We know that X had not quite the same version as HB, for X had nine (or eight) sons of Míl instead of three. For the rest, none of the traditions enumerated seem to have existed in Nennius' time, for there is not the slightest trace of them in HB. Accordingly, the great development of this Gabál

took place between the 8th and the 11th century. Before that time it existed only in germ.

As to version C, its earliest representative LB once more appears to have been made up of the versions A, Ba and Bb. In the main Ba is followed, but the account of the death of Scéne, for instance, has been taken from A. For a few particulars LB is indebted to Bb: for the instance names of the servants' servants (*mogaid na mogad*) at the crossing to Ireland, which are only found in Bb; for this reason probably LB adds: *7 ni h-íad is lanoirdraica isna leabraibh.* When speaking of Banba, Fodla and Eriu, LB inserts a passage from Cín Dromma Snechta, and in some other places the text is enlarged a little on the scribe's own account. In the same way Lec II does not deviate much from the older text. The only addition in this MS. that claims special mention is in the tract on Erimon's sons. Of Irial Fáith mac Erimoin it is said: *is ris adeirthe Nuada Airgedlam,* a statement which could hardly be based on a genuine tradition. After a long digression on Erimon's sons and their descendants, the text runs on: *Airmidter cland aile do breith do Eremon i n Erinn. i. Alan, Eidenn, Aine, Caithiar, Caithear, Cerna;* and in the same way Lec II says of Eber: *7 airmid eolaig cland do beith aici i n-Erinn .i. Conmæl mac Ebir rogob rigi nErenn, 7 Alban, 7 Caur, Corand, Edar, Airb, Airbe.* But, as these names themselves show clearly, they owe their existence to comparatively late speculations. C therefore does not represent a much further developed stage of the saga. The same may be said of D: O'Clery's version does not go beyond Lec II.

§ 21. Synopsis of the growth of the six Invasions.

As to the antiquity of the current traditions, they do not take us back so far here as in the Introduction on the Goidels. There a few remarks in the genealogical poems showed that there existed a story of Míl even before Nennius. Here we have no traces taking us back beyond HB. The copy of LG, used by Nennius, consisted of but three sections: Gabál Partholoin, Gabál Nemid with an appendix on Nemed's descendants, and Gabál Mac Miled. Though several details may have been lacking in that remote period, as, for instance, the making of plains, lakes, forts &c., yet the general trend of Nennius' LG was not

much different from the one we know from A and Ba. The principal additions in the period 800—1000 are: The Invasion of Cesair, which is based on an equally old, but isolated tradition, and the Invasions of the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann, which developed from the appendix of Gabál Nemid, under the influence of popular stories. In fact, the germ of these two Invasions was given in that appendix: several groups of invaders, all descending from Nemed, are mentioned there, and among them Builc and Dam hoctor 'the company of eight men'. All additional particulars about them are but later ornaments, in HB they still come over from Spain — like all the other invaders — and not from Greece or the Northern islands. Accordingly in the sections on the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann there must have been forces at work in those two centuries that gave the stories quite another aspect; cf. §§ 25—26, where it will be shown, that those additions for the most part were patched up from heterogeneous legends. The Invasion of the sons of Míl, too, was subject to important alterations. The tradition represented by HB is this: Three sons of Míl — probably Erimon, Eber and Ír, as the two first names occur already in early 7th century poems — come from Spain and occupy Ireland. In the period 800—1000 the story of Ith was prefixed and the number of companions increased. Of course the account of the struggle between the sons of Míl and the Tuatha Dé Danann also belongs to that same period, as the Tuatha Dé Danann themselves were yet unknown as invaders of Ireland in Nennius' time. For the rest no important interpolations can be placed with certainty before the second half of the 10th century.

As to later times, both A and Ba have their own innovations, which were introduced, however, on a very moderate scale. The same may be said of still later texts, namely the version C and D, where sometimes additional tracts, varying traditions &c. are found, without affecting in any way the original form of the saga. In this regard the history of the Invasions differs widely from that of the Introduction, where so many separate traditions, belonging to the oldest period, were preserved in the process of compilation. Therefore the Introduction presents a clearer image of the composition of LG, and is the better guide to find its real nucleus, though occasional illustration may also be afforded by the Invasions themselves.

IV. Origin and structure of Lebor Gabála.

§ 22. Míl and his sons.

In the preceding chapters I have endeavoured to show that the history of LG can be separated into two main periods, that of evolution (till 1000) and that of filiation and compilation (from the 11th till the 17th century). It will be our present task to trace the origin of the traditions that constituted LG as it existed in the second half of the 10th century, viz. in X. Among these again two groups must be distinguished: those occurring in the earliest documents, before 800, and those added in the years 800—1000. In § 21 I have given as my opinion that Nennius' copy of LG contained these three sections: the history of the Scotti of Scythia and their coming to Ireland as sons of Míl, the Invasion of Partholon and the Invasion of Nemed with an appendix. Which of these is the real germ of LG? In Ba it is stated that all the successive invaders of Ireland descended from Rifath Scot. Now Míl and his sons were, according to the earliest genealogical poems (7th century), the direct descendants of Rifath, while Partholon and Nemed are still unknown. So even in our oldest sources there already existed a connection between Rifath and Míl, so that the story of Míl evidently represents the germ from which LG arose.

There are three statements, bearing on Míl and his race, that take us back beyond 800: in HB, the second tradition in Ba (see p. 137—139), and the genealogical poems. As none of them preserves a complete version, we shall have to make up the full story out of these three authorities. The elements of the tale that must have existed before 800 are these: The three sons of Míl or Miles Hispaniae came from Spain to Ireland; their starting-point was Brigantia (as appears from the occurrence of Bregon in the genealogical list). Before their sojourn in Spain they had been in Egypt, whither they had fled after being expelled from their original country, Scythia. A genealogical tradition existed already drawing their lineage from Rifath Scot, grandson of Jafeth. No chronological connection had as yet been established, as has been proved on p. 139 from a comparison of HB and the second tradition of Ba. In the same way the account of the wanderings of the Goidels presents

quite a different aspect in those two oldest versions; consequently it is not a genuine element of the saga.

Why did the sons of Míl come from Spain? It was not only they who took that country as their starting-point, but Partholon and Nemed, as well according to Nennius, though later recensions have invented new origins for these. The entire story of the Meic Míled seeing Ireland from Brigantia[1]) and their coming over from Spain is based on two passages in Orosius' Adversus Paganos: I 2 § 39, *Hibernia insula inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita longiore ab africo in boream spatio porrigitur. Huius partes priores intentae Cantabrico oceano Brigantiam Gallaeciae civitatem ab africo sibi in circium occurrentem, spatioso intervallo procul spectant, ab eo praecipue promuntorio, ubi Scenae fluminis ostium est et Velabri Lucenique consistunt,* and I 2 § 33, *Secundus angulus* [sc. Hispaniae] *circium intendit, ubi Brigantia Gallaeciae civitas sita altissimum farum, et inter pauca memorandi operis ad speculam Britanniae erigit.* Isidore, in the introduction to his 'Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Svevorum', § 1 thus apostrophises his country: *Omnium terrarum, quaeque sunt ab occiduo usque ad Indos pulcherrima es, o sacra, semperque felix principum, gentium mater Hispania.* This expression *gentium mater* gave birth to the opinion that Spain was the starting-point of all the successive invaders, while the two passages from Orosius explain the story of the tower at Brigantia and the landing at Inber Scéne. The next question that arises is: why was Scythia the original country of the Goidels? Here a wrong etymology was at work: *Scotti* or *Scuit* = *Scythia.* Once Scythia was accepted as the origin of the Goidels, their ancestry was fixed also. According to Isidore's Etymologiae — and all other authorities based upon the *Διαμερισμὸς τῆς γῆς* — it was *Gomer ex quo Galatae, id est Galli* (IX 2, 26). Among Gomer's sons, Rifath was the one from whom the *Paphlagoni* drew their origin; in later Irish tradition the Paphlagoni were the *doeni filet i Sleibib Riphi* (LSA), and there is no reason why this tradition should not have been current in the 7th century also. The Irish regarded themselves as closely akin to the Gauls, who descended from Gomer; of Gomer's sons there was one whose

[1]) Cf. p. 169 where it has been shown that originally the sons of Míl themselves saw Ireland for the first time.



progeny lived in Sliab Rife, the mountain range bordering Scythia. Hence resulted the theory that Rifath was the progenitor of the Goidelic race.

So far the tradition might have developed naturally from well-known classical works. Now the Goidels had still to be transported from Scythia to Spain. Of course, Egypt lay on the route. But why introduce a sojourn of the *vir nobilis de Scythia*, as Nennius puts it, in Egypt? For this addition the compilers of LG were indebted to another passage in Orosius, whose exact meaning they did not grasp: Adv. Pag. I 10, 19 = *His etiam temporibus* [sc. when the Israelites left Egypt] *adeo iugis et grauis aestus incanduit, ut sol per deuia transuectus universum orbem non calore affecisse sed igne torruisse dicatur, impressumque feruorem et Aethiops plus solitum et insolitum Scytha non tulerit.* The final words were only intended to help the readers' imagination in order to give an idea of the heat prevailing in Egypt at that time. But the Irish, who regarded the ancient Scythians as their own ancestors, were struck by the word *Scytha* and inferred from the passage that there was a Scythian living in Egypt. This conclusion fitted wonderfully well with the theory that the Scythians had moved from their own country to Spain, as Egypt lay on the way.

Only one element of the story now remains to be explained. Why were there three sons of Míl? Here we have the purely Irish part of the saga. We know from the genealogical poems that two of the three sons, alluded to by Nennius, were Erimon and Eber, and in § 20 I have suggested that the third should have been Ir (see p. 168). These three were the hypothetical ancestors of the Irish royal races, whose names had been fabricated from *Eriu*[1]), *Eberia* (the usual Irish form for Latin *Iberia*, as appears from the Liber Generationis or Cosmographia, Mon. Germ. Hist. Auct. Ant. IX) and from Anglo-Saxon *Irland* or *Yrland*. In case the name *Ir* should not be so old as the others — it does not figure in the genealogical poems — it may equally well be based on Old-Norse *Irar*. The name *Eber* from *Eberia*[2]) proves

[1]) For the formation cf. other learned names as Partholón, Semión, &c.

[2]) It does not seem very likely that this name should have arisen under the influence of the Hebrew ancestor *Eber*, Gen. XI 14. Likewise it is impossible that *Eber* should preserve the *ų* of the old name for Ireland: *Ęųerio*.



that the saga of the Spanish origin of the Irish already existed when those eponymous ancestors were invented, and that these names were fabricated in connection with it. *Eber* occurs in an early 7th century document and Orosius' history was composed in the first half of the 5th century; so that we may indicate the 6th century as the period when the original LG was composed. Along with it the genealogical tradition of the Irish kings arose. Then the germ of LG was ready. Except Erimon, Eber and perhaps Ir, the story contained hardly any proper names: only Bregon existed as the founder of Brigantia, and the name Míl, father of Erimon and Eber, was adopted from the Latin substantive *miles*; this last, more than any of the others, clearly bears the traces of its learned origin. Bregon was made an ancestor of Míl.

Now we proceed to the period 800—1000. In these years for the first time a chronological association was looked for. At what time did Orosius' Scythian live in Egypt, and why did he leave that country? There were two solutions of this problem: 1° he was there when Pharaoh was drowned in the Red Sea, and the cause of his expulsion was his help given to the Israelites; and 2° his sojourn fell in the time of Alexander's conquest, and he was driven out by the great Macedonian ruler. So there arose two variant traditions, one of which is preserved in HB and the other in the second tradition of Ba. Both have one element in common: the Scythian is married to Pharaoh's daughter Scota. So this princess, who gave her name to all her progeny, must still belong to the preceding period. But in the rest the two versions diverge more and more in the coming centuries. That of HB became the popular one, and was adopted by Maolmuru Othna and X; its rival was preserved in almost its original form, until it was discovered by the scribe of Ba who inserted it in his copy of X, cf. § 12. The tradition represented by HB was handled by so many scribes that it was greatly enlarged and embellished. Let us now consider its additions.

In the first place the genealogical theory was elaborated. There existed already some eponymous heroes of the Irish: Erimon, Eber (Ir?), and Scota. Now three new heroes were introduced: Nél, Goedel Glas and Fénius Farsaich. They all got a place in the pedigree of the Meic Míled, but not the same in the various sources, see p. 124; the order, differing in the note

to Fiacc's Hymn, where Nél is the son of Goedel Glas, from the usual tradition of LG, where Nél is the father and Goedel the son, as well as the different position occupied by Fénius in LSA and in Ba (cf. p. 144), show that these eponymous heroes came in at a period when there was already a number of distinct versions current. The *vir nobilis de Scythia*, who lived in Egypt, banished from his own country, was called Nél. This was, of course, a homage to the royal family of the Uí Néill, being the more acceptable because of the likeness of their name to that of the Egytian river, the Nile. Nél and Scota had a son, Goedel Glas, whose name is said to have passed over to the Goedels. From *Féne*, the old originally tribal designation of the Irish, Fénius was moulded. This Fénius found his way into LSA, where he was styled a son of Baath mac Magoich meic Jafeth, whereas in LG (as preserved in Ba) he was given a place in the old genealogy of the Irish kings (see p. 142). Other ancestors of the Goedels to whom a special task was assigned on the long way from Scythia to Ireland, were all taken from the same old genealogy: Sru and Esru lead the Goidels from Egypt back to Scythia, Agnoman and Lámfind brought them from Scythia to the Maeotic marshes, Brath guided them from thence to Spain.

But these genealogical digressions were not the only additions of the period 800—1000. Except several that developed naturally out of the text itself (see §§ 10—12), there came in a few new connections with biblical history, the origin of which it will be necessary to point out here. A basis of these biblical associations was given by the chronological theory of HB that the *vir nobilis de Scythia* (or later: Nél) was living in Egypt at the time Pharaoh was drowned in the Red Sea. This theory involved that Nél had known Moses and Aaron; and their relations accordingly were depicted as being of the most intimate nature: so a legend arose that supplied at the same time a good reason for the Goidels' leaving Egypt, as they must have been distrusted by the surviving Egyptians. This legend must be pretty old, as it occurs already in MO: the Goidels are befriended by the Israelites, and after the disaster in the Red Sea they are afraid of the Egyptians, because they have not joined them in the persecution of the *populus Dei*, and for that reason they leave the country. The most remarkable episode in the whole story is that of Goidel Glas and the snake. Nél's son

Goidel is bitten by a venomous snake and his death is almost certain: his colour turns livid — hence his epithet *Glas*. But his father's friends Moses and Aaron cure him: obviously a reminiscence of Num. XXI 6—9. The character of Nél, the learned man, who comes to Egypt to teach the languages, seems to have been influenced by that of Joseph (see Orosius, Adv. Pag. I 8). Another connection with biblical history is contrived at an earlier point. Rifath Scot, the biblical ancestor of the Goidels, was a contemporary of Nimrod, in whose lifetime the tower of Babel was built. This coincidence gave birth to the tradition that Rifath had brought with him the Gaelic language from the tower (so in Ba). In later versions this task was assigned to Fénius, the father of Nél, who was said to have fabricated the Gaelic language from the 72 languages. This was the opinion of LSA, which was adopted by A; but it quite upsets the chronology, cf. p. 144. An older stage of it is simply this, that Fénius had a school where the languages were taught (MO). No wonder that LSA, where Rifath was done away with, gave his position at the tower of Babel to Fénius, who had already some connection with it. These biblical touches involved the prefixing of a preface which is entirely based on the first chapters of Genesis. It should be noticed, however, that these stories of Nél in Egypt or Rifath at Babel are no slavish imitations of biblical traditions, but independent accretions having only some external relation to them; for the rest they are creations of the imagination. In the same way LG was gradually illustrated by other imaginative digressions: descriptions of their wanderings, founded on the geographical knowledge of the Irish, an account of the struggles between the two royal races in Scythia, and of their battles in Spain, &c. From Isidore a list of Pharaohs was introduced into Ba. Of all these further innovations one group particularly claims our attention, namely those based on Irish literature itself.

In the first place there is the story of Caicher drui. After leaving Scythia, whither they returned from Egypt, the Goidels are allured, on their voyage, by the song of the mermaids (*medrad na murduchonn*). The druid Caicher saves them by putting wax in their ears. Afterwards they reach Sliab Rife. There Caicher says: *'Eirgid, ni anfam de co risam Erinn.' 'Cia h-airm ita an Erinn', ar Laimfinn. 'Is sia uait indai in Scithia ⁊ ni sinne fen*

ric (sic) *acht ar clann hi cinn .ccc. bliadan.*' From Sliab Rife they come to the Maeotic marshes, where they remain for many generations, until Bráth leads them to Spain. The sojourn in the Maeotic marshes came in in the 9th century (see p. 126), so we may fairly assume that the tale of Caicher was introduced at the same period, as these two elements are closely connected. The singing mermaids are of course a reminiscence of the Odyssey. The idea of a prophecy about Ireland may have been borrowed from Exodus XXXIII 1, but the way it is worked out stamps it as belonging to a special class of innovations. The druid possessing supernatural knowledge belongs neither to biblical nor to classical saga, but is an element of the purely Irish tales. It would be quite beyond the scope of the present investigation to trace the original meaning of the druid in Irish literature [1]; it will suffice to state that in the 9th century LG began to be Irishised, or that in this period elements from Irish saga-literature were adopted in LG. The prophesying druid is a well-known figure in the Ulster-saga, from which it was borrowed by the pseudo-classical saga. The history of the Introduction of LG enables us to point out the exact time that this happened. See on this also §§ 24—26.

Nor is the story of Caicher the only instance belonging to this class of innovations. The further adventures of the sons of Míl afford many instances of it. In MO the whole Gabál Mac Míled appears in its final form, whereas in HB there is not a single trace of the many particulars that give to it its special character. Yet from Cín Dromma Snechta we know that in the 8th century there existed a tradition that the sons of Míl, at their arrival in Ireland, found Banba and Eriu living there [2]. So at that time some legend of their coming to Ireland had already arisen, but we do not know how far it was developed. It cannot have been very old then, for Cín Dromma Snechta also preserves the older tradition that Banba was the first woman who reached Ireland before the Deluge (see p. 151). It seems highly probable that the transferring of Banba from antediluvian times to the Invasion of the sons of Míl was the cause of the addition of all

[1]) See on this my hypothesis in the Actes du IVe Congrès international de l'histoire des religions, Leiden 1912, p. 147.

[2]) Cf. also Cormac § 1265 (Anecd. IV): *Tres enim erant regine .i. Ere et Fotla et Banba. Lege Gabala Erenn si uis plenius scire.*

their further adventures; for Banba was considered as a queen of the Tuatha Dé Danann, who inhabited Ireland before the Goidels. Therefore the 9th century, or perhaps the second half of the 8th century — for Nennius may have used an older copy — may be indicated as the period these adventures were introduced.

The first of these additions is the story of Ith, on which see p. 168. It was introduced in order to provide a reason for the sons of Míl crossing over to Ireland. Its elements are perspicuous: the name is derived from Mag Itha, where Ith was killed; his meeting with the kings of the Tuatha Dé Danann and his eulogy of Ireland before them, is a reminiscence of Exodus XXXIII 3. For the rest there is nothing new in it, but for an allusion to a Tuatha Dé Danann-story (viz. that of the treasure of Fiachna mac Delbaith), which confirms my hypothesis that it was in this period the first connections with Irish literature proper were effected: all the traditions of the Tuatha Dé Danann came in then. More interesting is the real Gabál Mac Míled. The three sons of Míl have increased in number; the six new sons bear names partly taken from geographical ones (*Donn* from *Tech Duinn*, *Colptha* from *Inber Colptha*), while *Erannan* is a new formation from *Eriu*, *Febria* occurs in the oldest genealogical poems, and *Airech* acquired his name from a well-known noun. The other companions, as the sons of Bregon, &c., all have names reminiscent of Irish topography. Only *Amargen* ('the Grief-born') is an exception. His name stands apart from the others, and so does the part he plays in the saga. He is the only character of the story. After the sons of Míl have reached the coast, they are driven back to sea by the 'demons', who raise a magic tempest which causes fearful havoc; many of the sons of Míl are drowned, Donn and Airech near Tech Duinn, Erennan falls from the mast, &c. At last Amargen saves them from the evil plight to which they are brought by the Tuatha Dé Danann.

Amargen is the centre of all the stories contained in Gabál Mac Míled. Of the two battles fought by the Goidels against the Tuatha Dé Danann we know nothing but the mere names: Cath Sléibe Mis[1]) and Cath Tailtenn. But of Amargen we hear a

[1]) This must have been a *cath draoidhechta*. Cf. a note in the Franciscan Lib. Hymn. (cited Trip. Life p. 38): *intan tancadar meic Míled a hEaspain ille dochum nÉrend 7 intan doroactatar co Sliab Mis i Ciairrigi Luachra, atconcatar in sliab lán do demnaib fo sciathaib.*



good deal. Still he does not yet occur in HB, and as he does not leave any children, he cannot be an old trait of the saga, which was originally genealogical. He must have come in at the end of the 8th or in the 9th century. We have four retorics ascribed to him: one containing his judgment, when his companions are not allowed to land by the Tuatha Dé Danann (*Fir torachta tuinide dar noi tonda*), one when the tempest, raised by the Tuatha Dé Danann, tosses the Goidels about on the sea (*Ailiu iath Erenn*), one when they reach the coast (*Am gáeth i muir*), and one to beguile the fish in the rivers (*Iascach muir*). He is the 'fili' who opposes the supernatural powers of the Tuatha Dé Danann. His character exactly agrees with the prevailing tendency of those through whose hands LG passed in the 9th century, of which more will be said in §§ 24—26. As to the name Amargen, it is a common one in the Irish heroical and historical saga (cf. Táin Bó Cuailgne, ed. Windisch, p. 682). In the Táin we read of Amargin Iarngiunnach, the 'rígfili' and teacher of Cuchulinn, and of Amargin mac Ecit Goband, who are also mentioned in other texts (Tochmarc Emire, Compert Conculaind and Fled Bricrenn). Amorgein Amhalgada was the 'fili' of the Désí of Temair, who explained the Dindsenchas after the tales he heard from Fintan mac Lamiach. We may fairly assume that the Amargen of LG was fabricated after the example of the Ulster-saga, as the Irishising of LG in the 8th and 9th centuries, of course, was effected by borrowing characteristics from the national saga. A remarkable coincidence confirms this view. The poem pronounced by Amargen when landing in Ireland begins: *am gæth i mmuir, am tonn trethan, am fuam i mmuir, am dam sethir, am séigh for aill, am dér gréine, am cáin lubai, am brí dána*, &c. If we compare these words with those pronounced by Sencha, Fergus and other heroes in Compert Conculaind (Irische Texte I 141 ff.) — a tale already known in Cín Dromma Snechta — a marked similarity will strike us. There they have a good meaning: the Ulster heroes are commending themselves as educators for Cuchulinn, but in LG they have none. Here a direct influence from the Ulster saga can be traced. No doubt then that in other parts also where we are less fortunate, the same forces must have been at work. Such influences of other literary works changed in many respects the aspect of the history of Míl and his sons. Though its origin lies in Orosius and Isidore, its evolution is largely due to traits borrowed from

biblical legends and Irish heroic tales, and these romantic additions finally became much more conspicuous in the whole of the text than the classical germ.

§ 23. Partholon[1]).

In § 16 it has been pointed out that Gabál Partholóin occurs in HB in almost the same form as in the later LG. So it takes us back to the classical period, i. e. before 800, and even a little earlier than that, as it was known in Cín Dromma Snechta (see p. 152). A priori it would seem probable that the Invasion of Partholon is based on the same kind of sources as the story of the sons of Míl. Though we find in some texts of HB Latin forms like *Bartholomaeus*, &c., and though in later ages *Partholón* is the Irish form for *Bartholomaeus*, there is no reason to assume an original connection between the two names. The Irish name always has a *p*, and the ending is of the same kind as that of *Érimón, Semión*, &c. If *Érimón* is derived from *Ériu*, *Partholón* should be derived from *Parth*. As LG in its germ was a genealogical saga, and as Partholon was a descendant from Rifath Scot (Ba), the origin of the story must be sought in some genealogical tradition. I take it to be contained in a phrase of Isidore, Etym. IX 44: *Parthi quoque et ipsi a Scythis originem trahunt. Fuerunt enim eorum exules, quod etiam eorum vocabulo manifestatur: nam Scythico sermone exules 'Parthi' dicuntur.* Partholon, in fact, was an exile, for Ba says: *Partholon romarb a mathair 7 a athair ic iarair rigi dia brathair, co tanic co Herind ar techid a fingaili.* For the rest the oldest form of this Invasion contains a division of Ireland by Partholon's sons, and the bursting forth of several lakes and rivers — the usual elements of every pre-Milesian *gabál* —, and the death of his entire progeny by a pestilence. This was a necessary addition, as Ireland should be uninhabited for Nemed.

In the next period (800—1000) two new elements were introduced: the battle with Cicul Grigenchos and the Fomoraig, and a list of Partholon's *aes dána*. Both belong to the genuine

[1]) On the origin of Gabál Cesra nothing needs to be added to what has been said in § 15.

Irish elements of LG, the details recall the Tuatha Dé Danann stories. These had their artists and craftsmen with them, therefore Partholon has his also. It is impossible to make out whether they were invented for the occasion or were taken from existing figures in fairy tales. In the same way the battle with the Fomoraig under Cicul[1]), fought against people with one foot, one hand, and one eye, must be the subject of some old fairy tale that was used here in order to furnish Partholon with his battle against the Fomoraig just as the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann had theirs. All the subsequent invasions have some common elements: a division of Ireland, the bursting forth of lakes, &c., and a battle with the Fomoraig, the representatives of the lower Irish mythology. The classical origin of Gabál Partholóin shows that here the battle with the Fomoraig was not genuine; it was only added for the sake of symmetry. Of course, there was a sufficient number of tales belonging to the lower mythology at the scribes' disposition, when they wanted to adorn the text of LG with purely Irish elements. This way of working at it suited very well the general tendency prevailing in the evolution of LG during the 9th century.

§ 24. Nemed.

The form in which Nennius knew the Invasion of Nemed differed in but one respect from that in the later LG: Nemed's descendants did not fly from Ireland to Greece or the Northern Islands of the world, but to Spain. All the other elements of the story as it occurs in Ba and A are already found in HB (see § 17). From the account in HB it appears that the original purpose of Gabál Nemid, too, was genealogical. A statement of Orosius had given rise to the opinion that the Goidels came over from Spain; a theory of Isidore and others had produced the tale of Partholon, who also reached Ireland; now another invasion was added in order to explain how the non-Goidelic tribes of Britain and Ireland had found their way to these islands. LG speaks of only three groups of descendants of Nemed: the Fir Bolg on the neighbouring islands, the Tuatha Dé Danann in

[1]) Cf. *Marti Cicollui* in Gaulish inscriptions.



Ireland, and the Britons in Great Britain. But in HB there are still others mentioned: Istorith and his people in Dalriada, and the sons of Liethan in Dyfedd. Evidently the Irish considered all the neighbouring populations as forming a unity in comparison with themselves. Therefore they made them all descend from one common ancestor, and this ancestor was given a father from the list of Míl's precursors, namely Agnoman. In this way they established a remote genealogical relation between their neighbours and themselves. As to the name of the ancestor I can but offer the somewhat unsatisfactory suggestion, that it means 'the Saint', being akin to the well-known Gaulish word *nemeton*, 'sanctuary'. Nemed had several sons and grandsons, who in their turn became the progenitors of new races. Semion was the ancestor of the inhabitants of the islands, Fergus Lethderg and his son BritánMaol[1]) of the Britons, and Bethach, whose offspring lived in Ireland down to the present day, of the non-Goidelic population of Ireland. Of course, all these invaders should come over from Spain (see p. 173), and so HB has it. At a later time, however, a different origin was invented for the descendants of Semion and Bethach, in connection with a good many new traditions attached to them. It was from these innovations that the Invasions of the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann arose, see §§ 25, 26.

The origin of Nemed consequently is to be seen in his descendants. But the want was felt to bring this Nemed, whose progeny was of such high significance for the later destiny of Ireland and the surrounding countries, into some connection with Ireland. Nothing was more natural than to make him the subject of a new Invasion. As this Nemed, however, was the result of mere genealogical speculations and not of classical studies, there were no incidents in his adventures to be derived from classical or biblical sources. Therefore his Gabál was fashioned out of purely Irish popular elements. Leaving aside the bursting forth of rivers and lakes, the making of plains and the building of *raths* — a common element in every invasion — we may discern in Gabál Nemid these characteristic touches: the story of the golden tower in the sea (see p. 157) and the struggles with the Fomoraig, consisting

[1]) BritánMaol is the British eponymous hero according to Irish tradition. But LG mentions along with him *Britus mac Isicoin* (for *Isitoin*); he occurs in HB § 17. See on him Nenn. Vind. p. 232.



of the battle at Conang's tower and the heavy tax imposed (*ba si tra meit na dochraiti: doronsat tir cairech do Erind 7 ni laimthe dé do aiscin do thig ind-Erind i llo in inbaid sin 7 da trian a n-etha 7 a mblechta 7 a clainne do breth doib a canaighecht 7 fir Erenn dia hidnacul do Fomorchaib cech aidche samna co Mag Cétne*). As to this tax, it need not have been adopted into the story in Nennius' time, for there is no allusion to it in HB. It is but a repetition of the famous *Boraime* that was exacted by the kings of Ireland from the Leinstermen from the time of Tuathal Techtmar (2nd century) till that of Finnachta (7th century)[1]. The battle at Tor Conaing must be old. Zimmer regarded it as a reminiscence of the attack of some Viking fleet, but there is not the slightest evidence for this theory, nor does the name Conann or Conang prove anything for Norse influence, as the name was a common one in the 7th century. On the contrary, the story has quite a different atmosphere. HB speaks of a *turris vitrea in medio mari* that was besieged by Nemed. This glass tower brings us at once into the sphere of folktales, and so do the Fomoraig themselves. They are supernatural beings infesting every party of invaders (cf. § 25). In the Invasion of Partholon we have met them in a battle fighting with one foot, one hand and one eye. The Tuatha Dé Danann had to encounter them in the second battle of Mag Tuired, which was a *cath draoidheachta*. Nor does LSA leave any doubt as to their origin and nature: *conid huad* (sc. from Cham) *rogenatar luchrupain 7 fomoraig 7 goborchind 7 cech ecosc dodelbda archena fil for doinib* (LU 2a45). No doubt then in their struggle with Nemed also they must be considered as evil beings with supernatural powers. They make Nemed and his companions leave their ships in order to assail the tower; but when they have alighted on the shore, they are nearly all drowned by the rising tide. The earliest redactor of LG, who wanted to create a 'Gabál Nemid' and to embellish it with some interesting particulars, brought his hero into unfriendly contact with these evil spirits that formed a part of his lower mythology. The details accompanying this unfriendly contact were borrowed by him from some folktale. The glass tower, or rather the glass island, is a well-known

[1] Another instance of a prehistoric *boraime* occurs in the second battle of Mag Tuired.

folklore element (Arthur was buried in Ynis witrin), and vitrified forts are mentioned in many popular tales[1]). Here it was attached to the Fomoraig, and the chief characteristic of Gabál Nemid was ready. Nay, we may even go farther and point out a striking parallel to the story of Conang's tower. On p. 158 it has been proved that the other deplorable adventure of Nemed before he reached Ireland, as it is told in Ba, is not later than the battle at Tor Conaing, for there is an allusion to it in HB, too, viz. the incident at the golden tower in the sea: *tarfás doib tor oir for muir. Lotar uile dia togail 7 robaite uile acht Nemid a ochtar. Intan ba lan an muir, ticed darsin tor sin. Intan ba traig nobid mor de huassa. Ba si meit na sainte rosgabsat umon ór conna h-airigtis an muir ac linad tairrsib co rugastar an sugante a llonga uathib acht œnpatta.* Here we have exactly the same tale in connection with a golden tower. But here it is not connected with the Fomoraig; it is still the plain folktale dragged in to illustrate the wanderings of Nemed. The redactor of LG was practical enough to use it twice and to bring about the second time a connection with the Fomoraig; but he kept the original ending, so that the narrative became somewhat pointless, for it is not by the arms of their enemies that Nemed's companions are killed but by the rising sea.

There are other remnants of folktales in Gabál Nemid; e. g. in the passage on Nemed's two *raths*, that were dug by the four sons of Matan Muinremar who were killed by Nemed the day before they completed the work. This tale claims our attention as it recalls the story of the giants who built Valhall for Odinn, but who were refused their pay. There is no proof, however, that similar traits did not come in at a still later period, and therefore no great importance should be attached to them. And even if they are comparatively old, they can but corroborate the result obtained by an impartial examination of the texts. The Invasion of Nemed was first added for genealogical purposes; and it was enlarged and illustrated by the usual introduction of the Fomoraig, combined with an old folktale. The genealogical section

[1]) See on this: F. Liebrecht, Gervasius von Tilburg, p. 151; Dunlop, Geschichte der Prosadichtungen &c., translated by F. Liebrecht, Anm. 169; Grimm, Haus- und Kindermärchen III 48; Massmann, Kaiserchronik III 462, Anm. 5.



is the germ of this Invasion. On it the two next invasions are based. Therefore we shall have to consider it more closely with reference to them.

§ 25. The Fir Bolg.

The Invasion of the Fir Bolg, as a separate section of LG, originated between 800 and 1000 (see p. 161), but it issued from an older germ, namely a passage in the appendix to Gabál Nemid. There the Fir Bolg are mentioned as one of the groups of Nemed's descendants, and especially as those who populated the neighbouring islands. In HB they are still supposed to have come from Spain, like all the other invaders, but in the almost contemporary Cín Dromma Snechta Greece has become their starting-point. Consequently Spain was degraded to one of their stops on the way to Ireland. These are the words from the Cín as preserved in LB: *gnídís barca doibh dia mbolgaibh no siad libhearna rig Grec dogadsad leo do theacht i nErinn amal asbeart Cin Droma Snechta.* That a Greek origin is here vindicated for the Fir Bolg, is but natural; by their common origin from Rifath Scot all the invaders were closely connected with Scythia and Greece. It is doubtful whether the Cín had already the story of the bondage they suffered in Greece, though the stealing of ships from the king makes it probable. But in any case the crossing from Greece to Ireland by means of their bags — the current explanation of their name — was as yet unknown. Still Nennius, who does not yet mention Greece in connection with them, furnishes the name *Builc.* These facts allow of but one possible conclusion: the name *Fir Bolg* is older than the tradition of their coming over on their bags, and must have a different origin. That tradition was invented as an explanation of the name at a time when its true meaning was no longer understood (800—1000).

In Irish there are two substantives *bolc,* both mentioned by Kuno Meyer, Contributions, p. 236:

1. *bolc*, f. (W. *bwlch*), gen. *bolga* 'a gap, breach, notch', and
2. *bolc*, m. (W. *boly, bola, bol*), gen. *builg* 'a bag, sack, &c.'.

The Welshman Nennius rendered the name by *Builc*, a form with *u* (= *w* according to Nennius' orthography in proper names), and

as it was his practice to give all names in a Cymricised form, he can only have been thinking of the Welsh word *bwlch* = Ir. *bolg* 'a gap', whereas all the succeeding Irish versions of LG took the word in the sense of *bolg* 'a bag'. Now Nennius doubtless was nearer to the origin of the saga than the later Irish LG, and besides, there are several indications that he was right.

We know a good many names of places compounded with the word *bolg* where it evidently signifies 'a gap' or 'a pass'[1]), such as:

Muir Bolgc (RC XX 138) or *Muirbulc* occurring in Dalriada, in Iona, and in Argyle. The word means 'a sea inlet'.

Aithbe Bolg (Lism. XXXI) in Cork.

Mag Bolg i Feraib Cúl Breg (LL 129 b 2), and *Mag Bolgaide* (RC XVI 62), an earlier name of Mag Breg.

Inis Bolg (FM 1435), an island in Loch Fechett, now Loch Gara, near Boyle, Co. Roscommon.

Bolg Boinne (AU 769). Here the AU have a genitive *builgg* which shows how easily the two words *bolg* could be confused in proper names.

Dún mBolg (LL 132 b 30, 189 c, &c.), in Co. Wicklow, and

Bealach Dúin Bolg (LL 306 a 11) in Co. Wicklow. According to LL 132 b 30 Aed mac Ainmirech was killed at Dún Bolg, while LL 306 a 11 Aed's death at Bealach Dúin Bolg is mentioned. The meaning of *bealach* is 'gap, pass, passage, road' (Contributions p. 194), so that Dún Bolg was a fort, in whose neighbourhood there was a gap. In *Belach Conglais* (Co. Wicklow) Brandub's fort was situated, the man who killed Aed. So there were two gaps near Dún Bolg. This coincidence gives the only possible explanation of *bolg* in these proper names, and *Dún mBolg* can only mean 'the fort of the Gaps'[2]).

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[1]) In Welsh *bwlch* has the same meaning. Cf. I[st] Samuel XIV 4: *A rhwng y bylchau, lle ceisiodd Ionathan fyned drosodd at amddiffynfa y Philistiaid yr oedd craig serth o'r naill du i'r bwlch, a chraig serth o'r tu arall i'r bwlch.* Cf. also the proper names *Bwlch dau Fynydd, Bwlch y Groes, Bwlch Oerddrws, Bwlch y Fedwen,* &c.

[2]) See on these geographical names Hogan, Onomasticon Gadelicum.



The same meaning of *bolg* is found in *léim dar boilg* (Táin Bó Cúailgne, ed. Windisch, p. 360)[1], one of the three *buada araidechta*. Forus Focul (LL 395 a 7) says *bolg .i. berna*, and in Fled Bricrenn 70 we hear of Cuchulinn's chariot, *no linged dar bernadaib*, cf. the gloss in Fled Bricrenn 68 *is cairptech dar berna* = *is culmaire bolgadan*. Here, too, *bolg* = 'gap'.

Once the meaning 'gap' for *bolg* has been established as of frequent occurrence in proper names, we may safely accept it as the true signification in 'Fir Bolg', too. They were not the 'Men of the Bags', as later speculations would make them, but the 'Men of the Gaps'. And these Men of the Gaps, of course, were mythological beings, belonging to the 'lower mythology' of the Irish, who, much like the present *Sídhe* were supposed to live in the gaps of roads. The original descendants of Nemed, forefathers of the inhabitants of the islands round about Ireland (see § 24), were identified, even before Nennius' time, with those tiny mythological beings, who, like the Teutonic elves, nixes, &c., were supposed to animate the fields and woods[2]. This identification is quite natural: these hosts of *sídhe* lived in Ireland, so they should have their Gabál; at the same time there were descendants of Nemed who crossed over to Ireland, without having a special chapter of their own in LG; so a fabulist could easily insert one by identifying the two, and by bringing in some traditions of those lower mythological beings. This identification found a strong support in a legend called *Imirci mac nUmoir*.

In Ba, in the appendix to Gabál Nemid, where the flight of the Fir Bolg to the islands is recorded, the text runs on thus: *tancatar iar sin for amas Coirpri Niadfir 7 dorat side feranna doib 7 ni rofedsat bith occe ar anbfoille in cisa tuc fortu. Dollotar iarum for teched Coirpri for comairge Medba 7 Ailella 7 tucsat feranna doib. Is i sin imirci mac nUmoir.* This passage evidently contains an allusion to a tale about the real Fir Bolg of the lower mythology: they came from the islands[3], took service

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[1]) See for another explanation Osborn Bergin in: Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway p. 332.

[2]) cf. also Sgéaluidhe Fíor na Seachtmhaine (Gill & Son 1911) p. 44: *Nach bhfuil cat Gallda na bhFear-Bolg ag faire an óir sin*, says one of the magic cats.

[3]) This is the 'tertium comparationis' between the Fir Bolg and the first group of Nemed's descendants. That it was a genuine trait of the Fir Bolg story appears from the second battle of Mag Tuired.

with Coirpre, and fled from him to Ailill and Medb. No wonder that this separate tale, entitled *Imirci mac nUmoir*, was attached to an account of those among Nemed's descendants who also populated the islands. The identification of these mythological sons of Umor with the pseudo-historical descendants of Nemed[1]) involved the introduction of the whole Gabál Fer mBolg. That the sons of Umor were supernatural beings appears from several facts. Their king is Aengus mac Gumoir, who is not a historical person but the well-known king of the *sídhe*. They are akin to the Fomoraig, who in the time of Partholon attacked the invaders under their chief Cichull, for in Gabál Partholoin we find this genealogy: *Cicul mac Guill meic Gairb meic Tuathaig meic Gumoir o Sleib Emoir.* In the poem *Estid a eolchu cen on* we read: *Dorochair ... Donand ... la Dé nDomnand d'Fhomorchaib*; and 'Dé Domnand' is one of the names for the Fir Bolg. Nemed fought three battles against the Fomoraig, of which several versions give this account: *Cath Badna ⁊ Cath Ruis Fraechain i Cconnachtaib i torchair Gand is Sengand da rig na Fomorach*; but Gand and Sengand are also the names of kings of the Fir Bolg. There can be no doubt that the islanders who descended from Nemed were identified in the course of time with the Fomoraig or other representatives of the lower mythology, when Celtic mythology itself had lost its proper significance, and that their name testifies to it. On the other hand, our LG preserves some faint traces of their original pseudo-historical meaning. So Ba ends the story of the sons of Umor in the following way: *atberat araile co mbad dib na teora fine filet a nErinn nach do Gaidelaib .i. Garbraide Suca i Connachtaib ⁊ Ui Tairrsigh Laigen la hUib Failge ⁊ Gailiuin Laigen.* Here they are considered as the non-Goidelic inhabitants of Ireland. This same passage makes it probable that the third name the Fir Bolg bore along with those of *Fir Bolg* and *Fir Domnann,* namely *Galeoin,* preserves a reminiscence of the original nature of this first group of Nemed's descendants.

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[1]) The double character of the Fir Bolg appears clearly from a passage quoted by O'Curry (MS. Materials p. 224) 'from an old book': 'Everyone who is black-haired, who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible &c. — these are the descendants of Fir Bolg,' (cf. Clare Island Survey I part 3, in Proceedings R. I. A. vol. XXXI, p. 10).



Of the traditions that make up the Invasion of the Fir Bolg not much need be said. The usual plains, lakes, &c. are lacking, for *ni airimter rathæ do claidi no locha do tomaidm no maigi do slaigi la Gabail Fer mBolc,* but a division of Ireland into five parts is mentioned. For the rest, ten successive kings of the Fir Bolg are given, some of whom may be identified with Fomorian kings, while others seem to have been named after some characteristic event during their reign: Fiacha Cennfionn, because all cows had white heads in his time; Rinnal, because points were then put on spears; Fodbgenid, because arms grew on the trees, &c. None of these speculations are, of course, ancient. We also find some references to Eochu mac Eirc and the first battle of Mag Tuired, that have been borrowed from a separate tradition of this mythical battle, such as that preserved in one of the MSS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy.

§ 26. The Tuatha Dé Danann.

In 800 the name 'Tuatha Dé Danann' was quite unknown in LG, as appears from HB. It is possible that Nennius meant the same group of invaders by his *dam hoctor,* but he does not give any names or other particulars. In HB the *dam hoctor* is a branch of Nemed's descendants, and they must be considered as the ancestors of the non-Goidelic inhabitants of Ireland. In 1000 the present Invasion of the Tuatha Dé Danann is ready, containing many names of Celtic gods (Nuadu, Ogma &c.) and many mythical or magical traits. In two centuries this enormous evolution was accomplished and it is our present task to trace its moving forces. The identification of the first group of *clanna Nemid* with the Fir Bolg was made before that of the second with the Tuatha Dé Danann: Nennius speaks of *Builc* but not of the others. Still the name Tuatha Dé Danann cannot have come in much later, for the first identification involved the second. On the mythical Fir Bolg there circulated a tradition that they had been expelled by the Tuatha Dé Danann after a tremendous fight (the first battle of Mag Tuired). Here the Fir Bolg represent the lower mythology, whereas the Tuatha Dé Danann, as appears from their names, are the survivals of the Celtic Olympus. So this is an old and a common tradition, corresponding to the Scandi-

navian struggles between the gods and the giants. Once the Fir Bolg had been connected with LG, the tradition of the first battle of Mag Tuired was introduced also, and now the Tuatha Dé Danann claimed a place in the Book of Invasions. They were readily identified with another group of descendants of Nemed, of whom it was reported that they lived in Ireland *usque hodie* (HB) — for in popular belief the Tuatha Dé Danann also still live in the *raths* and *dúns*[1]) — and the basis of a new Invasion was provided. Current traditions of the Tuatha Dé Danann furnished the necessary details. We are even in the happy position of being able to point out the principal source of Gabál Tuath nDé Danann. In RC XII 56 ff. Stokes has edited the story of the second battle of Magh Tuiredh (indicated here as MT), which contains a mass of lore on the Tuatha Dé Danann. The redactor of X, or perhaps one of his predecessors, knew this tale in an older and better version and selected several traits from it for his new Invasion. The truth of this statement will appear from the following comparison:

1. Introductory phrase.
   MT: *Batar Tuathai De Danonn i n-indsib tuascertachaib an domuin aig foglaim fesa 7 fithnasachta 7 druidechtai 7 amaidechtai 7 amainsechta, combtar fortilde for suthib ard ngentlichtae.*
   LG: *Batar iarum clanda Bethaig meic Iarboneoil Fada meic Nemid i n-insib tuascertachaib in domain oc foglaim druidechta 7 fessa 7 fastini 7 amainsechta combtar fortaile for cerddib suithe gentliucta.*
2. Magic cities where the Tuatha Dé Danann learned their *draoideacht.* Both MT and Ba.
3. The Tuatha Dé Danann arrive in mist and darkness (Ba, A) after having burnt their ships (Ba) = MT.
4. First battle of MT mentioned; there die of them *cét míle*: A, Ba, MT.
5. Nuadu's hand cut off, and cured by Diancecht: A, Ba, MT.

[1]) An old man near Tara Hill told me once that it was in the *raths* that the 'Danes' lived. The Danes and the Tuatha Dé Danann are often mixed up in popular stories.



6. The dead in the first battle: A, MT.
7. The remaining Fir Bolg fly to Arann, Ile, Manann and Rachrann: Ba, MT.
8. Bress mac Elathan made king: A, Ba, MT.
9. Lug and his fostermother Tailltiu, daughter of Magmór of Spain and Eochu Garb mac Duach: A, Ba, MT.
10. The craftsmen of the Tuatha Dé Danann: Minach mac Deincecht; Etan ingen Deincecht the poetess; Airmed the female physician; Coirpre the poet; Crichinbél, Bruidne, and Casmaol the three satirists; Be Chuille and Dianand the sorceresses; Math mac Umoir the 'druid'; Goibnenn (Goibniu?) the smith; Luicne the builder; Creidne the goldsmith; Diancecht the physician: A, MT.
11. The second battle.

    MT: *Dorocair dno Nuodai Aircetlaum ocus Maucha ingen Ernmoiss lie Balur ui Neit. Duceir Cassmoel lie hOgtriallug mac nIndich... Dorochratar comtuitim Ogma mac Elathan ⁊ Indeouch mac De Domnonn ri na Fomorach.*

    A: *Nuadu Argetlam tra dorochair i cath dedenach MT. Et Macha ingen Ernmais do laim Balair Balcbeimnig. Isin cath sin dorochair Ogma mac Eladan meic Neit la Indech mac Dé rig na Fomorach. Dorochair Bruidne ⁊ Calmál la hOctrialach mac nInnich.*
12. The dead in the second battle.

    MT: *Secht fir secht fichit secht cét secht caocæ.*
    A: *Secht fir .vii. fichit .vii. .c. .vii. .l.*

Though LG contains a few traditions that are lacking in MT, the agreement is too striking to be merely accidental. It is manifest that the Invasion of the Tuatha Dé Danann was patched up out of a better version of MT and other similar sources, such as lists of *æs dána*, genealogies, &c. The expressions and phrases used in LG are in so many respects the same as in MT that this section of LG must be based upon the tale just mentioned. The contrary could not be the case, MT giving a much more circumstantial account of the events. There are many passages in MT

of which LG has no trace, such as the history of king Bress and the tax the Fomorians put upon him, or the legends of Lug (*Samildánach*) and the Dagda: the redactor of version X borrowed only the details connected with the battle itself, as this was the only portion of the tale bearing on the invasion. He probably had not the slightest notion of the original meaning of his materials. He regarded the Tuatha Dé Danann as human beings and descendants of Nemed, while originally they were Celtic gods, of whom there are also traces in Gaul and Wales (Ogmios, Nodens, Lludd Llaw Ereint, &c.). His work points to the same period as the supernatural elements of Gabál Mac Miled, such as the adventures of Amargen. The same inclination to *draoidheacht* may be observed here. It may have been even the same individual who not only borrowed the tale of the Tuatha Dé Danann with their sorcery acquired in the Northern islands of the world, the home of the Vikings and their *seiðmenn*, but who introduced also the passages on Amargen opposing a magic tempest raised by the Tuatha Dé Danann to drive his ship out to sea. It was necessary for him to bring Erimon and Eber into contact with the Tuatha Dé Danann, for he had introduced their invasion before the coming of the sons of Míl. The current traditions of the Tuatha Dé Danann showed him the way to accomplish his task: sorcery and supernatural powers should form the scenery. He managed this all right. But his highest merit is that he preserved in the Invasion of the Tuatha Dé Danann some of the scanty remnants of the Irish higher mythology and of the Celtic deities. The representatives of both the lower and higher mythology have found a place in LG, though the scribes to whom that valuable preservation is due, cannot have been conscious of it: for them the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann were but men, the offspring of Nemed and Rifath Scot, like all the other invaders of Ireland.

§ 27. Synopsis of the origin and growth of LG.

A. First period, before 800.

Genealogical saga: Erimon and Eber are the ancestors of the Goidels of the North and the South of Ireland (existing before 650).

Learned elements. All the invaders of Ireland come from Spain (Orosius). The ancestors of Erimon and Eber originally lived in Scythia (homophony of names); afterwards in the time of Moses, they were in Egypt (Orosius), and subsequently in Spain (Orosius); from the tower of Brigantia Ireland was seen (Orosius). They descend from Rifath, grandson of Iafeth (Isidore &c.). Their eponymous heroine is Scota. Another invader, Partholon, comes from Spain to Ireland, as a representative of the Parthians, kinsmen of the Scythians (Isidore).

Irish elements. Partholon was followed by the ancestors of the non-Goidelic inhabitants of the British islands. These had a common origin in Nemed (the Saint?), who invaded Ireland after Partholon; his Invasion is distinguished by a battle at Tor Conaing (introduction of the Fomoraig, belonging to the lower mythology, and folk elements). One group of his descendants, namely those who populated the neighbouring islands, were identified with the Fir Bolg, mythological beings, of whom there also existed a tradition that they had been transported to the islands. At the same time isolated traditions were current on Banba, Fótla and Eriu, the earliest women who dwelt in Ireland (Cin Dromma Snechta).

B. Second period, 800—1000.

Genealogical details. Three eponymous heroes of the Goidels are fabricated: Fenius (Féne), Nél (Ui Néill, Nile), Góidel Glas (Góidil); as they have not yet fixed places in the genealogies, the later MSS. vary on this point.

Learned elements. A controversy arises as to the historical period at which the Goidels were living in Egypt, from which two variant versions result; in one of them the sojourn in Egypt is placed in the time of Moses (the older one), in the other during the reign of Alexander. In the latter version historical elements from the history of Alexander are introduced, in the former biblical elements from the legend of Moses. From the isolated traditions on the first women in Ireland a new Invasion arises, which is ranged in order and in time before the others; it is the Invasion of Cesair, also largely embellished with biblical elements (Noah). Several minor learned traits come in. As

the sons of Mil were supposed to have come from Scythia before they reached Spain, all the subsequent invaders are provided with a Greek origin. This involves careful accounts of their wanderings, displaying a profound knowledge of Ptolemean geography. A second sojourn in Scythia, on the voyage from Egypt to Spain, comes in. In almost every Gabál topographical remarks are introduced as to the origin of plains, lakes, rivers, *raths,* &c. in Ireland.

Irish elements. The identification of the population of the islands with the mythological Fir Bolg opened the way for an influx of mythological and magical beliefs. Every invasion has its share. In the Introduction Caicher drui appears with his prophecy. Partholon has a battle with the Fomoraig, just as Nemed had. Out of the appendix to Gábal Nemid on the non-Goidelic population of Ireland and the islands, two new invasions arise: that of the Fir Bolg and that of the Tuatha Dé Danann. The former is based upon the lower Celtic mythology, the latter on the higher mythology, preserving traces of the Celtic Olympus. The principal sources of these new invasions are the traditions of the two battles of Mag Tuired. With the Invasion of the Tuatha Dé Danann arose the necessity of bringing Erimon and Eber into relationship with them. For this purpose the character of Amargen was created on some literary models, and with him a good deal of *draoidheacht* was introduced, largely based on Irish saga-literature.

C. Third period, 1000—1200.

The principal of the surviving versions are written down — A and Ba. They are formed on different principles: A abridges and Ba enlarges. Hence arises the most characteristic difference between the two versions, for Ba unites the two chronologically varying traditions on the Goidels' stay in Egypt and makes them visit it twice, once in Moses' time and once in Alexander's. A, on the other hand, considerably changes the genealogical traditions of the Goidels, by adapting them to the Irish Liber Sex Aetatum: Rifath is supplanted by Magoch, the older genealogy from Rifath down to Lámfind is omitted, and Fenius is put at the beginning. Fenius is then connected with the building of the tower of Babel, where he is said to have learnt the seventy-two languages. Though

this tradition on Fenius is introduced now for the first time in a text of LG, it is of older origin, for it occurs already in a poem by Maolmuru Othna († 887), but in an earlier form.

The other differences between version A (= Bb) and Ba are less important.

D. Fourth period 1200—1600.

Nothing new is introduced, but all earlier traditions are amalgamated. By this system of compilation we get strange forgeries, especially when in the Introduction the diverging accounts of the Goidels' sojourns in Egypt are combined. Sometimes new etymologies and variant opinions are added, but as a rule these are based on recent speculations. By the gradual process of addition and compilation LG has grown in the course of time from a modest beginning to a huge mass. The difference in bulk of O'Clery's LG version and that of S, not to speak of HB, is formidable.

I have endeavoured to give in the preceding a survey of the versions, growth and origin of Lebor Gabála. It is of the highest importance that the principles of literary criticism should be applied to Irish texts. Lebor Gabála is an excellent one to begin with, its history proving to be a compendium of the forces at work in the treatment of legends by the ancient Irish. For it contains both native and learned elements and shows that the former enter at an earlier period than the latter. Besides, Lebor Gabála exhibits wonderfully the knowledge of the Irish and their way of making and developing legends. One department of textual history has, however, been left altogether out of account in this investigation, that is the chronology of Lebor Gabála. The chronological disagreement of the versions, and especially the synchronisms of Ba and C have not been dealt with. This was intentional. They are not so much connected with Lebor Gabála proper as with other chronological works, such as the annals, synchronisms &c. To treat the synchronisms of Ba here would be of little use without a systematic examination of the whole of early Irish chronological and synchronistic

literature. But students of early Irish history know that this would have doubled the length of this paper and would scarcely have contributed to the elucidation of Lebor Gabála.

Addendum.

This article was originally intended as an introduction to an edition of Lebor Gabála. I gave up the idea of bringing out a critical text when I heard that this will be undertaken before long in Dublin on a larger scale than I ever could aim at. I hope that my investigation will be of some use to the editors. At the same time I have to make good a mistake I made on pp. 110—111. When setting forth my views of the relationship of A and Ba against those of Professor Thurneysen who speaks of Ba as „eine Bearbeitung von Version A“ I attributed to him the hypothesis that there must have existed originally a Latin *Liber Occupationis*. In this I was wrong. Although Professor Thurneysen mentions the Latin preface of Bb, he does not draw the above conclusion from it. I am indebted to Professor John Mac Neill for this suggestion of an original Lebor Gabála in Latin. Professor Thurneysen evidently regards Lebor Gabála as a purely Irish work.

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ZUR IRISCHEN WORTKUNDE.

1. Altirisch *ro-tethaind.*

In dem altirischen Text Liadain und Cuirither (ed. Kuno Meyer) heifst es auf S. 24:

> *Deilm ndegæ*
> *ro-tetaind* (andere Lesart: *ro-tethaind*) *mo chride-sæ*
> *ro-fess nícon bíad cenæ* (andere Lesart: *bia cheuna*).

Der Herausgeber hat diese Zeilen (Ancient Irish Poetry, S. 66) zuletzt folgendermafsen übersetzt: „A roaring flame dissolved this heart of mine — without him for certain it cannot live“. Im Glossar zur Textausgabe läfst er die Form *ro-tet(h)aind* unerklärt, vergleicht aber dazu altirisch *tethnae* (andere Lesart: *tetnai*, lies: *tethnai*) „he solved it“ (Bodl. Cormac 20, 4). *ro-tethaind* erklärt sich zwanglos aus einer Grundform **pro-tetonde*, die Form mit suffigierten Pronomen *tethnai* aus **tetonde* + *im.* Wir haben also eine reguläre Perfektbildung zum Stamme *tend* „zerschneiden“ vor uns, Präsens **tendid, -teind* „zerschneidet, zerreifst, spaltet, beifst, löfst“, identisch mit griechisch *τένδω* „nage“; die *o*-Stufe desselben Stammes in Lat. *tondeo* „ich schneide ab“. Im Irischen gehört zu demselben Verbum das später neugebildete *s*-Präteritum *ro-s-teind* „er spaltete sie“ (die Nufs; Rev. Celt. VIII 56), Plural *ra-thendsatar* (Togal Troi 1725) „welche gerissen hatten“ und *teinnsedar* (dss. Táin, S. 373), ferner das Verbalsubstantiv *teinm.*

Verschieden von dem eben besprochenen Verbum ist das aus lateinisch *tendō* entlehnte mittelir. *tennaid* „spannt, zieht“, cymrisch *tynnu* dss. Der Stamm *tend* stellt eine *d*-Erweiterung der Wurzel *tem* „schneiden“ (in griech. *τέμνω, τομή* usw.) dar.

2. Altirisch *ríched* 'heaven'.

Kuno Meyer hat (Sitzungsberichte der Preufs. Akademie 1913, S. 955) in diesem Wort ein altes Kompositum „Königssitz", erkannt und darin sehr treffend die Bestandteile *rīg-* und *sedon* gesucht. Allein eine urkeltische Grundform **rīgo-sedon*, wie er ansetzt, ist aus lautlichen Gründen doch nicht zulässig, da die Synkope des *o* die umgebenden Konsonanten dunkel färben mufste, wir also im Altirischen eine Form **ríchad* haben müfsten.

Der Ansatz einer Grundform **rīgi-sedon* beseitigt die erwähnte Schwierigkeit. Das *i* in der Kompositionsfuge ist nicht weiter wunderbar, da auch in andern indogermanischen Sprachen konsonantische Stämme im Kompositum neben häufigerem *o* ein *i* zeigen, so das griechische *ἁλι-πόρφυρος* „meerpurpurn" neben *ἁλο-σύδνη* „Meerwasser" zu *ἅλς* „Salz", vgl. ferner *αἰγί-βοτος* zu *αἴξ* „Ziege" u. ähnl. (Brugmann, Grundrifs II 78 ff.). Aufserdem mufs auch im Urkeltischen ein Adjektiv **rīgis* „königlich" bestanden haben, wie aus dem gallischen Superlativ *Rīgisamos* hervorgeht; *Rīgisamos* könnte allerdings auch zu einem Positiv **rīgos* gehören; dann würde sich der *i*-Stamm **rīgi-* leicht durch analogische Rückbildung zum *i*-haltigen Komparativ **rigjū* und zum Superlativ *rīgisamos*, die ebensogut zu *o*- wie zu *i*-Stämmen gehören konnten, erklären lassen. Durch Übertragung des *i* aus dem Komparativ und Superlativ erklärt sich wohl auch das griechische *καλλί-ζωνος* „mit schönem Gürtel", zu *καλός* „schön", worauf auch das *λλ* (Einflufs des Komparativs und des Substantivs *κάλλος*) hinweist.

3. Altirisch *esclae*.

Über dieses Wort haben Strachau (Archiv f. celt. Lex. I 477) und Kuno Meyer (Sitzungsberichte der Preufs. Akad. 1913, S. 449) gehandelt. Letzterer bezweifelt Strachans Ansicht, der das Wort für das Verbalsubstantiv von *as-comla* hält und meint, dafs die genaue Bedeutung und Herkunft keinesfalls klar sei.

Ein Verbalsubstantiv zu *as-comla* kann das Wort nun allerdings nicht sein, da ein solches Verbum überhaupt nicht existiert; es gibt nur ein Verbum *as-comlai* (*ess-com-luí*) „proficiscitur", dessen Verbalsubstantiv *escumlúd* lautet.

esclae (Dativ *esclu*) erkläre ich aus einer Grundform **eḱs-ḱom-lā-jo-*, die in lautlicher Beziehung sowie der Bedeutung nach aufs beste paſst. **eḱs-ḱom-lā-jo-* wird über **ess-km-lājo-* regelrecht zu *esclae.* Die Wurzelform *lā* „in Bewegung setzen, gehen" (Ablautform der zweisilbigen Wurzel *elā* in Griech. *ἐλαύνω*, usw.) ist ja auch sonst im Irischen genügend belegt (s. Pedersens Grammatik II 353, 509). *esclae* heiſst also „Ausgang, Ausfahrt" und die Stelle in der Táin (LU 62 a 31): *macc becc do-chóid indiu ar esclu hi carpat* ist somit zu übersetzen: „ein kleiner Knabe, der heute in seinem Wagen eine Ausfahrt unternommen hat".

4. Altirisch *do-nessa.*

Von Fannall, einem der Gegner Cúchulinns, heiſst es in der Táin (YBL, Zeile 666): *Ni truma do-éssa in n-uisci oldas ela no fandoll.* Für *do-éssa* hat LU *do-essa,* Eg. 1782 *do-ess.* Strachan setzt daher ein Verbum *do-essa* an (Táin Tales, S. 75), als dessen Bedeutung er „überschreiten" vermutet.

Ein etymologischer Anhaltspunkt für ein solches Verbum fehlt jedoch. Es läge zwar nahe, an eine Ableitung von *éis* „Spur" zu denken, doch würde man in diesem Fall ein *i*-Verbum, also etwa **do-éis(s)i* erwarten.

Ich möchte daher einen andern Ausweg vorschlagen. Da ein neutrales vorausgestelltes Adjektiv, das den folgenden Satz modal bestimmt, auf jeden Fall einen nasalierenden Relativsatz erfordert, müſste die Verbalform in unserem Fall, wie auch Strachan gesehen hat, jedenfalls *do-n-essa* heiſsen; die Annahme, daſs im Urtext *donessa* gestanden habe, ist somit ganz unumgänglich. Der Irrtum der Abschreiber, die offenbar das Abkürzungszeichen für *n* als Längezeichen verlasen (so YBL) oder überhaupt übersahen, ist leicht verständlich und gehört zu den häufigsten Schreibfehlern.

Wenn aber auf jeden Fall *donessa* im Original gestanden haben muſste, so ist ganz klar, daſs man es auch als *do-nessa* auffassen kann. Auf diese Weise lösen sich alle Schwierigkeiten. Der Verbalstamm *ness-* „treten" ist für das Irische genügend festgelegt (Pedersen II 583) und es ist klar, daſs wir hier die 3. Indic. Präs. zum Verbalsubstantiv *tuinsem* vor uns haben, das Pedersen sehr treffend auf **to-ni-(s)tha-mu-s* zurückführt (vgl.

besonders die Verbalsubstantive *airissem, fóessam*, die gleichfalls zur Wurzel *(s)thā-* gehören).

do-nessa „auf etwas treten“ gibt hier einen guten Sinn und paſst besonders gut zum vorhergehenden *truma* (= *trummu*) „schwerer“; die Stelle bedeutet also: „nicht schwerer geht er über das Wasser, als ein Schwan oder eine Schwalbe“. Zur Bedeutung vergleiche man Voyage of Bran, § 63: *as-bert in ben arná tuinsed* (= *to-nessad*) *nech diib a tír* „das Weib sagte, daſs keiner von ihnen das Land betreten solle“.

5. Altirisch *é* ‘Salm’.

Neben *éu, éo* kommt im Irischen auch die Form *é* „Salm“ vor, so LL 12 b 42, H 3. 18. p. 611 b (Bezzenbergers Beiträge XIX 2) und in O'Mulconrys Glossar (Archiv f. celt. Lexik. I 477). Durch ihr häufiges Vorkommen scheint es ausgeschlossen, daſs wir es, wie Stokes meint, nur mit einer Korruption von *éu*, *éo* zu tun haben.

Es handelt sich vielmehr deutlich um eine Nebenform von *éo, éu*. Wie diese entstanden ist, ist ganz deutlich. Das ursprüngliche Paradigma lautete nämlich: Nom. **esōk-s*, Gen. **esok-os*, Dat. **esok-(a)i* usw., woraus zunächst voririsch **esūss*, Gen. **esochos* wurde. Aus **esūss* entstand regelmäſsig *éu* (*éo*), indem in ursprünglich zweisilbigen Worten die Verschmelzung der Hiatusvokale noch vor der Hebung (durch die *e* zu *i* geworden wäre) eintrat (das auslautende *-ū* muſste schon wegen des ursprünglich folgenden Konsonanten lautgesetzlich erhalten bleiben); daſs diese Verschmelzung älter ist als die Hebung zeigt auch *oí* „Schaf“ aus **ovis*, das andernfalls *uí* ergeben hätte, ferner *béu* (*béo*) „ich würde sein“ aus urkeltisch **besu* (Thurneysen, Handbuch § 767); Pedersens Ansicht, daſs **esōks* zu **iu* geworden wäre (Grammatik II 100), ist somit zu verwerfen.

Es ist nun ohne weiteres begreiflich, daſs das kurze *o* der obliquen Kasus auch in den Nominativ dringen konnte, wodurch schon voririsch neben **esūss* eine Form **esoss* trat; dieses *esoss* muſste dann lautgesetzlich über **eho* (vielleicht auch über **ejo*) zu *é* werden, da natürlich solche Vokale, die dem Gesetz des Endsilbenschwundes unterlagen, nicht mit dem vorhergehenden Vokal kontrahiert werden konnten, wie auch in air. *clé* „link“ aus idg. **k̑lijo-*, **k̑lijā* (zu cymr. *cledd*, lat. *cli-vius* „ungünstig“ usw.)

oder _cré_ „Lehm, Ton“ (aus _*k^{v}rējat-s_; eine Grundform _*k^{v}rējet-s_, wie sie Pedersen I 252 ansetzt, ist unmöglich, da diese _crí_ ergeben hätte, wie auch _*ad-k^{v}is-et_ „sieht“ zu _ad-cí_ wurde; auch könnte dann der Dativ nicht mittelirisch _criaid_ lauten, sondern würde _criid_ heifsen); _béu_, _béo_ „lebend“ aus idg. _*g^{v}ivo-_ ist kein Gegenbeweis, da der Diphthong _éu_, _éo_ hier nicht das Kontraktionsprodukt von _e_ (aus _i_ gebrochen) mit dem _o_ der Endung darstellt, sondern vielmehr aus _e_ + _v_ entstanden ist, das zwischen _e_ und _o_ zu _u_ geworden war und daher vor dem geschwundenen auslautenden _o_ erhalten blieb (über die Behandlung des intervokalischen _v_ siehe meine Concise Old Irish Grammar, § 112). Altirisch _é_ stellt somit die regelmäfsige Entwicklung der voririschen Nebenform _*esok-s_ dar.

6. Altirisch _montar_, _muinter_ ‘Gefolge, _familia_’.

Die Lautgestalt dieser Worte hat schon zu zahlreichen Erörterungen Anlafs gegeben, jedoch noch keine befriedigende Lösung gefunden. Thurneysen hat dafür die Grundformen _*monater-_ und _*moniter-_ angesetzt, die ihre Gestalt im Britannischen durch Umbildung aus latein. _monasterium_ und _monisterium_ erhalten haben sollen. Ihm schliefst sich Hessen (ZCP IX 11) an.

Eine derartige Deutung ist nicht nur bedenklich, wie Pedersen meint, sondern geradezu unmöglich.

Die Ansicht, dafs lateinisch _st_ im Britannischen intervokalisch zu _t_ werden könnte, ist doch ganz willkürlich ad hoc konstruiert. Um damit ein für alle Mal aufzuräumen, stelle ich alle beteiligten Lehnworte im Cymrischen, die intervokalisches _st_ im Inlaut enthalten, zusammen.

Es sind dies: _abostol_ (mittelcymr.; aus _apostolus_), _astell_ (aus _astella_), _astud_ (aus _astūtus_), _Awstin_ (aus _Augustīnus_), _castan_ (aus _castanus_), _castell_ (aus _castellum_), _distyll_ (aus _dēstillo_), _ffestiniaw_ (aus _festīno_), _meistr_ (aus _magister_), _mestig_ (aus _mastīco_), _pistyll_ (aus _pistillum_), _pystylu_ (aus _pistūrīre_), _pystylwyn_ (aus _postilēna_), _testun_ (aus _testimōnium_), _tristyd_ (aus _tristitia_), _ystyll-en_ (aus _hastilla_).

Dazu kommen noch zahlreiche Worte, wo das _st_ im cymrischen Auslaut stand, wie _bwyst_ (_bēstia_), _cest_ (_cista_) u. a. m. Es wird wohl zur Genüge klar sein, dafs man im Hinblick auf alle

diese Beispiele annehmen mufs, dafs auch lateinisch *monisterium* und *monasterium* im Britannischen ihr *st* unverändert bewahrten.

Mit Recht lehnt Pedersen auch die Zurückführung des cymrischen *cader* „Festung" auf lat. *castra* ab. Auch die Lautgruppe *str* mufs im Cymrischen erhalten bleiben, wie die folgenden lateinischen Lehnworte beweisen: *cebystr* (aus *capistrum*), *distryw* (aus *dēstruo*), *ffenestr* (aus *fenestra*), *rhestr* (aus *registra*); vgl. auch altcorn. *estr-en* aus *ostreum*. Besonders beweisend ist auch das cymrische *castr* „Zeugungsglied des Pferdes" aus latein. *castrum*. Ist ja im Britannischen sogar die altererbte Lautgruppe *str* erhalten geblieben, wie in cymr. *rhwystro* „hindern" (ir. *riastraim* „verzerre"), cymr. *llestr* „Gefäfs" (ir. *lestar*) usw., es kann also lateinisch *st* auch nicht vor *r* zu *t* geworden sein.

Eine andere Deutung hat Pedersen versucht (GGA 1912, S. 27), der eine Grundform **mn̥nitūrā* (zu lat. *manēre*) oder **manuterā* (zu lat. *manus*) ansetzen will. Aber abgesehen davon, dafs das Suffix in **mn̥nitūra* sonst nicht in echt keltischen Worten vorkommt, könnten beide Formen lautgesetzlich nur zu *mointer* bezw. *muinter* führen und die Formen *montar*, *muntar* blieben ganz unerklärt.

Die Lösung der Schwierigkeiten ergibt sich ganz ungezwungen. Lateinisch *monasterium* und *monisterium*, die ins Britannische aufgenommen wurden, sind nach Abfall der Endsilben ins Irische entlehnt worden, wo sie in die *ā*-Flexion übergeführt wurden, also **monasterā* und **monisterā* lauteten. Beide Formen mufsten nach dem Wirken der Auslautgesetze und der Synkope regelmäfsig zu **monstar* und **muinster* werden. Lateinisch *st* ist ja bekanntlich in irischen Lehnworten in der Regel erhalten (*béist* aus *bēstia*, *súist* aus *fūstis*, *magister* aus *magister*, *rastal* aus *rastellus*, *teist* aus *testis*). Die sekundär entstandene Lautgruppe *nst* dürfte sich nun im Irischen nicht lange unverändert erhalten haben, da sie in echt irischen Worten nicht vorkam (altes *nst* war schon sehr früh mit *st* zusammengefallen). Durch Ausfall des *n* konnte eine Vereinfachung nicht gut erfolgen, da sekundär vor *s* tretendes *n* stets erhalten blieb, wie z. B. im echt irischen *ans*(*a*)*e* „nicht leicht" (aus *an-ass*(*a*)*e*, idg. **n̥-ad-*(*s*)*thājo-*). Eine Vereinfachung der schweren Konsonantengruppe war aber um so wahrscheinlicher, als das erwähnte Wort von Anfang an in der lebenden Sprache viel gebraucht worden sein mufs, wie dessen zahllose Belege aus allen Sprachperioden beweisen. Nun

schwindet *s* zwischen Konsonanten in vielen Sprachen, darunter auch im Urkeltischen. Es ist somit durchaus nicht gewagt, anzunehmen, daſs auch im Irischen **monstar* und **muinster* durch Ausfall des *s* zu *montar* und *muinter* wurden, wie sie uns in historischer Zeit vorliegen. Die dritte, seltenere Form *muntar* ist natürlich eine Kontamination aus den beiden andern Formen. Im Irischen konnten zu jeder Zeit unsilbische Konsonantengruppen durch Schwund eines Lautes erleichtert werden. Vgl. hierüber Pedersen, Vgl. Grammatik I 484 ff. und Thurneysen, Handbuch § 178.

Das nur einmal im Buch von Armagh (Thes. Palaeohib. II 241) überlieferte *menstir* (= *μηνιστέριον*) „Kredenztisch“ kann nicht als Gegengrund angeführt werden. Vor allem beweist schon das *e* der ersten Silbe, für das wir lautgesetzlich *i* erwarten müſsten, daſs wir es mit keinem lebendigen Wort, sondern mit einem gelehrten Buchwort zu tun haben; hier können sich ganz selbstverständlich schwer sprechbare Konsonantengruppen unverändert erhalten haben. Nun lautet aber das Wort in allen übrigen Belegen immer *me(i)nistir* mit ausnahmslos erhaltener Zwischensilbe (s. Vendryes, De Hib. Voc. s. v. *menstir*). Diese Form kann nicht aus älterem *menstir* hervorgegangen sein, da sich zwischen *n* und *s* niemals ein epenthetischer Vokal entwickelt. Eine abermalige jüngere Entlehnung ist schon wegen des *e* der ersten Silbe nicht wahrscheinlich. Ich möchte daher glauben, daſs im Buch von Armagh *menstir* für *menistir* verschrieben ist. Doch ist diese Annahme nicht unbedingt notwendig, da in einem gelehrten Lehnwort die Erhaltung der Gruppe *nst* ohne weiteres verständlich ist.

Altirisch **monistir* (*i*-Stamm) „*coenobium*“, nur im Gen. Pl. *monistre* belegt, ist jüngere gelehrte Entlehnung aus *monisterium*.

Wien. JULIUS POKORNY.

ZUR TÁIN BÓ CÚAILNGE.

I.

R. I. Best bemerkt mir freundlichst, dafs mir bei der Verwertung seiner Entdeckung über die verschiedenen Schreiber von LU ein kleines Mifsverständnis untergelaufen ist[1]). Ich hatte seine Verteilung der einzelnen Seiten auf verschiedene Hände nicht nur auf den Text selbst, sondern fälschlich auch auf die eingestreuten Glossen bezogen. Seiner Güte verdanke ich nun aber auch eine Liste, wie diese Glossen auf die einzelnen Hände verteilt sind. Daraus ergibt sich, dafs von den acht Glossen, die ich S. 439 als beweisend für den engeren Zusammenhang der Grundtexte von LU und Eg. 1782 zitiert habe, nur vier für einen solchen Beweis tauglich bleiben, während drei (zu Z. 223, 623, 797) sicher, eine (308) wahrscheinlich in LU vom Interpolator H herrührt, also aufser Betracht fällt. Für meine Ausführungen ist das ohne wesentlichen Belang, da sich mein Beweis nicht hauptsächlich auf diese Glossen stützte[2]). Übrigens bin ich in der Lage, noch einen ganz evidenten Fall für eine gemeinsame Änderung des ursprünglichen Textes in LU (Hand M) und Eg. 1782 anzuführen. Es ist eine Stelle in den *formolta ConCulaind* (349 ff.).

YBL: *Ni·fairgeba su ar do chind læch bas ansum na rind bis aithighiu na fiach bus feoilchairiu na bas bus athluime na lath bus luindiu na comlond a esa rad·sia co trian* usw. „Du wirst keinen Krieger treffen, der schwerer (zu bestehen) sein wird, noch eine (Speer-)Spitze, die schärfer, noch einen Raben, der fleischgieriger, noch einen Tod, der näher bei der Hand, noch einen Kämpen, der

[1]) In dem Artikel: Die Überlieferung der Táin Bó Cúailnge ZCP 9, 418 ff.

[2]) Ein wirkliches Versehen von mir war die Angabe, dafs die Glosse zu 345 f.: *Obicitur tochmarcc n-Emire do so* in Eg. 1782 fehle, vgl. Windisch, ZCP 9, 129, Anm. 2. Es stimmt also diese Hs. zu LU.



grimmiger sein wird, noch einen Altersgenossen, der ein Drittel von ihm erreichen wird“.

LU: *Ní·fairgéba su ar do cind lǽch bas andsu. ná rind bas áigthidiu ná bas altnidi ná bas athlaimi nó láth bas luinniu. ná fíach bas feólchairiu. ná comlond a ǽsa ród·sá co trián.*

Eg. 1782: *Ní·fargeba su ar do chind láech bus ansam na rind bus áithigu na bus altnighi na bus athlame. na fíach bus feolchariu. na comlunn a áessa ro·sía co trían* usw.

Die beiden letzten Handschriften gehen offenbar auf einen Text zurück, der statt *bas bas athlaimi*(*u*) (= *bás bas a.*) nur *bas athlaimi*(*u*) las, so dafs dem Satz das Subjekt zu fehlen schien, da man das Adjektiv nicht wohl auf *fiach* beziehen konnte. Man zog es daher zu *rind* und fügte zu *áithigdiu* noch das ungefähr gleichbedeutende, alliterierende *altnidi*(*u*) hinzu. So bestätigt sich meine Annahme, das LU und der Grundtext von Eg. 1782 in letzter Linie eine Handschriftengruppe für sich (mein *u*) bilden.

Da ich eben am Korrigieren von Fehlern bin, bemerke ich, dafs im Stammbaum S. 441 an der unteren Ecke rechts statt E natürlich E² zu lesen ist; die Zahl ist erst nach der letzten Korrektur abgesprungen. Ferner zu Zs. 9, 487, dafs sich die „14 Tage“ in Rev. Celt. 15, 465 nicht auf die Dauer der ganzen Tain, sondern nur auf die Zeit bezieht, während deren Medb ihren Streifzug bis nach Dun Sobairche ausführt (LU-Version 1349, LL-Version 2050).

II.

Wenn ich auch hoffe, dafs meine früheren Ausführungen als Beweis dafür genügt haben, dafs die LL-Version nicht auf einer Quelle der LU-Version, sondern auf dieser selber beruht, so wird es doch nichts schaden, noch einen Fall vorzuführen, in dem besonders deutlich wird, wie LL verschiedene Teile von LU zusammenarbeitet. Er ist merkwürdigerweise von Zimmer ganz übergangen worden und hätte allerdings schlecht zu seiner Theorie gepafst.

Über die Zusammensetzung des Heeres von Ailill und Medb haben wir in LU zwei verschiedene Berichte. Nach der Einleitung (Z. 1 ff.) sendet man Boten in die drei anderen Provinzen, speziell aber zu den sieben *maic Mágach*, d. h. zu Ailill und seinen Brüdern, die namentlich aufgeführt werden, und die jeder ein *tricha cét*

herbeiführen; ferner zu Cormac Condlongas, der dreihundert Mann befehligt. Deren Aufzug wird beschrieben und, wie beiläufig, hinzugefügt: „Es versammelten sich dann auch vier Provinzen Irlands in Cruachain Ai" (19f.).

Eine genaue Aufzählung der Abteilungen erhalten wir bald darauf in der Erzählung selbst in der Episode der Galióin (163ff.). Wir erfahren dort, dafs das Heer aus 18 *tricha cét* besteht. Abgesehen vom *tricha cét* der Galióin hat Medb selber zwei *tricha cét*; ferner jeder ihrer sieben Söhne, die alle Mane heifsen, je ein *tricha cét*. Ebenso hat Fergus sein eigenes *tricha cét* und sieben Könige aus Munster jeder ein *tricha cét*[1]). Man sieht, die sieben *maic Mágach* fehlen hier völlig; für ihre *tricha cét* ist in dieser Rechnung kein Platz. Auch Cormac Condlongas bleibt unerwähnt; doch könnte man zur Not seine 300 Mann mit Fergus' *tricha cét* identifizieren.

Diese sich widersprechenden Stellen weist Zimmer (KZ 28, 545) ausdrücklich einer einzigen Quelle zu, auf die nach ihm LU 55a1—57a8 zurückgeht. Aber nirgends ist die Kompilation verschiedenartigen Materials deutlicher als hier.

Wie verhält sich nun LL? Repräsentiert es etwa die eine dieser beiden Versionen? Nein, es vereinigt beide Berichte. An der ersten Stelle (Windisch, Z. 161ff.) werden von Medb Boten gesandt sowohl zu den sieben Mani als zu den *maic Magach*, sowohl zu Cormac Condlongas als zu Fergus. An der zweiten (433ff.) werden gleichfalls sowohl die Truppen der Mani als die der *maic Magach* erwähnt. Aber der Verfasser der LL-Version hütet sich wohl, nun die Zahl der *tricha cét* zu bestimmen; er gibt 169ff. nur die Kopfzahl der Mannschaften insgesamt.

Deutlicher kann wohl nicht zutage treten, wie LL die verschiedenen Teile der Kompilation LU zu vereinheitlichen sucht.

III.

Vergil und die Táin Bó Cúailnge.

Dafs die Táin Reminiszenzen an das klassische Altertum birgt, ist öfters bemerkt worden. Niemand hat von dem Warten des Heeres auf günstige Wahrzeichen vor dem Aufbruch oder

[1]) Dieser Darstellung entspricht so ziemlich die spätere, die von Fergus' Weichen aus der Schlacht berichtet, Z. 3633ff.



von der Erhebung des Flusses Cronn gegen den Feind berichtet, ohne an die Griechen in Aulis oder an den Skamandros in seinem Aufwallen gegen Achilleus zu erinnern. Aber der direkteste Anklang an die Antike ist bis jetzt, so viel ich sehe, unbemerkt geblieben, weil die Stelle nicht verstanden worden ist. Schon dem Schreiber von LU war sie unverständlich, wie seine falsche Interpunktion zeigt, und die LL-Version hat die Anspielung ganz unterdrückt.

Es handelt sich um die Einleitung der Episode, in der die Nemain den Stier vor dem Bevorstehenden warnt und ihn zur Flucht bewegt (842 ff.). Sie ist nur in LU 64 b und YBL 24 a erhalten und lautet in den Handschriften (von gleichgültigen Varianten abgesehen):

Céin bátár di(du) intsloig octochim maige breg forrumai[1]) *allechtu colleic nochist*[2]) *inmorriganson*[3]) *indeilb eúin combói forsin chorthi hitemair cualngi*[4]) *7 asbert frisintárb*[5]) usw.

L. W. Faraday[6]) meint, es fehle hier offenbar etwas. Aber die Stelle wird ohne weiteres klar, wenn wir *Allechtu* als Eigennamen fassen: „Während die Scharen nun beschäftigt waren, Mag Breg zu durchschreiten, kam inzwischen Allechtu, das ist die Morrigan, in Gestalt eines Vogels auf den Steinpfeiler in Temair Cualngi und sprach zu dem Stier“ usw. *Noch is* in der Bedeutung *id est* ist aus den Mailänder Glossen bekannt. Die *Allechtu*, die hier mit der gespensterhaften Morrigan identifiziert wird, ist natürlich niemand anders als die Furie Allecto, die jedem Latein Studierenden aus Vergils berühmter Schilderung Aen. VII 323 ff. vertraut war. Da auch sie *fuscis tollitur alis* (408), *Stygiis se concitat alis* (476), war sie leicht mit einer der oft in Vogelgestalt erscheinenden irischen Dämoninnen zu vereinigen. Bemerkenswert bleibt aber immerhin, daſs in einem der älteren Teile der Táin ein solcher den gelehrten Kreisen entstammender Ausdruck sich findet.

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1) *fosrumai* YBL.
2) *colleic. Nochist* LU.
3) *inmórrigan son* LU.
4) *chuailgiu* YBL.
5) *7 asbertsiris intarb* YBL.
6) The Cattle-Raid of Cualnge, p. 40.

Freiburg i. B. R. THURNEYSEN.

THE RECENSIONS OF THE SAGA 'TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA'.

1. The composite text of 'Leabhar na hUidhre'.

Of the older tales, which have come down to us, the legend of the sack of Da Derga's hostel is, next to the 'Táin', the most ambitious and epic in structure. The form in which we have it represents an intermediate stage between the unadorned, terse style of the oldest tales, and the rhetorical methods of the twelfth century *senchaide*, as exemplified in the 'Táin' and *Togail Trói* in the Book of Leinster. Unlike these, 'Togail Bruidne Da Derga' for all its diffuseness of narration, seldom degenerates into bombast; except in the interminable description of the rooms of the *Bruiden*, the narrative is spirited and continuous, with occasional passages of singular beauty, not unworthy of the legend they embody.

Though probably later in form than the 'Táin', the legend of the tale has been generally recognized to be of an even more archaic origin. Eoin Mac Néill has pointed out, that here we have Tara recognized as the seat of the king of Ireland, while in the later tales it is a place of minor importance, until the time of Cormac: here, too, we have the peculiar relic of totemistic usages, and strange beings of another world with powers of enchantment. We may observe too the absence of any mention of druids[1]), who play a part in all later legends of enchantment.

It is unfortunate, that Stokes, in editing this tale, should have worked chiefly from a manuscript, which, in addition to being incomplete, represented in many ways later recensions and obvious

[1]) That is, except in the Eg. version and the Dindshenchas. Note how in the story of the *Tarbfess* interpolated into *Serglige Con Culaind* from our text, the man who chooses the king at the feast, becomes, in accordance with later ideas, a druid.

interpolations: the only manuscript moreover, that was already accessible in facsimile. For this reason probably, since the researches of Zimmer and Nettlau, this text has been left almost unstudied for nearly twenty years.[1])

The recent discovery by Mr. Best of the interpolating hand in 'Leabhar na hUidhre', has, however, thrown much light on the various recensions of the tale, and cleared up definitively the relationship of that MS. with Egerton 1782: a later scribe has, as Mr. Best shews, erased the original text, and written in the principal additions of the later Egerton recension. It is thus possible also to revise Stokes' summary of the MSS., as follows:

The descriptions in § 112 to § 125 (LU p. 93, 94) are added in LU by the later hand: therefore in 'Lebhar Buidhe Leacain' we have the original text in its entirety; the sole complete copy of the story. Similarly, the Stowe MS. is complete save for the loss of one folio at the end. The fragment in the 'Book of Fermoy' is continuous. Here may also be noted that the *remscéla* mentioned by Stokes as preceding the text in 'Egerton 1782', have been printed, as a recension of 'Tochmarc Étáine', by Windisch in his 'Irische Texte' vol. I.

It is curious, that the text presented by the oldest manuscript LU is, without exception, the least archaic. In addition to the interpolations of the later hand (called by Best H), the evidence of the other MSS. shews clearly that the original scribe Máel Muire mac Céilechair introduced frequent additions of his own. Thus LU 83 a 45 (ed. Stokes § 26) reads: *Is iat dodróni in smúit-cheo druidechta sin din bith. síabrai: fo bithin arrocorpait géssi Conairi*: against all other MSS. (including Eg., Stokes p. 153), which have: *Is é rí insin longside siabrai din bith*: this is established as the correct reading by a sentence in the supplementary note in LU itself (*manu primâ*), which is taken partly from this tale, and partly from the short summary in 'Lebor Dromma Snechta'. This runs: *Ecmaing ba tir dudlotar, ar is hé rí insin loingside siabrai.*

In the light of this example we may fairly reject, on the evidence of the later MSS., §§ 68 and 69 (LU 87 a 2 to 10),

[1]) Exception must of course be made of Mr. Lloyd's admirable study of the topography of the piece, entitled *Trácht Fuirbhthen* ('Eriu' vol. 2).



§ 149 to § 153 incl., §§ 159, 160, 163, 164, and § 168: together with many readings obviously late in form, and minor modernizations. Nevertheless, as the earliest version, LU has preserved in some places the original reading, where Stowe and LBL offer more modern forms.

The close agreement of the various MSS. makes it probable that all are ultimately derived from the same original copy: this is especially notable in the obscurer pieces of *retoric*.

The Stowe MS. shews a text with a certain number of obvious modernizations: for instance § 48

LU: ar nach-bar-accaister as'tir.
LBL: ar nachabaccastar as'tir.
St.: na faicther sib don tir.
Eg.: ar na aiccithir sib do tir.

Here LBL preserves the correct reading. So too (§ 52) LU: *conecsetar*; LBL, Eg.: *condecdatar*; but St.: *7 indisit* (leg: *co n-écdatar*). Instructive also is § 66:

LU: Bá hé mo lithsa, for Ingcél, combad sé no beth and 7 robad orgain fo araile insin.

LBL and H: Ba he mo lithse bid he docorad and. Ba he orcuin fon ailiu.

St.: . . . combad he notecmad ann. Ba argain mar a cheile hé.[1])

Eg.: comad he notocrad ann innocht.

Where however St. omits to modernize, it reads sometimes with LU, sometimes with LBL. Thus St. with LU against LBL: § 23 n. 1, § 27 n. 8, § 28 n. 5, § 28 n. 13, § 35 n. 8, § 39 n. 1, § 43 n. 4, § 79 n. 14 &c.[2]) Agreement of St. and LBL is still more frequent against LU, but in neither case can the variants be called negligible; it may therefore be fairly concluded, that St., LBL and LU represent independent copies of one original, and hence that the consensus of two of these three represents the reading of the original.

Two readings which confirm this view may be cited here: § 23 n. 1:

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[1]) Other instances of paraphrasing in St. p. 45 n. 2, 9.

[2]) References to the footnotes and paragraphs of Stokes' edition: I omit mere correspondences of spelling.

LU: Is í orcain tuc a áinfén dosom: conid si adaig andsin rocurthea a mathair 7 a athair 7 a secht nderbrathir.

LBL: Is i orcain tuc Ingcel do adaig rocuretha a mathair 7 a athair 7 a seacht nderbraithri.

Eg.: Is i imorro argain tuc Ingcél doib .i. adaig rocuirthea a athair, &c.

H: Is i orcuin tug Ingcel doip agaid rocuirthi a mathair, &c.

St.: Issi orcuin tuc a ainfén do, adaig rocuirthéa a mathair 7 a secht nderbrathir.

Here LU and St. alone read *a ainfén* against *Ingcél* of H, LBL and Eg.; this being evidently an error for *ainṡén* 'ill-luck'.[1]) Clearly then the MSS. have a common archetype, whose blunder is perpetuated in LU and St., whilst the others have substituted *Ingcél* for the incomprehensible *ainfén.*[2])

Again § 28 n. 13 LU reads *hi sedgregaib oss n-eng,* while for the last word LBL has *n-ecennsa,* Stowe *necendas no neng*[3]). This whole passage is imitated from the obscure list of gifts in the 'Amra Con Rōi', where this phrase is also *i sedgregaib oss n-eng.* It seems probable that St. has kept the original error with its correction, whilst LBL has adopted the correction, and LU omitted it. And so with many other variants, in which each of these three MSS. sometimes follows one and sometimes the other, the explanation can only be that they are independent copies of one archetype.

2. The recension of Egerton 1782.

The text offered by Egerton 1782 is, as Stokes and Nettlau have shewn, that of a second recension. It opens on fol. 106 r *Bai ri amra aireagdai i n-airdrighe for hErinn .i. Eochaig Aireamh* with a version of the 'Tochmarc Étáine'. This is printed as a second version of that tale by Windisch (Irische Texte I 128); he omits, however, to point out that it is not an independent text in the MS., but has been grafted on to the text of 'Togail Bruidne Da Derga' and forms the beginning of this recension.

[1]) This explanation I owe to Dr. Bergin.

[2]) Note how even in this sentence St. agrees first with LU against LBL, then *vice versa.*

[3]) Eg. has *neng.*

It has been shewn in a paper on these two versions of 'Tochmarc Étáine' (ZCP IX 353) that the Egerton version of 'Tochmarc Étáine' is founded on that preserved by LU-LBL with addition of the story of the Finding of Étáin from 'Bruiden Da Derga' (§§ 1, 2, 3 ed. Stokes = § 3, 4, 5 in Windisch's 'second version'), and a prose summary of the Dindshenchas poem on Ráth Crúachan. The Finding of Etáin is therefore not an interpolation, but part of the original tale, to which the version of 'Tochmarc Étáine', and the Crúachan story have been — not very skilfully — prefixed [1]).

The Crúachan-story ends Eg. 108 v b 1 *ocus bui* [sc. Étáin] *i ngradhuibh ri hErind* (sic) *.i. a cœimcheli gráduch dinguhala budh dein*: then, attempting to account for the confusion of Eochaid Airem and Eochaid Feidlech, *.i. hic Eochuith Airemh*: *ocus is he in tEchaid sin, robui .xu. bliadna hi richi nErenn, gur rusloiscc teni hi Frémainn. Conid hi Serclighi Ailellu ainm in sceuil sin, ocus Tochmarcc Étainiu.*

Then comes an attempt to harmonize the tale, by making Mess Búachalla daughter of a second Étáin, whose mother was the Étáin of the preceding tale [2]): and a statement that Conaire's *gessa* were violated and ruin brought upon him by the *sithchaire Muigi Breg*, to avenge the destruction of Brí Léith and the rescue of Étáin by Eochaid *ar togail Bri Léith ocuss ar Etain do thaphuirt as dEchaid Airem ar écin.* With these words the introduction concludes [3]).

Thence the text of 'Bruiden Da Derga' is taken up; the passage may be quoted as illustrating the method of recension: (Eg. fol. 108 v col. *b* l. 19 = LU ed. Stokes § 4).

> Ocus tuc Cormacc iarsin ingen Ech*ach* .i. fer na tri mbuad in Cormac sin. Léicith Cormac iartain in ingin, ar ba hamrit acht mad ingin ruc do Chormac iar ndénam in brothchain dombert a mathair di assin thsith. Is

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[1]) This explains also the confusion of Eochaid Feidlech and E. Airem.

[2]) Here again Eg. interpolates from the older tradition: in the Dindshenchas of Ráth Ésa and the very archaic legend contained in the genealogy *Do Shil Chonairi Moir* this version occurs, but there Étáin's daughter is named Ess, or Ésa.

[3]) Here too (fol. 108 v col. *b* l. 9) ends Windisch's transcript: the next line begins *Ocus tuc Etain* &c. as printed below: I give it, as it bridges the gap between Windisch's transcript, und that of the Eg. version of §§ 4, 5 printed by Stokes ed. p. 151.

annsin atbert sí fria mathair: 'Is cuil dorata dam', ol si, 'bid iugen nomber'. 'Ni ba báa són, biaid taigid ri *fuirre*'. [§ 5 *ed Stokes*] Dob*eir* Cormac iarum aridisi a mnái: ocus bai a riár-sidi ingen na mnao (*l*) ro leicith rempi do marbadh. Nir' leig Cormacc iartain in ing*in* d' altram dia mathair. Nosberat iarum dá mogaid &c. (*the rest printed by Stokes, Appendix p. 151*).

Thence the text proceeds, as in the other MSS., with verbal modernizations, alterations und additions, but obviously based on the same version.

The next addition of importance in Eg. is the interpolation, after § 26, of the version of the *Druim Snechta* text, which occurs independently in LU. It would seem that this short note, a recension of the old and obscure text derived from the *Druim Snechta* codex, gave rise to this recension of 'Bruiden Da Derga', which we have preserved in Eg. 1782, and in the interpolations in 'Lebar na hUidri'. In its original form, as we have it in other MSS., the text seems akin to the original idea of the story of 'Bruiden Da Derga' — for instance, the words *ho tarfás do indred caich mennota* seem to contain a reference to the mysterious agencies which prevented Conaire from reaching Tara — akin but not identical in its earliest development. The redactor in paraphrasing this text seems to have read the phrase *bert trogain*[1]) as meaning that Conaire was fey (*trú trocha*), and added — after the fore-tale in 'Tochmarc Étáine' — in consequence of the destruction of a *Síd* by his father Echaid Airem.

This may have been the original purport of the legend: its present form is confused, and out of harmony with the fore-tales in various points; but as it stands, the older recension simply relates how Conaire, having violated his first prohibition to save his sons from death, was forced to break them all, and so came by his end: the idea of the vengeance of the *síabrai* seems to originate with the later version of the 'Druim Snechta' text, and to have been grafted thence on to the saga by the compiler of Eg.

Comparing the examples given in our first article, it will be seen that, allowing for the modernizations, Egerton 1782 resembles 'Leab. Buide Leacain' in its readings. An examination substantiates this throughout: the Eg. recension is based on a text from which LBL is derived. Note, for example, besides the

[1]) It seems to mean 'whom sunrise overtook': cf. Corm. s. v. *trogen*.

instances already given, that Eg. omits with LBL all the interpolations of the LU text, except those of the H hand: further § 92 n. 5 it reads *Corpre Mussc* with LBL-St. against C. *Findmor* (LU): § 35 *Duind Desscoraig*, Eg. and LBL against D. *Tetscoraig* of H, St., LU: with LBL, § 29 *œnchomla* against *œnchomlaid* LU; so *garsecle* with LBL for *garsele* LU; *cornu* p. 94 n. 11 with LBL for the *cernu* of the other MSS.

This affinity is established by further testimony. In LU we have the text of 'Bruiden Da Derga' in conjunction with its fore-tales 'Tochmarc Étáine': that this was the original collocation is proved by the sequence of glossed fragments in the H. 3. 18-glossary (the fact that these fragments regularly read with LBL-Stowe against LU clinches the matter[1]). But in LBL we have preserved only one of the foretales: which is the one which Eg. incorporates into the beginning of his recension. It is thus almost certain that the compiler of the Egerton recension (to which the H interpolations belong) worked from the MS., from which LBL is directly derived, containing a complete text of the 'Bruiden Da Derga' but only one of the stories of Étáin. This is attested by the absence of any independent reference to the other *remscéla* in Eg.

It would seem therefore that the redactor, finding the reference to the *remscéla* in the Druim Snechta text as accessible to him, set to work to reconstruct them from the 'Ráth Crúachan' poem with the assistance of his own recollections of references to the Etáin-cycle, scattered through the Dindshenchas.

Two further additions in the Eg. recension are of importance: the first is the long passage § 112[2]) to § 125 in Stokes' edition containing the description of the rooms. This is interpolated by H into the text of LU fol. 94 *a*, *b*.

The second is of more interest: § 163 runs in LU: *Atbath dano Lé fri Flaith mac Conaire fo oxail Maicc Cecht*: to which H adds (*in rasurâ*): *ar roleg bruth 7 allus in miled hé*. This is a doublet of the original account in § 156 which has simply:

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[1]) It may also be inferred from the *iarna remscélaib* of the later version of the Druim Snechta text.

[2]) § 112 has been missed out by Eg.

[3]) The two versions with the interpolation by H come out clearly in pl. VII of Mr. Best's article.

docer in mac foa choimm. The interpolation of H is taken from the Eg. version of § 156: *7 docher in mac boi fó choimm .i. bruth in miled rosmarb cona tarras acht a cnama lomma, 7 rocuirseom a cnáma fón talmain hi Maig Cnamroiss.*

The concluding words shew clearly that here we have another loan from the Metrical Dindshenchas, where Ráth Cnámrossa is said to be so called, from the shower (*fross*) of bones (*cnáma*) which fell from Mac Cecht's shield after Lé had literally melted away. One is glad that this extraordinary piece of bombast did not form part of the original tale.

It is unlucky that both the Dindshenchas poems, which the compiler of the Eg. recension has utilized, are undated: if we could fix their period, we should have a fair criterion for dating both the compilation of the Eg. version, and the interpolations in 'Leabhar na hUidhre'. Something can perhaps be gleaned from the fact, that, for the beginning chapter, the prose Dindshenchas of 'Ráth Crúachan' has been drawn upon.

The final chapters of this recension are printed below in an appendix: partly to shew the close affinity with the LBL text, and also to clear up the confused critical apparatus of Stokes' edition. The LU copy is heavily interpolated by both scribes towards the end, and a folio is missing from the Stowe copy: Eg. here supplies a useful criterion to check the readings of LU and LBL. Whether the other texts in Eg. 1782 shew a similarly close relationship with those of 'Leabhar Buidhe Leacain', I cannot say: the reverse seems to be the case in the copies of the 'Táin', according to Thurneysen's analysis ZCP 9, 426[1]): the matter belongs to an investigation of the whole body of saga contained in all three MSS., and cannot here be dealt with.

To sum up then: the recension contained in Eg. 1782, to which the interpolations by the later hand (H) in 'Leabhar na hUidhre' belong, is based on a text of the older prose closely akin to 'Leabhar Buidhe Lecain', in which, as in that MS., only one of the five foretales was preserved. This foretale of Étáin's

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[1]) LU in the 'Táin' agrees with Eg. but has occasional corrections after LBL. It is of course perfectly possible that the redactor worked from different copies: thus Thurneysen shews ('Zu Ir. HSS.' 1, 2) that the copy of the 'Táin' in H. 1. 14 is an independent version, whilst the remaining texts are copied directly from Eg. 1782.



wooing by Ailill has been incorporated into the Eg. text, together with a prose version of the Dindshenchas of Ráth Crúachan, to introduce that alteration in the plot of the tale, suggested by the recension of the 'Druim-Snechta' text, (as LU 99 *a*) which is inserted after § 26. The description of the rooms of the Bruiden is extended by twelve chapters, and these have been interpolated into the LU-text by H. Lastly, the story of the death of Lé fri Flaith has been altered in accordance with the Dindshenchas of 'Ráth Cnamrossa', a detail which has also been thrust into the LU-copy; the affinities of LU with Eg. 1782 are thus superficial; confined to these rough interpolations of a later hand: in their main text the two MSS. are absolutely independent.

3. The Text of 'Cín Dromma Snechta'.

Some notice may here be taken of the text adapted from the curt summary of 'Lebor Dromma Snechta', which has influenced the recension of Eg. 1782. It occurs LU p. 99 *a*, and the first part is interpolated after § 26 in Eg. The first part purports to give the explanation *íarna remscélaib* i. e. from the foretales of 'Tochmarc Étáine', and the preliminary account of Conaire's king-making in the 'Togail Bruidne' itself. (Note that here is used the form Ui Derga from the 'Druim Snechta' account.) Thence it proceeds with *Slicht na Cíni beos* to give the rest of the 'Druim Snechta' version. The list of prohibitions here given is identical with that in 'Togail Bruidne' § 16, with the addition *na fuinmilsed gata* suggested by the *Gatsatside na teora gata ar in noenfer ... co n-accaitis. ... cia domain doairgebad don rig in gat inna flaith*: 'they thieved three thefts from the same man ... to see ... what harm would come upon the king from thieving during his reign' of § 18.

This is all interpolated by way of explanation: but by good fortune, the 'Lebor Dromma Snechta' version has been preserved for us in its true and archaic form. In this we find absolutely no reference to the destruction of the *Síd* and the idea of vengeance exacted for it.

It begins (I cite Thurneysen's ed.) as the LU-Eg. version *Conaire mac Mese Búachalla is he ortæ i mBruidin Uí Derga*: Then the curious sentence omitted in the later version: *7 is e*

dodifeith (?)[1]) *trogain*: *7 ba he bert trogain tar Brega, o do-arfas do indred cach mennota. Cetna-conranaic Bruidin Uí Derga, confiu i suide, 7 combo hinde ortæ* 'Conaire son of Mess Búachalla, he it is who was slain in the Hostel of Ua Derga and it is he whom sent *trogain* (?) and it was he *bert trogain* across (*or* past) Bregia, when the destruction of every dwelling was manifest to him. The Hostel of Ua Derga was the first he reached, so that he slept there, and there it was, he was slain'.

What is the meaning of *dodifeith trogain* and *bert trogain?* Cormac gives (glossary *s. v.* n. 1216 ed. Meyer) *trogen .i. gein 7 trog .i. turgabail na grēne, 7 as geinithir a ruithni riasin grēin isin matoin: trogen* that is *gein* 'birth', and *trog* ('to foal'), that is the sunrise, and thence is born the glow before the sun in the morning'. This seems to mean that *trogain* means 'sunrise'. The sentence is obscure, but I think we may take it to refer to the prohibition of Conaire in the archaic text in the genealogies: *Facbait airmit fair .i. na funfed 7 na taurcébad grían fairsium a Temraig.* 'they lay a prohibition upon him [sc. Conaire] that the sun should neither set nor rise upon him out of Tara': the words *tar Brega* seems to refer to this, that he should not have slept a night outside of Tara. The 'destruction of every dwelling' is surely explained by the *nem tened* of § 25, which made Conaire go southwards: in the Dindshenchas we learn that the *Clóenmíla Cernai* had laid waste all Bregia. 'So that he slept there', this seems also to emphasize his staying a night abroad.

There seems to be an echo of this in the prohibition *Ocus nir' echtra cach nomad n-aidche sech Themair*: 'and let him not go forth every ninth night from Tara' in 'Bruiden Da Derga' § 16. Further the curious word *airmit* 'prohibition' occurs here and in the *Do Sil Chonairi* text (cited above) in identical context[2]): note too that the sentence in that text *Ocus is hé ri bertatar síabrai hirrige* has a direct echo in 'Bruiden Da Derga' § 26: *is hé rí iarum longside síabrai a rrige*: unquestionably points of contact with the later working-out of the saga.

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[1]) Sic ed. *dodafeith* E *dodieich* H *dofeith* N; or is this a relative form to *-tudich* cf. Thurneysen, 'Hdbch.', where a verb *dofeith* 'he goes' is given? ('Hdbch.' § 808). The text is edited 'Zu Ir. HSS.' 1, 27.

[2]) *Bid si do airmitiu .i. do ghes* § 16 of 'Bruiden Da Derga'.

Looking at the text of 'Cín Dromma Snechta' apart from the interpretation of the later redactor, it seems evident that in outline it is the same as that developed in the 'Togail Bruidne': the remainder runs: 'Maine Millscothach mac Uæ Aurbaith, Gér mac Uæ Neca, and the three sons of Ua Toigse[1]), 'twas they who slew him, by counsel of Angcél Ua Conmaic; their rapine was repaid upon them, when they had wrought destruction to their desire amongst Angcél's (people) in Scotland. Gér mac Uæ Necæ granted him as a favour that they would wreak any destruction with him in Ireland that he might choose. When Maine Millscothach said 'twere pity to slay all that were in the house [i. e. the Bruiden], then Aingcél appealed to the truth and honour of Ua Necae. Three fifties was their number at the destruction. They came to Albu to wreak their rapine there, for the grasp [i. e. might] of Conaire would not allow them to wreak it in Ireland. Between Cualu and Albu is the Hostel of Ua Derga'.

This shews variations in detail on the elaborated saga, yet it is substantially the same; and no doubt a forerunner of the well-known redaction represented by LU and LBL: here, as in many other 'Druim Snechta' texts, we have probably one of the original shapings as Thurneysen suggests, of the body of saga-literature represented in its later and more defined development and common to the family of MSS. which has preserved it.

4. Further MSS. of 'Togail Bruidne Da Derga'.

The remaining MSS. six in number, are of minor importance[2]); no classification of them can be attempted from the scanty material supplied by Stokes' collation, although their evidence must be carefully weighed, before any attempt can be made to date the text, or reconstruct it to its original form. They all follow the older version: not one presents a text like that of LU or Eg. 1782.

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[1]) Thus LU: N has *Tairrsigh*; H, *Bathaisi* (an obvious substitution from 'Bruiden Da Derga'): E *Toisich*: both E and N seem to offer adaptations.

[2]) One may add to the list given by Stokes two folios (4 and 5) representing §§ 1—18 of the edition in MS. Add. 33, 993, British Museum.

Of critical value for the text are the glossed extracts in the glossary of H. 2. 18, which Stokes has given in some number in his Index, inasmuch as they cover the entire text. They agree closely in reading with LBL. As this MS. contains a glosses from the complete 'Tochmarc Étáine', of which LBL only knows a single episode, it may be regarded as independent of that MS. but of the main branch of MS. tradition.

The tale itself, even in its original form cannot lay claim to any very great antiquity. Zimmer and Nettlau have demonstrated the compilatory nature of its structure, and the many 'version-doublets' it contains. Add to this the contamination with legends of the Ulster Cycle; the introduction of the Ulster heroes Cuscraid (§ 114), Conall Cernach (§ 147), the Fir Falgæ (§ 130, cf. Thurneysen ZCP 9, 202), and others (§ 129, 130); the obvious imitation of the 'Amra Con Rōi' in § 28: the description of the horses in § 51 seems to be adapted from the conventional 'rhetoric' about the steeds of Cú Chulaind [1]); and curious feature of shifting colours about the hair of the king's son, which forms part of the description of Cú Chulaind in the 'Tain' [2]): furthermore the reference to the *Berserkir* of the Norse tales (in § 43); all of which we may fairly consider as shewing a late or derivative tradition, and pointing to a period of composition of no very early date.

For determining such questions as these, however, the text may best be studied apart from the interpolated versions, from 'Leabhar Buidhe Leacain', which as well as preserving the sole complete copy, represents a version free from interpolation, and keeps in many respects the most archaic text: the version moreover under which the saga was currently known, and exercized its literary influence [3]). Historically also it represents the older tradition.

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[1]) E. g. in the 'Táin' the *Fled Bricrend*, and the *Siabarcharpat*.

[2]) Usually in the rhetorical formula e. g. '*Tri fuilt batar air: donn fri toind, croderg ar medon, mind orbuidi ardatuigethar*': TBC ed. Strachan-O'Keeffe 2025.

[3]) The Leviathan (§ 56) may also be borrowed from Norse tales. At least one Norse loan-word occurs: *ecgi* § 128 (so Kuno Meyer RC. 12, 462): the others seem, however, to belong to the interpolations. Compare, however, *alchaing* (in the later language *faighleann*) 'rack' (§ 55).



It is right, in conclusion, that some tribute of respect should be paid to the achievement of Whitley Stokes. It was no small undertaking to edit a text of this description with its many corrupt passages and deliberate obscurities. His text and *apparatus criticus* leave, it is true, much to be desired, but both by his notes and his index he has done much to clear up obscure words and phrases; while, despite the cumbrous text from which he worked, his English rendering is accurate and flowing; reproducing well the spirit of this strange violent legend, with that touch of beauty, which he alone knew how to impart.

Appendix (ad 2).

The following is a transcript of the last page of the Eg. copy fol. 123 v.: from this will be seen the close resemblance to the copy in LBL. The first three lines contain the end of the 'rethoric' printed by Stokes p. 144: ... *diambad i mbethu beind. Fo. F.*, thence it continues (= Stokes § 157):

Luid Mac Cecht iarsin i ndiaid in madma. Ni torchair tra acht uathad ṁbec im Chonaire .i. .xu. fir, 7 ni mór ma roéla fer innisti scél dona fiánnaib robátar ic dul *for* bruidhin, bale irrabatar .u. *mile* cét .7. .x. cét in cech míli .i. ni terna díb ass acht oencúiciur .i. Iṅgcel, 7 a da brathar Echell. 7 Dartaid na Díbergi, 7 da Ruád Roirend rocetgonsat Conaire. Roslaided tra iartain in cath co combágach fortren ferda feramail .i. o Mac Cecht 7 o Conall Cernach mac Amargin, corodithait. 7 corodithlaithrigit isin cath mór iar matin. corominaigit. 7 coroloiscit a loṅga .i. la Mac Cecht 7 la Conall hi ṅdígail a tigerna. Mairg maidm 7 echtrann irrabi in diás degaid! [§ 162] Intan iarum roboi Mac Cecht *for* altaib isind ármaig hicind in treslai. conaca in mnaí secha. 'Tadaill lat a bean chucam!' ol Mac Cecht. 'Ni laimim a dul', ol in ben, 'lat' urgrain 7 t'omun.' 'Roboi huair damsa amlaid sin, a bean', oll Mac Cecht, '.i. mo gráin 7 m'omun ar neach; acht chena ni agaraso ni, 7 notgeibim for fir m'eneich'. Tic in ben 'na arrad iarum. 'Noconetarsa', ar Mac Cecht, 'in cuil nó in corrmil nó in sengán, nomgeib isin crecht'. Eccmaing ba mongach mactire robui and corrici a da gualaind. [Eg. 123 v col. b = Stokes § 162] Rongab in ben ar erball ocus dosreṅga asin crécht, 7 dobe*ir* lan a craís ass himach. 'Is sengán sentalman ám anisin!' ol in ben. 'Tunga do Diá,' for Mac Cecht, 'níba mó limsa, andas cuil nó corrmil no sengán'. [§ 164] Roélaid da*no* Mac Cecht ass sin, cia fofuair mór nimnid and. Rosiacht ass da*no* Conall Cernach, 7 docuátar tri .l. gai isin laím immboí in sciáth. Luid iarsin coránic tech a athar, 7 leth a sc*éith* ina laim, 7 a claid*eb*, 7 bruirech a da gai; cotarrla do in tathair in ṅdorus a liss. 'Itati*n* [sic!] luátha coin rotrebathar, a macán', for a athair friss. 'Issed roboí docomruc fri ócu ón, a sendlaích', ol Conall Cernach. 'Scela lat di*no* Bruid*ni* Da Derga!'

ol Amargin, 'in beó do thigerna?' 'Nocon beó im*orro*', ol Conall. 'Tonga do Dia a tong*es* m*o* th*uáth*, is midlaéchda don fir dodechaid ina bethaid ass iar facbáil a tigerna la naimtiu i mmbás.' 'Nidat bána mo chrechta ém, a ṡenlaich', ar Conall. Rothócaibh a laím scéith do: trí .l. crecht robui fuirri. 'In sciáth tra is*ed* roimditnestar in lám [*sic*] sin'; ar Conall, 'in lam dess im*orro* roimbred fuirriside, uair nat raibe sciath oca imditin, co fuilet tri cet fercrecht fuirri. Rocirred im*orro* ind lám sin, 7 roathchumad, 7 rocrechtnaiged 7 rocriathrad, acht na feithe oca coṅgbail frissin corp cen etarscarad na láme fris. . . .

. . . [= LU 99 a] The rest is missing, owing to the loss of the next folio.

Bournemouth. LUCIUS GWYNN.

TRACHTAD AR AN AIBIDIL.

The following curious piece of divination is found in a vellum manuscript in the possession of the O'Conor Donn, of which he kindly gave me the perusal. This book contains 54 large pages, some of which are very much blackened and defaced, and in parts quite illegible. The following note gives the name of the scribe and his patron: *Ruaidri o Cianan do sgrib in duanair sea do Thomás mac Briain mic Dondcaid mic Gille na naem mic Gille Isu mic Gille na naem mic Muiredaig mic Samhrudan.* This Tomás mac Samhradain or Mac Govern[1]) was chief of the Teallach Eachach in North Breifne, and was killed in 1343. The manuscript is a *duanaire* in praise of the Mac Samhradhains and is, I should say, the oldest collection of this kind in existence.

Trachtad ele ar an aibidil and so.

Gebē cētduine tegēmas duit 7 tū ic dul ar sēt, fiarfaig a ainm da rabair ina ainmfis. Masa A no O no U no E no I tūs a anma, gnoeōch*aidh* a leas 7 tic slān ar a ais. Masa B no C no D tūs a labh*ra*, is forbailti tṡignigis ic dul 7 ic teacht. Masa P no Q no T tūs a labra, is grādh mnā t[ṡ]ignighis. Mad S no L no M no N no R no S, ni thiucf*air* slān 7 ni comlīnfa do leas. Mad X no Y no Z signig bās gan fuirech no dīgbāil do ṡēt do tor*as*. Finit. Amen. Finit.

Here is another little treatise on the alphabet.

Whoever is the first person that shall meet you when you are going on a journey, enquire his name if you are in ignorance

[1]) Some of this family now call themselves Somers, from a fancied connexion with the word *samhradh*.

of it. If A or O or U or E or I be the beginning of the name, his luck will succeed (with the traveller) and he will come back safe. If B or C or D be the beginning of its pronunciation, it is joy which it signifies both going and coming. If P or Q or T be the beginning of the word, it is the love of a woman which it signifies. If it be S[1]) or L or M or N or R or S, you will not come back safe, and you will not accomplish your own good. If it be X or Y or Z, it signifies immediate death or the loss of your goods on the journey.

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[1]) This should no doubt be F.

Dublin. DOUGLAS HYDE.

THE MEANING OF BIRTH-DAYS[1].

The following text is taken from MS. H. 3. 17 (TCD), col. 850, 851, where it occurs without title. There is a slightly mutilated copy, also without title, in the 'Book of Húi Maine' (R. I. A.), at the bottom of p. 103 b. Variants from this version (H) are added in the foot-notes.

1. Neach genes i nDomnach, bid suthain, bid sōinmech a betha, bid imda i ndomun dō[2], bid sūairc la rígu 7 airchindchiu, bid mōr a chumachta[3], a leas[4] ina lāmaib dó[5].

2. Neach genis i lLūan, bid maith [a] ana[6] for cethru[7], 7 biáid ani*m*[8] fora gnūisib, nī ba hailtnide, bid fīal, bid imda cēile Dé ic gabāil a écnairc[e][9], 7 dónáir[10] aithrig[e][11] ria mbás.

3. Neach gen*es* hi mMāirt, bādugh[12] dia breith, bid imdai[13] a hana for minc[h]eathra, nī ba trēn a chumachta, bid sūaircc la mná 7 la conu[14].

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[1]) *See a paper by Professor Max Förster on Wochentagsgeburtsprognosen in 'Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen', vol. 128, p. 296 ff., where Latin, English and French examples are collected.*

[2]) *om. H.*

[3]) bid a chumachta la fi*n*e *H.*

[4]) less *H.*

[5]) *om. H.*

[6]) a ana *H.*

[7]) cethre *H.*

[8]) agnim, fora gnuisib *om. H.*

[9]) écnairce *H.*

[10]) dofair *H.*

[11]) aithrige *H.*

[12]) *leg.* bádud. *H omits this phrase here, but adds at the end:* robadud dia breith.

[13]) imda *H.*

[14]) 7 la conu *om. H.*

4. Nech *genes* a[1]) Cētāin, ani*m* for a c[h]lī, bás tria fuil atbéla, bidh neimnech a hirlabra, bid miscnech, bid trén gabāltaig[2]), dogēna gnīm ndūairce ria mbāss.

5. Nech *genes* i nDar*dāin*, bás a fescur[3]) dobēla, *nō* taithi*m*[4]) *nō* bidgad[5]), bid suthain, bid carthanach, bid clan*n*mar, cid bed dán dogēna[6]), bid maith ann, bid crūaid[7]).

6. Nech *genes* i *n*Āi*ne*, bās ait[h]rig[e] dō[8]), bid santach[9]), imed n-ōir 7 n-airgit lais, fogēnait a ūa[10]) 7 a cinēl dó, bid fuilech, bid somāinech[11]) do molad a dāenib.

8. Nech *genes* hi Sath*airn*, loscad[12]) 7 bronngalar dia brith, bid mōr a hordan, bid mígnīmach, bid nemnech, bid fingalach, dogēna mōr duinoirgne, dīlmaineacht beathad dó.

Translation.

1. He who is born on Sunday will be longlived, his life will be happy, he will have wealth in the world, he will be in favour with kings and *erenaghs*, great will be his power, his profit in his own hands.

2. He who is born on Monday, his wealth in cattle will be good, there will be a blemish on his face, he will not be sharp, he will be generous, many *culdees* will sing his requiem, and repentance will come to him before death.

3. He who is born on Tuesday, drowning will carry him off, great will be his wealth in small cattle, his power will not be strong, he will be a favourite with women and dogs.

4. He who is born on Wednesday, a blemish on his body, he will die a bloody death, his speech will be venomous, he will be hated, he will be a powerful plunderer, he will do a dire deed before death.

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1) i *H*.
2) gabaltaid *H*; *sic leg.*
3) fescor *H*.
4) tuithim *H*.
5) bidcuid *H*.
6) dognea *H*.
7) *om. H*.
8) bid aith- do *H*.
9) bid cruaid santach *H*.
10) thuath *H*.
11) soi*n*mech *H*.
12) losgud *H*.

5. He who is born on Thursday will die at Vespers, either by a swoon (?) or a fright, he will be longlived, he will be loving, he will have many children, whatever may be the art he may exercise, he will be good in it, he will be harsh.

6. He who is born on Friday, he will have a death of repentance, he will be covetous, he will have wealth of gold and silver, his tribe[1]) and race will serve him, he will be bloody, he will be rich in the praise from men.

7. He who is born on Saturday, fever (?) and a bowel-disease will carry him off, great will be his dignity, he will do evil deeds, he will be venomous, he will be a parricide, he will do many slaughters, he will lead a licentious life.

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[1]) *I translate* tüath *H.*

Liverpool. ANNIE M. SCARRE.

BETHA COLUIMB CHILLE.
(CONTINUATION.)

204.[1]) Oidhc[h]e cingcisi do cuatar a tír 'san oilen sin, 7 do batar draithe 'san oilen sin, 7 tancutar a rect*aibh* espog d'indsoighe C. C. Ocus adubratar ris nar cóir do tect do'n oilen sin, 7 go (*fol. 26b*) rabutar fen and remhe ag siladh creidmhe 7 c*ra*b*aidh*, 7 nach rainic se a les daíne naemtha eli da bennughadh. 'Ní fir daib-si sin', ar C. C.; 'oir ni hesp*oig* iar fir sib, act draithe diablaide ata a n-agaidh creidimh, 7 fagbuidh an t-oilen-sa, 7 ní daeib do deonaigh Dia é'. Agus do fagbhatar na draithe an t-oilen le breithir C. C.

205. Is andsin adub*er*t C. C. ren a muindtir: 'As maith duind ar fremha do dul fon talmain-si a tancamar, 7 gebe nech naemtha dar muindtir do aeinteochudh bas d'faghail, 7 a cur fa húir na hindse-si, doberaind-se flaithes De dó'.

206.[2]) Is andsin adub*airt* Odhran naemh do bui maille re C. C.: 'Aentaighim-si bas d'faghail ar an cunnradh sin'. 'Doberim-si flaithes Dé duid-se', ar C. C., '7 fos doberim duit gach nech iarfas atchuinghe ag mo tumba *no* ag mo luidhe orm-sa, gan a faghail dó *no* go nguidhe se thussa ar tús'; 7 fuair Odhran bas andsin do toil De 7 C. C., 7 do haidluicedh fa úir na hindsi sin é. Gonadh Reilec Odhrain a n-Í ainm an inaid sin aniug.

207.[3]) Do bendaigh C. C. an t-oilen sin, 7 do cumhd*aigh* ecl*ais* onoruch and, 7 do tócuib reilge 7 uladha ann 7 crossa imga fa

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[1]) From § 204 to § 213, O'D. closely follows the O. I. Life. See Lismore Lives, pp. 30, 31.

[2]) See Reeves' Adam., p. 417.

[3]) l. c. pp. 410, 418.

THE LIFE OF COLUM CHILLE.

(TRANSLATION.)

204. On the eve of Pentecost they landed on that island. And the druids who dwelt in it approached C. C. in the guise of bishops and said that he was an intruder, in as much as they themselves had been there before him spreading the faith and fostering piety; and that so it did not need to be blessed by other holy men. 'That is not true', says C. C., 'for you are not truly bishops but druids of Satan who are opposed to the faith. Leave this island. God has not destined it for you.' The druids left the island at the word of C. C.

205. Then C. C. said to his followers: 'It is good for us that our roots should penetrate the earth to which we have come, and so I would bestow heaven on whomsoever of our people that would consent to die and be buried beneath the clay of this island.'

206. Then holy Odhran, one of C. C.'s followers, said: 'I consent to die on that condition'. 'I bestow heaven on thee', says C. C., 'and moreover I grant thee that whosoever shall make a request at my tomb or at my resting-place shall not get it till thou are first invoked'. Then Odhran died according to God's will and C. C.'s. Hence Odhran's grave in Iona, is the name of that place at present.

207. C. C. having blessed that island built a noble church in it. He also erected sacred memorials and calvaries in it,

mbidh se fen 7 a naeimh ag radh a trath 7 a n-urn*aigthe*; 7 dorinde se faidhetóracht don baile sin, 7 adub*ert* co m*adh* mor do righib Erend 7 Alban do hadhnaicf*idh*e ann, 7 co m*adh* mor do cinedhuibh an domain do ticf*edh* da n-oilithre don baile sin. Do firadh an briatar sin Coluim Cille.

208. Et ar ndenamh comnaidhe an baile sin dó, do ordaigh sé ord manuch and, 7 do bi sé fein 'na ab orra. Is mor d'fertaibh 7 do mirbuilibh dorinde C. C. and ar Erennchaib 7 ar Albanchaibh 7 ar Bretnachaibh 7 ar Śacsanchuibh 7 ar tirthibh an domain o sin amach.

209. [1]) Lá da raibe C. C. ag radh senmóra re taebh aband airidhe 'sa tír sin 7 sluaigh mora 'na timchell, do fagaib duine airide an tśenmoir 7 do cuaidh se tar an sruth anonn, do teichem breithri De d'estecht ó C. C. Tainic nathair nemhe cuige, 7 do marb sí é co hobann a fiadhnaisi na sluagh, 7 tucudh an corp a fiadhn*aise* C. C., 7 do ben se crois lena bachaill ar ucht an duine mairb; cor aithbeoaigh sé é, 7 cor érich 'na śesamh a fiadn*aise* na sluagh sin, 7 co tuc buidhechus do Día 7 do C. C. tresan mirb*huil* sin dorindedh air; 7 do chreid moran dona sluagaibh do Dia 7 do C. C. trid sin.

210. La eli tuc Sacsanach builli ga a manuch do muindtir C. C., 7 do śaeil cor marb é; 7 ger gér an ga, ni derna do digb*hail acht* a crios do gerradh; 7 do mallaigh C. C. an Sacsanuch 7 fuair bas foch*ed*óir.

211. [2]) Fechtus do C. C. a nhI ag scribneoracht, 7 do cuala se glaedh a p*or*t na hindse, 7 adub*hair*t re cach an duine dorinde an glaedh do tab*hair*t tairis, 7 do indes do cach co ticf*adh* an duine sin do tabhair*t* pács da cossaib fen, 7 co ndoirtf*edh* an adharc duibh asa raibe se ag scribneoracht. Gonadh and dorinde na roind-se:

> Bachlach isan p*urt*, co mbachaill 'na crub;
> taidlidhf*idh* m'adaircín, is doirtfidh mo dubh.
>
> Toirnidhfidh sís d'indsoige mo pacs,
> nodusdoirtfe m'adhaircín, conusfuicfi fás.

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[1]) Taken literally from the O. I. Life. See Lism. Lives, p. 31.

[2]) Taken literally from the O. I. Life. See Lism. Lives, p. 31, and Reeves' Adam. p. 54.

besides many crosses at which he and his holy men were wont to say their prayers and office. And he foretold that many of the kings of Ireland and Scotland would be buried there, and that many pilgrims of different nationalities would visit it.

208. And having made his home in it, he founded an order of monks there, with himself as their abbot. And ever since he has worked many miracles and wonders there, on Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Saxon and other inhabitants of the globe.

209. Once upon a time, as C. C. was preaching to a large congregation by the side of a certain river in that land, a certain man left during the sermon and crossed to the other side of the stream, fleeing from hearing the word of God preached by C. C. A serpent approached him, and suddenly killed him in presence of the crowd. The body was brought to C. C., who made the sign of the cross with his staff on the breast of the dead man, with the result that he was restored to life and arose before all the people. He returned thanks to God and C. C., because of the miracle that had been performed on him. As a result of that miracle, a great many of the crowd believed in God and in C. C.

210. On another occasion, a Saxon hurled a javelin at one of C. C.'s monks, intending to kill him. But in spite of the sharpness of the javelin, he suffered no injury save the cutting of his girdle. C. C. cursed the Saxon who died on the spot.

211. Once upon a time, as C. C. was writing at Iona, he heard a shout in the harbour of the island. He asked those present to bring the man who raised the cry, to his presence. And he told them that he would come to kiss his own feet and would upset his inkhorn. Thereupon he composed these verses:

A rustic is in the harbour, in his hand is a club;
He will come to my little horn, and will spill my ink.

He will stoop down to give me a kiss;
He will upset my little horn, and will leave it without ink.

Et do firadh an faidetoracht sin C. C. mar fa gnath leis gach ni adérud se d'ḟirudh.

212. Fechtas eli do C. C. a nhÍ, 7 do chuir se meithel do buain arbha do bi ag an coimthinol, 7 do cuir se Baithín 7 na manaich leo, 7 do an fen re haghaidh coda na meithli d'ullmhughadh; 7 do furail mart do cur da bruith fá a comhair. Agus do bi senlaech mor d'ḟeraib Erenn fare C. C. an uair sin, 7 fa brathair do fen é. i. Maelumha mac Baedáin do Cineol Eogain mic Neill. Agus do mothaigh C. C. ocarus ar an senlaech, 7 do gab truaidhe mor 'na timchell é, 7 do fiarf*aig* de cred í an tśaith ass mo do ithedh se anuair do bi se óg. Adub*air*t an senlaech *co* n-ithed se mart do ṡaith. 'Fech do sáith anoss ar an mart-sa na meithle', ar C. C. Do fech Maelumha sin, 7 do ith se an mart uile. Tainec Baithin cuca iar sin, 7 do fiarf*aigh* do Colum Cille narb ullamh cuid na meithli. Do indeis C. C. dó gach ní da nderna se re cuid na meithli, 7 do cuaidh Baithin do monmar go mor ar C. C. trid sin. 'A Bhaitin', ar se, 'do b'urussa le Dia ar n-anac*al* ort'; 7 do furail C. C. cnamha an mairt do cruindiuga*d* 'na fiadh*nais*e, 7 do thocub a lamha (*fol. 27a*) os a cind, 7 do bendaigh iad, 7 tainic a feoil fen orra, 7 tuc a saith do na manchaib 7 don meithil dhe; 7 ni hedh amhain, acht da ticdis lucht na hindse uile cuice, dogebdais a ndil don mhart sin tre bendachtain Coluim Cille.

213. Fectus eli do cuaidh Caindech ar cuairt a cend C. C. go hÍ; 7 ag tect anoir do, do ḟagaib a bachull a ndermad toir, 7 iarna faicsin sein do C. C., do cuir aingel De lesin mbachaill, 7 do chuir se a lene fen les co Caindech, mar comartha gradha 7 duthrachta, indus go fuair Caindech abus remhe iad.

214. Fechtus do cuaidh C. C. do siladh breitre De o hI cusan oilen re n-abartar Muili; 7 tarla da lobur decc dó, 7 do iarratar derc air. 'Ni ḟuil deirc oir no airgeid agam daeib', ar Colum Cille. Do iarrutar tre dochus daingen air a slanucc*adh* on lubra o nach raibe derc eli aige doib. Ar na thuicsin do C. C. co raibe aithri*ge* acu ina pecuib, 7 co raibe dochus mor acu as fen, do benduig 7 do coisric se tobur do bi fan inad sin, 7 tuc ar na lobr*aibh* a bḟothrucadh ass; cor slanaigedh a cedoir iad amail do slanaiged Naman .i. prindsa ridiredh righ na Sirie do bi 'sa lubra lena

That prophecy of C. C. was fulfilled, as was the case with every prophecy he made.

212. On another occasion at Iona, C. C. sent a party to cut some corn belonging to the community. Baithin and the monks were sent along with them, while C. C. remained at home to prepare their meal. He ordered a whole beef (ox) to be boiled for them. A big old Irish warrior, a relative of his, was staying with him at the time, to wit, Maelumha mac Baedain of the race of Eoghan, the son of Niall. C. C. noticing him hungry, took compassion on him, and asked him what quantity of food satisfied him at a meal in his younger days. 'A whole beef', replied the old warrior. 'Here it is', says C. C., 'the beef prepared for the party'. Maelumha having beheld it, eat the whole of it. Thereafter Baithin returned home and asked C. C. was the party's meal ready. C. C. told him of its fate, whereat Baithin murmured very much at C. C. 'God can easily protect us against thee, o Baithin,' says C. C. And having ordered the bones of the ox to be brought to him, he raised his hands over them, and blessed them, and they took on again their own flesh. And there was enough for the monks and the party, and not only that, but even if the inhabitants of the whole island were to come, there would still be enough for all in that ox, through the blessing of C. C.

213. On another occasion, Cainnech went on a visit to C. C. to Iona. When he was returning home, he discovered that he left his staff behind him. When C. C. saw that, he sent an angel with it to Cainnech along with his own shirt, to signify his personal love and affection for him. And Cainnech found them awaiting him at home.

214. Once upon a time, C. C. went from Iona to an island called Muili, to preach the gospel there. He was met by twelve lepers, who asked him for an alms. 'Silver and gold I have none', says C. C. They implored him with great confidence to cleanse them of their leprocy, since he could not give them alms. When C. C. saw that they were sorry for their sins and had great confidence in himself, he blessed and sanctified a well that was in that place, and made the lepers bathe therein. They were cured on the spot, like Naaman the leper, general of the

fotruccadh *secht* n-uaire a sruth Eorthanain re tecusc hEliseus faidh, amail mebr*aig*es ebisdil an tres luain don corghus mor. In diebus illis Naman prindceps milisie regis Sirie. Et amail mebruighter a lebur na Rigride 'sa Pipla.[1])

215. Fechtus do Gridhoir beil oir .i. Papa na Romha ag estect aifr*inn* in a eclais fen 'sa Roimh, go facaid se aingli De ⁊ cross croind acu ga lecen ar an altoir 'na fiadnaise; ⁊ do brethnaighetar na carthanail do bi faris an Papa an cros dó togbail, ⁊ nir fed enduine acu a tocbail. Agus dob ingnadh le cach sin. Agus mar do cond*airc* an Papa sin, teid fen da hindsaige, ⁊ do glac sé í, ⁊ do erich sí les co humhal. Is andsin adub*hairt* an Papa: 'Ni cuccam-sa no docum enduine eli do Romhanchaibh do cuir Día an cros-sa acht docum C. C. mic Feidlim .i. an nech naemta as mo ina bfoillsigend Dia a grasa fen do clanduib na mban'. Et do cuir an Papa clerich dá muindtir fen lé a cend C. C. go hÍ[2]). Agus do ḟoillsig aingel De do C. C. go raibe techta an Papa cuice ⁊ an cros sin leo. De raid C. C. le Baithin ⁊ risna manchuib: 'Ata coindemh uassal onoruch cugaib anocht', ar se, .i. 'muindtir Gridoir Papa ⁊ ullmhuighidh biad ⁊ deoch 'na n-oirchill'. Is andsin adubhairt Baithin: 'Ní fuil do biad no do digh againd doib', ar se, '*acht* enbairghen ⁊ enpota fina do bi re haghaidh na n-aifrend'. Tainic muindtir an Papa don baili fai sin, ⁊ do gab naire mor C. C. uime sin, ⁊ do furail se an becan ḟina ⁊ arain sin de tabhairt ina fiadnaise cuige, ⁊ do bendaig e, indus co raibhe a saith aráin ⁊ fina acu fen ⁊ ag muindtir an Papa. Agus ni headh amain, acht da tigdís a raibe isna tirthaib cuca an uair sin, dogebdais a saith aráin ⁊ fina mar an cedna. Et tucc an Papa an cross sin do C. C. *Con*adh di goirther an cross mor C. C. aniugh. Agus conadh í ass airdmhind do C. C. a Toraig tuaisc*ear*t Erend, ag denumh f*ear*t ⁊ mirbhol ó sin alle, ar n-a cur anoir do Colum Cille o hI go Toraidh.

216. Tuc C. C. buidechus romhór do Dia ⁊ don Pápa isna tidluicibh romhóra fuair se uatha mar adubramar romainn 'sa scel-sa tuas, ⁊ do tinnscain moludh do denumh do Día andsin .i. an

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[1]) See IV. Reg., 5.
[2]) See Leabhar Breac, p. 109 a, and Reeves' Adam. pp. 318, 319.



army of the king of Syria, when he bathed seven times in the Jordan, at the word of Eliseus the prophet; as is related in the epistle of the third Monday in Lent: *In diebus illis Naaman, princeps militiae regis Syriae.* The same is related in the Book of Kings in the Bible.

215. Once upon a time, as the golden-mouthed Gregory, Pope of Rome, was hearing mass in his church in Rome, he beheld angels lowering a wooden cross in his presence on the altar. The cardinals who were present tried to remove it, but in vain. They all wondered thereat. When the Pope noticed that, he came near, and taking hold of it, removed it easily. Then the Pope said: 'Not to me or to any other Roman has God sent this cross, but to C. C. son of Feidlim, to wit, the holy man, the most favoured from on high of the sons of men.' The Pope sent some of his own clerics with it, to C. C. in Iona. An angel from heaven made known to C. C., that the Pope's messengers were coming to him with the cross. Then C. C. said to Baithin and the monks: 'A noble honourable party will visit you to-night, to wit, Pope Gregory's people, and let ye get ready food and drink for them.' Then Baithin replied: 'We have neither food nor drink for them, save one loaf of bread and a jar of wine that were reserved for the masses.' Presently the Pope's party arrived, and C. C. was greatly confused on that account. And ordering the little wine and bread that was left to be brought to him, he blessed them, when lo! there was sufficient bread and wine for his own people and the Pope's party; yea, even if all the inhabitants of the islands had come then, they would likewise have had sufficient bread and wine. The cross was handed over to C. C.; and it is called at this day the big cross of C. C. It is the chief relic of C. C. in Tory, in the North of Ireland; C. C. having sent it thither from Iona; and it has been working miracles and wonders ever since.

216. C. C. was filled with gratitude to God and the Pope, for the very great gifts which, as we have already said, they bestowed on him. He then set about composing a hymn in

t-Altus[1]) C. C. ainm an molta sin; 7 leighend rochruaidh ro-onorach ro-uassal an moladh sin ina tucc sé eolus uadh a seicreidib na diagachta, 7 go hairidhe mar labhair sé co mor do thuicsin na Trinoide; 7 do foillsigh se moran d'eolusaib diamhracha and leth risna duilib talm*an*da; 7 itir gach eolus da nderna se and, adubairt se go fuil daine fai an talumh-sa 7 a cossa anís, 7 gu fuil siad ag aitreb a tíre 7 a talmhan fen mar atámaid-ne ag aitreb ar tire fen, 7 gorub inand Dia da creidend siad 7 sinde. Et do cuir se triur cleriuch da mhuindtir fen lesan moludh mbenduighte naemtha sin dorinde se do Dia, da taisbenadh do Grighoir Phapa docum go moladh se é; 7 do bi an Papa sin ronaemtha ann fein. Et do cuiretar na clerich sin C. C. tri caibhdil uatha fen ar lar an molta-ssa, 7 do benatar tri caibdil da nderna C. C. ass, da fechain an aitheonadh an Papa a legend fen *tar* an legend do rinde C. C. no an inand moladh doberadh se orra. Ocus docuatar (*fol. 27b*) ar sin dochum na Romha. Mar do cuala an Papa muindtir C. C. don baile, do furail se a llecen ina cend fen, 7 do indesitar na clerich gorub lesan moladh sin do cuir C. C. iad, da taisbenad do san. 'Gabthur dund é, ar Grighóir. Et mar do tindscain siad an moludh do gabail, do erich an Papa 'n-a sesamh, 7 mar do tindscain siad na tri caibdil dorindetar fen do gabail, do ṡuid an Papa; 7 mar do tindscanatar an cuid eli do rinde C. C. don moladh do gabail, do eirich an Papa 'n-a ṡesamh, 7 do bi se 'n-a ṡesamh no gor gabudh an moladh uile. Ocus do bud ro-ingantach le a raibe do lathair mar dorinde an Papa sin, 7 do ḟiar[f]uigetar de cred fa nderna se sin. 'Dorindes', ol se, 'an uair do tindscnatar na clerig tossach an molta ud do gabhail, do [c]ondarc-sa ainglin De maille ıiu 7 siad [g]o ro-onoruch 'n-a timchell, 7 mar do tindscnatar na tri caibdil airidhe ud don mo[l]adh do gabail, do imghetar na haingli úaha, 7 do suidhesa mar do condarc na haingil ag imtect. Et mar do tindscnatar an cuid eli don moladh do gabail, do impodur na haingeil cuca aris. Mar do condarc-sa na haingil ar n-impodh, do erghess 7 do badhus am sesumh *no* gor gabadh an mo[l]adh uile. 'Is fir sin, a athair naemtha', ar na clerich. 'As maith an t-adbhur do bi agad 7 as orainde fen do bí an scel-sin ag na hainglib ler fagaib siad sind'. Et do

[1]) i. e. the hymn Altus Prosator. According to the preface of this hymn, the immediate cause of its composition was, 'to beg God's pardon for the three battles he had caused in Erin'.

praise of God. The Altus of C. C. is its name. It is a very sublime and noble composition, but very hard to understand. In it he displayed knowledge of the mysteries of the divinity, and especially great understanding of the Trinity. He disclosed much hidden knowledge regarding earthly creatures, and among other things, he said that there are people under this earth, with their feet towards us, and that they live in their land and country, just as we live in ours, and that they believe in the same God as we believe. And he sent three of his own clerics with that blessed holy work in praise of God to Pope Gregory, to get his opinion of it. That Pope was a very holy man. And the clerics inserted three chapters of their own composition in the middle of the work, and eliminated three chapters of C. C.'s composition, to see whether the Pope would notice the difference, or bestow on them like praise. After that they arrived in Rome. The Pope having heard of their arrival, sent for them. They told him that they were sent by C. C., to show him that hymn of praise. 'Read it', says Gregory. When they began to do so, the Pope stood up. When they came to their own three chapters, he sat down. And when they began to read C. C.'s composition again, the Pope stood, and thus he remained to the end. Those present were greatly astonished at the action of the Pope, and they asked him why he had done so. 'When the clerics began the recital', says he, 'I saw them surrounded by angels with great honour, and when they began those three particular chapters, the angels disappeared. With that I sat down. When they resumed the other part of the hymn of praise, the angels came back to them again, with what I stood up, and thus I remained during the rest of the recital.' 'Tis true, holy Father', reply the clerics, 'you had good reason for your action, and well we knew why we were deserted by the angels.' And having disclosed everything they begged the Pope's pardon. And the Pope said that, notwithstanding their evil deed, he would forgive them through respect for C. C. Thereupon, praising C. C. very much, he said that with the exception of the man-god Jesus Christ there never had been, and never would be a human being greater than he

indisitar na clerich o tus go deredh gach ní dá ndernutar fen, 7 do iarratar a maithemh ar an Papa; 7 adubairt an Papa, gerb olc a ndernatar co maithf*edh* sé doib é a n-onóir C. C. Ocus do mol se C. C. go romhór andsin, 7 adub*airt* se nach tainic 7 nach ticfa, a fecmais daendachta Crist, duine bud ferr ina é in gach uile subalt*aigh*e 7 do mol se an t-Altus go romhor mar an cedna, 7 do fagaib se do buaduib air, gebe dogebhadh uair gach lai é, nac daimeóntai coidhce hé.

217. Et fos da derbudh sin do bi clerech airithe ag a raibe duthracht do Dia 7 do C. C. Ocus do gnathaig*edh* se an t-Altus do radh uair gach lai. Tesda enmac muirnech do bí aige, 7 adubairt sé ó do leg C. C. bas docum a mic, nach gebud sé an t-Altus co brath arís; 7 do bi companuch áiridhe ag an clerech 7 do gellatar da cheli, gebe acu duine dogebudh bas ar tus, a techt d'indisin scel don fir eli. Tesda companuch an cleirich ar tus, 7 tainec se d'indisin scel don clerech. 'Cindus ataí?' ol in clerech. 'Do slanaidh Dia me', ol se, '7 ata droch-scel agam duid-se'. 'Cred sin?' ol an clerech. 'Tu-sa do damnadh', ol se, 'trid mar do treicis an t-Altus do rádh.' 'In bfuil furtacht ar bith air sin?' or an clerech. 'Ata', ar se '.i. an t-Altus do radh fo tri gach lai an fedh beir at beth*aidh* a n-eraic ar licis tort de gan radh'; 7 do gabudh an t-Altus fo tri gach lai ó sin amach gó a bás. Ocus do slanaigh Dia 7 C. C. an clerech sin docum na glóire suthaine iar sin.

218. Is andsin adub*airt* an Pápa re muindtir C. C., 'Muna beith méd mo churaim-se', ar se, 'do taeb na ndaíne eli, do rachuind ar cuairt docum C. C., 7 ós air sen nach fuil a leithéid sin do curam, ticedh se chucam-sa'. Do imghetar muindtir C. C. t*ar* a n-ais, 7 do indsetar do C. C. go raibhe an Pápa ga íarraidh ar cuairt cuice. Gluasis C. C. andsin, 7 ar techt fa cuig mile decc don Roimh dó, do benatar cluicc na Romha uile uatha fen; 7 nir fedadh cosc doib 7 do bidhgatar lucht na Romha uili uime sin. Et do gab ingnadh mór íad. 'Na bidh ingnadh oruib fan ní úd', bar an Papa, 'Colum Cille an naem erlumh ata ag techt am cend-sa, 7 as dó doberid na cluic an onóir úd; 7 ni fedf*aid*er cosc doib no co ti se fén don baile.' Is andsin do erich an Papa amach 7 moran do mhaithibh na Romha farís, maille re honóir 7 re reverians mór, a coinde C. C.; 7 ar rochtain a celi doibh, do pogsad a celi 7 doronsad luthgair*ed* 7 gairdechus imarcuch re roile; 7 do filleatar don baili ar sin; 7 ar ndenamh slectana do C. C.

in every virtue. And having commended the Altus very highly likewise, he granted that whosoever should recite it daily should never be condemned to hell.

217. In proof whereof a certain cleric, who was devoted to God and C. C., used to recite the Altus daily. It happened that an only son, who was beloved by him, died. And the cleric said that since C. C. allowed his son to die, he would never again recite the Altus. The cleric had a comrade, and both of them agreed that whichever of them would die first, should return with tidings to the other. The comrade died before the cleric, and returned to him with news. 'How fares it with thee', says the cleric. 'God has saved me', says he, 'and I have bad news for you'. 'What!' says the cleric. 'Your soul is lost', says he, 'for having neglected to say the Altus'. 'Can nothing save it?' replies the cleric. 'Yes', says he, 'by reciting the Altus thrice daily, during the rest of your life, to make up for past neglect.' And henceforward he used to recite the Altus thrice daily till his death. Thereafter God and C. C. bestowed eternal glory on him.

218. Then the Pope said to C. C.'s people: 'Were it not for my pressing duties towards others, I should visit C. C.', says he, 'and since he is not so busy, let him visit me'. When C. C.'s people returned home, they told him that the Pope wished him to visit him. Thereupon C. C. set out for Rome, and when within fifteen miles of it, all the bells began to toll of themselves, nor could they be stopped. Thereat the whole of Rome was startled, and was filled with wonder. 'Do not wonder at that', says the Pope, 'for the holy patron, to wit, Colum Cille, is coming to visit me, and the bells are tolling in his honour, nor can the be stopped, till he arrives.' Then the Pope, accompanied by many of the Roman nobles, went out to meet C. C., with great honour and reverence. And having met, they embraced each other with exceeding great joy and rejoicing, and then returned to the city. After they had worshipped in the great temple of Rome, the bells stopped of themselves. And



a tempull mor na Romha, do coiscetar na cluic uatha fen. Ocus ar mbeith aimser do C. C. fa onóir móir faris an Papa, do gab sé ced aige fa techt da tir fen, 7 do lig an Papa a bendacht les 7 do ḟagaib C. C. a bendacht aige sen; 7 tuc an Papa tidluicthe mora do C. C. andsin .i. gebé baile da bailtibh fen a n-oirdeochadh C. C. do cach oilithri do denamh, luaigidhecht sdasióin na Romha do beith ag an duine do denadh an oilithre sin. Ocus as é baile (*fol. 28a*) dá tucc C. C. an onóir sin .i. do Doire 7 ssé fen a nAlbain; ocus asse inadh inar ordaigh se an oilithre sin do denamh .i. ó an ul*adh* ata ag p*or*t na long 'sa cend toir don baili, *con*uige an t-impódh dessiul ata 'sa cend tíar de.

219. An uair *trath* do cuaidh C. C. a n-Albain, tancutar maithe Lethe Cuind 7 go háirithe a phráithre fen .i. clanda Conaill 7 Eoghain 7 cl*and*u Cuind uile, ar cuairt chuice rian imtecht a hErind dó; 7 do fiarf*aidh*etar de cía he an naem *no* an clerech do ḟuicfedh sé 'n-a inadh fen acu *no* dá creidfidis mar athair spirudálta. Tar a éis sin do labuir C. C. riu 7 assedh adubairt; 'Fuicfeat-sa triúr naemh agaib, diteónus ar gach n-olc sib acht go creide sib doib 7 co nderna sibh a comairli .i. Colman Ela 7 Colman Lainde mac Luacháin 7 Mocaemhóg Comruire a Midhe; 7 bed fen ga bur ndíden oss a cend sin ge dech uaib a n-Albain, 7 do gébh o Día gach duine do bera esonoir do na naembib sin ḟáguim agaibh, báss do tabairt a cedoir do'. Tarla cocadh mór ina diaidh sin edir Brandumh[1]) mac Echach Laig*hen* 7 Leth Cuind, co tainic Brandamh f*or* sluaiged a Leith Cuind, cor gabud longport les a termond Cluana hIraird.

Do cuiretar Leth Cuind an triur naem-sa do ḟagaib C. C. acu d'iarraidh sithe ar righ Laighen, 7 do taircsi*d* córa dó, 7 ni derna an rí sith nó coir ar a comhairli. 'Dogebaim-ne ó Dia bass do tabairt duid-se 7 gan do tren do dul nías faide ina in t-inadh-sa ina bfuil tú a Leith Cuind, o nach gabond tu ar comairli', ar na naeimh. 'Ni ferr sib nó an nech naemtha do gell damh-sa nach fuighinn bás noco caithind sacramaint as a laimh fen', ar Brandum .i. Maedóg Ferna. Do rindetar na naeim escaine ar Brandumh an uair sin, o nar gabh se a comhairli ar sith do denumh. Ocus

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[1]) The story about Brandubh is taken literally from the Book of Lecan, fol. 183a. See also Reeves' Adam, p. 205.



C. C., having spent some time with the Pope in great honour, then got leave to return home. And the Pope gave him his blessing, and C. C. left him his own blessing. Thereupon the Pope granted great favours to C. C., to wit, the indulgence of the Roman station to be gained by all who should make a pilgrimage to whatsoever place within C. C.'s own province, which the latter should designate. And though away in Scotland, C. C. chose Derry for this honour. And he ordered the pilgrimage to be made, from the calvary situated in the harbour, east of the town, to the right-hand turn, west of the town.

219. When, however, C. C. was on his way to Scotland, the nobles of Leth Cuinn and above all his own kinsfolk, to wit, Clan Conaill and Clan Eoghain and the whole of the Clan Cuinn, came to him before he left Ireland, to find out what holy person or cleric would he appoint as his deputy or who would be their spiritual director. Then C. C., speaking to them said: 'I shall leave you three holy men, who shall protect you against every evil, if only you be faithful to them and follow their advice. They are Colman Ela and Colman Lainne mac Luachain and Mochaemhog Comraire in Meath. And though I shall go away to Scotland, I shall (still) be your protector over them, and shall obtain from God, that whosoever shall dishonour the holy men I leave you, shall immediately die.' Thereafter, a war having broken out between Brandubh mac Echach of Leinster and Leth Cuinn, the former made a hosting into Leth Cuinn, and encamped in the sanctuary of Clonard.

Leth Cuinn sent those three holy men appointed by C. C. to make peace with the king of Leinster. They offered him fair terms. But he refused to make peace or accept fair terms, in spite of their advice. 'We shall obtain from God to strike you down, and not suffer your forces to advance further than the spot in which thou art, into Leth Cuinn, since you despise our advice', say the holy men. 'Ye are no better than the holy man, namely Maedog Ferna, who promised me that I should not see death, till I receive the sacrament from himself', replies Brandubh.

tainic do brith na hescaine sin 7 an gelltanais tuc C. C. doib, gebe dogenadh a n-esonóir go ngerreochadh se fen a saeghal, nach tainic se tairis sin a Leith Cuind 7 gor marbudh ar an sluaighed sin fen é. Et rucatar na diabuil a anum 'san aeier a n-airde leo, 7 do bátur ga píanudh and. Do bi Maedhóg an uair sin re hagaidh meithli a búi ag búain arba dó; 7 do cuala se sian na hanma ga pianudh, 7 do cuaidh se tre cumhachta Dé 'san aeieór a n-airde a ndiaidh na ndiabal, 7 do bi ag cathugad riu fa'n anam sin Branduibh. Ocus do cuadur iarsin os ceand hI C. C. a n-Albain. Ocus do bi C. C. ag scribneoracht an uair sin, 7 do foillsigh aingel De an ní sin dó. Ocus ba truag les an t-anum ga pianadh, *acht* gerb é fen fuair o Día saegal Branduibh do gerrugadh tríd gan comairli na naemh-sa dá mhuindtir fen adubrumar romhainn do gabail ar sith do denumh re Leith Cuind; 7 do cuir a delg in a phrut[1]), 7 do ling a n-airde 'san aier do cuidiugadh le Maedhóg, anam Branduib do búain do na demnaib. Ocus do batur ar an cathugad sin no cu ndechutar ós cind na Romha. Tuitiss a delg as brat C. C., gor ben ar lár a fiadhnuisi Grigoir Papa. Tocbais Grighoir an delg 7 aithnigheis é. Do cuatar na diabuil íarsin co ro-ard is an aiér, do teithemh remhe C. C. Lenais C. C. iad, 7 do cuaidh os a cind san aiér co cuala sé ceiliubr*adh* muindtire nimhe; 7 ba hiad so tossaighe na salm aderdís ag moludh an Tigerna .i. Te decet .u.[2]); 7 Benedic .a. m.[3]) 7 Laudate pueri[4]); 7 do beiredh C. C. ar a naemhuib 7 ar a manchuib fen a radha a tossach a trath 7 a ceilebradh ó sin amach. Et fuair C. C. o Día an t-anum sin Branduib do bí ga píanadh ag na demhnaib ris in ré sin, do cur in a corp fén ariś indus co ndern*adh* sé aithrighe in a pec*adh*, 7 co mbeith se 'n-a óclách maith do Día 7 do C. C. ó sin amach, 7 co ngabudh se sacramaint ass láimh Maedhoig Ferna a pongc a bais, amail do gell se dó. Do impo C. C. mar a raibe Grighóir íar sin a ndiaidh a deilg, 7 do fasdo an Papa delg C. C. aige fen 7 do léicc se a delg fen le C. C. as a haithli. Ocus do bo ro-ingantach le Grighoir *air*de na didhluicthe 7 imad na ngras 7 méd na mirbuil*ed* tuc Día do C. C. ré a ndenamh an uair sin. Tic C. C. remhe iar sin

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[1]) Read *bhrut*.
[2]) Psalm 64.
[3]) Psalms 102, 103.
[4]) *punto* Ms.

The holy men then cursed Brandubh, because of his refusal to make peace on their advice. On account of that curse and the promise made to them by C. C., that whosoever would dishonour them, would be cut down before his time, he was prevented from advancing further into Leth Cuinn, and was slain during that very expedition. And the demons bore his soul aloft into the upper regions, and were torturing it there. Maedhog was at that time with the men who were cutting corn for him. Having heard the soul in trouble, he ascended the heavens by the power of God, in pursuit of the demons. A struggle ensued between him and the demons for the soul of Brandubh till they appeared over I C. C., in Scotland. An angel revealed that fact to C. C., who was engaged at writing at the time. He was grieved at the soul being in pain, though it was through himself that Brandubh's life was cut short by God for refusing to carry out the advice of the aforesaid holy men of his own people, in regard to making peace with Leth Cuinn. Having pinned on his cloak he leaped aloft to help Maedhog in rescuing Brandubh's soul from the demons. And the struggle lasted till they arrived over Rome, when the pin of C. C.'s cloak fell, and landed in presence of Pope Gregory. The latter picking it up, recognized it. Thereafter, the demons ascended very high into the heavens, fleeing from C. C. And C. C., pursuing them, got beyond them, so that he heard the singing of the heavenly choirs. These were the initial words of the psalms they were singing in praise of the Lord, to wit *Te decet .u.*, and *Benedic a. m.* and *Laudate pueri.* Henceforward, C. C. caused his holy men and monks to recite them at the beginning of their office and choral singing. And C. C. obtained from God that Brandubh's soul, which had been tormented during all that time by the demons, be restored to its body; so that he would repent of his crime, and serve God and C. C. faithfully in future, and receive the last rites from Maedhog Ferna, at the hour of death; as he had promised him. C. C. returned to Gregory for his pin. But the latter kept it, and then gave his own pin to C. C. And Gregory was very

co hI, 7 do ḟagaib se an dealg sin Grighóir Papa ag fer a inaidh fen a nhI, a comartha 7 a cuimhniugadh na mirbuil*ed* mor sin.

220. Fectus eli do C. C. 7 da coimthinol a nhÍ, 7 ar tect aimseri na nóna cuca dob ail les an sacrista cloc na nona do búain, (*fol. 28 b*) 7 do cuaidh se d'iarruidh C. C. 'sa duirrthi*g* a ngathuigedh se a duthracht do denamh do Dia, da chedugadh de cloc na nóna do búain; 7 ní ḟuair se and sin hé, 7 do iarr se gach inadh eli mar ṡaeil se a beith, 7 ni fuair se é; 7 tainic se mar a raibe an coimthinol 7 do indis se sin doib. 'Ben-sa an clocc', ar síad, '7 gebé hinadh a bḟuil C. C., tiucf*a* se fa guth an cluic'. Do ben an sacrisda in cloc iar sin, 7 do conncatar C. C. cuca 7 delrudh ro-mor in a agaidh 7 lasrucha tendt*idh*e in a timchell, 7 arna faicsin don coimthinol amlaidh [1]) sin do ṡailetar co raibe ferg air, 7 do lecetar ar a ngluinib uile iad, 7 do iarrutar ma do rindetar misdúaim fan a luas do benatar an clocc, a maithemh doib. Ar faicsin umla 7 ecla in coimthinoil do C. C., adubairt se riu gan ecla do beith orra 7 nach raibe ferg air ríu; 7 do fiarf*aigh*et*ar* san scela de ca raibe se an fad do bi sé in a fecmais fen. Frecruis C. C. íad 7 assed adubairt: 'Do bádhus fen 7 Caindech naemhta', ar se, 'ag cathugadh re demhnuib san aiér a n-airde ag cuidech*ugadh* le hespog Eogan Arda Srath anam carat do fen, do bi ga pianadh acu re haims*ear* ḟada, do buain dibh, 7 nír ail lem-sa gan techt do ḟressdal na nona an uair do cuala in clog ga buain; 7 is fan a luas do benadh é do bi ferg oram rib-si, gan a leicin dam fuirech ris an anam do buain do na diabluib; 7 gidedh rucc aingel De oram ag techt in huar bḟiadnaise damh d'ecla co mbeith ferg orum rib, 7 dá indisin damh cor ṡaér Día an t-anam sin adubramar romhaind am onóir fen, o nar féd me fuirech ren a búain amuigh gan techt fa guth an cluic do fresdul na trath; cor moradh ainm Déi 7 Colaim Cille de sin.

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[1]) *amlaidh amlaidh* MS. See 'Book of Lecan', fol. 108 a, and Reeves' Adam. p. 205.



much struck by C. C.'s very rare gifts and the number of his graces, as well as by the greatness (number) of the miracles worked by C. C., at that time, by the power of God. Thereafter C. C. returned to Iona. And he bequeathed Gregory's pin to his own successor in Iona in proof and in memory of those great miracles.

220. On another occasion that C. C. and his community were at Iona, the sacristan, when evening had set in, desired to toll the bell of None. He went to seek C. C. in the oratory, where he was wont to pray to God, in order to get his leave to toll it. Having failed to find him there, he searched every other place where he thought he might be, but in vain. And coming to the community, he laid the matter before them. 'Ring the bell', reply they, 'and wherever he is, he will come at the sound of the bell'. The sacristan then rang the bell. And they beheld C. C. coming towards them, with radiant countenance and surrounded by lightning flashes. When the community beheld him in that wise, they thought he was angry, and falling on their knees, they begged his pardon if they had acted imprudently in causing the bell to be rung so soon. C. C. seeing their humility and their dread of him, told them to fear not, and that he was not angry with them. And they asked him where he had been during his absence from them. C. C. answering said: 'Holy Cainnech and I were', says he, 'striving against the demons aloft in the heavens, in order to rescue from them Bishop Eoghan, his confessor, whom they had been torturing for a long time, and I could not refrain from attending None, when I heard the sound of the bell. And I felt angry towards you for having it rung so soon, not being allowed to remain to rescue the soul from the demons. However, lest I should be angry with you, an angel of God overtook me, as I was coming towards you, and announced to me that God had saved the aforesaid soul in my honour as I could not remain to rescue it, having had to attend the canonical hours, at the voice of the bell.' And thereby God's name and C. C.'s were magnified.

221.[1]) Do bi duine airidhe a nDisert Garuidh a tuaiscert Osruidhe a nErind .i. Longarad a ainm, 7 fa sai in gach n-elaidhuin é 7 do scribud se morán de lebraib; 7 do chuaidh C. C. dá indsuige d'iarruidh coda do na leabruib sin air, 7 do foluid se na lebhair ar C. C. 'Is ced lium-sa', ar Colam Cille, 'ma 'sa ched le Día e gan do leabuir do dul a foghnamh do nech eili tar héis fen go brath'. 'Dober-sa na leabhuir duid-se', ar Longarudh, '7 na hescain me fein na na lebuir ní as mó'. 'Ni dingen escaine ort[s]a', ar Colam Cille, '7 gidedh an escaine dorindes ar na lebruib, ni heidir a cur ar ais'. Beris C. C. na leabuir les iar siñ, 7 ar dául a nAlbuin do ruc na lebair les, 7 do bi do chin ar na leabr*uib* sin aicce, nach taebudh sé a coimhéd re duine ar bith acht ris fen. Ocus an uair nach bidh se ag leghoirecht indta, do cuired sé a n-airde 'n-a sella fen iad os cind na leptha a ndenadh se an meid codulta donídh se. Et uair áiridhe do bí se 'sa sella sin ag radh a trath 7 ag denamh a duthrachta do Día, 7 nech airidhe dá mhanchuib fen darub ainm Baithín mailli ris, do tuitetar na leabhuir adubhrumar romhaind don ealchuing ar a rabhutur 7 doronatur torand romhór ag tuitim doib. 'Truagh sin', ar C. C., 'oir fuair an tí oc á rabutar na lebhair úd bas san uair-si fen .i. Longarudh 7 ag a cained 7 a comartha a bais, do tuitetar na lebhuir anos, 7 doronutar an torand ainmesardha úd'; 7 dorinde na roind-se:

Is marb Lon do chill Gharudh, mor and on;
d'Erind co n-ilur a trebh as dith leghind 7 scol.

Atbath Lon do cill Garudh, ro gab don,
is díth léighind 7 scol d'inis Eirind dar a hor.

Et ó an uair sin a fuair Longarudh fen bas, ní ḟedadh enduine 'sa bith enḟocul do legadh isna lebruibh sin ó sin amach tresan escuine adubramar rómaind dorinde C. C. orra, an uair do folaigh Longarudh air íad; 7 ni dechaid claechlódh no sal no dorchudas ar bith ar a litrib, 7 do mhairetar na leabair sin aimser ḟoda a nhÍ a ndiaidh C. C. ar an cor sin. *Co*nadh amlaidh sin do ḟíradh Día gach ní dá n-abradh C. C.

[1]) See Fél.², p. 198.

221. A certain man named Longarad lived in the Hermitage of Garad, to the North of Ossory, in Ireland. He was skilled in all the arts, and wrote many books. C. C. went to him for some of those books, and he hid them from him. 'I will it, if God wills it', says C. C., 'that your books be of no more avail for ever to anyone after your death'. 'I shall give them to you', says Longarad, 'and curse not me and my books any more'. 'I shall not curse thee', says C. C., 'but the curse on the books cannot be revoked'. C. C. took the books with him; and such was his affection for them, that he would not entrust them to anybody else's keeping but his own. And when he was not studying them, he used to put them in his own cell, over the bed in which he slept the little sleep he allowed himself. On a certain occasion, when he was saying his office and praying in his cell, along with a certain monk named Baithin, the aforesaid books fell from their shelf, thereby causing a very great noise. 'Alas!' says C. C., 'the former owner of those books has just died, to wit, Longarad, and by their falling and the great noise caused thereby they are lamenting and announcing his death.' And he composed these stanzas:

Dead is Lon of Kilgarrow, O great hurt!
To Ireland of many tribes it is ruin of study and of schools.

Lon of Kilgarrow has died. . . .
To Ireland over her border it is ruin of study and of [schools.

And ever since Longarad's death, nobody in the world could read a word of those books, because of the aforesaid curse of C. C. on them, when Longarad hid them from him. And the letters have suffered no change or defilement or blur. And thus those books remained in Iona for a long time after the death of C. C. Thus it is that God made true all the sayings of C. C.

222. F*echtus* dochuatar ceithri m*ic* Luig[d]ech Laimdheirc do ṡeilg 7 d'ḟiadhuch .i. Crimthand 7 Cairbre 7 Cael 7 Ferudhuch, co tuc Cairbre urchur sleighe docum an ḟiadha, co tarla tre Chael, gur marb acedóir é. Agus do bi Crimthand ag íarruidh érca ar Cairbre 'san gnímh sin, 7 tarla imresain etorra fá an éruic sin 7 fa oighr*echt* Chaeil; 7 nir ḟéd Ri Erend no naim Erend a sídhugadh (*fol. 29a*) *no* cor cuiredar d'ḟiachuib orra dul c*us*an uasulathair 7 co primḟaidh nimhe 7 talman .i. co Colum C., do bi an uair sin 'san inadh airithe re n-abarthur hÍ, a rigacht Albun; o ass e dogeb*adh* a ḟis o Dia gach ni budh ferr indenta etorra. Do gluaisetar cland Luighdech Laimdherg do dul a nAlbain; 7 assedh ba lin doib .i. cethrar ar xx re gaisced 7 cethrur ban .i. mna na desi sin cl*aind*i Luighdech Laimdeirc, 7 a dá cum*al* coimidechta, 7 ochtar amh*us* do bidh ag bruith a selga 7 a ḟiad*a*. Et fós do bidh ag iascairecht doib an fad do beidis ar muir ag dul 7 ag techt. Do foillsiged an ní sin do C. C., 7 do labair re nech naemtha do bi fáris an uair sin darbh ainm Baithin, 7 assed adub*air*t ris: 'Atáid aidhedha uaisli d'feruib Erend cugaind anocht', ar se, .i. 'cl*ann* Luigdech Laimhdeirg, 7 dent*ar* tene fá n-a comhair a tigh na n-aídhedh. *Con*adh and asp*ert* an rand-sa[1]):

Mith*igh* tene a tech n-aídhedh, do gab teimhel treb taidhen,
is na trégim na damha ar roimhéd gradha Gaidhel.

Oir ni thigedh aídhedha dá indsaighe nach indesidh sesean dá mhanchaib go mbidis cuca sul do ticdís don baile, 7 do bi an uiret sin do coimhed ag Día ar feli 7 ar nairi C. C. nach lecedh sé aídhedha na cend gan ḟis dó fen, d'ecla co mbeith naire air da mbeith se aindis ar a cind. Do cuiredh se a aingel fen le sceluib cuice remhe na haídhedhaib. Do ḟirudh an faidetór*ucht* sin C. C. leith re cl*oind* Luigdhech Laimhdeirg; oir rancatar cuige an oidce sin, 7 do bí se go roluthgairech rompa, 7 do reidigh se etorra, 7 tuc righe do Cairbri *acht* gér b'óige é ina Crimthann, 7 gidh é do rinde an marbadh; ó nach dá deoin

[1]) See RC XX, p. 140.

222. Once upon a time, the four sons of Lughaidh Red-hand, to wit, Crimthann, Cairbre, Cael and Feradhach went a-hunting. Cairbre cast a spear at the deer, and it happened to hit Cael, causing him instantaneous death[1]). Crimthann sued Cairbre for compensation for that deed. And they quarrelled over the compensation as well as over the inheritance of Cael. The King of Ireland and her holy men having failed to settle matters, prevailed on them to visit the patriarch and chief prophet of heaven and earth, to wit Colum Cille, who was then in a certain place, called Iona, in the kingdom of Scotland; since it was to him God made known the best way of settling their dispute. The children of Lughaidh Lamhdherg set out for Scotland. And their party consisted of twenty-four warriors and four women, to wit, the wives of the two sons of Lughaidh Lamhdherg and their two waiting-maids, and eight mercenaries who cooked the game and the deer (they caught). While they were at sea, both going and coming, they also fished. Colum Cille foresaw their approach, and addressing a holy person named Baithin, then in his company, said: 'Noble guests of Irish blood are visiting us to-night', says he, 'to wit, the sons of Lughaidh Lamhdherg, and let a fire be lit for them in the guest-house'. He then composed this quatrain:

It is time (to put) a fire in the guest-house, darkness has come [into the abode of companies.
Let us not neglect the guests, because of our great love of [the Gaels.

For he was wont to tell his monks of the approach of guests before their arrival. And C. C.'s hospitality and sense of shame were safeguarded to such an extent by God, that He did not let guests visit him unawares, lest he should be filled with shame if they found him unprepared. And so He was wont to send his own angel beforehand with news of their coming. C. C.'s prophecy with regard to the sons of Lughaidh Lamhdherg came true; for they arrived that night, and C. C. welcoming them with great joy, settled their dispute. And to Cairbre though younger than Crimthann, he gave the kingship; since the murder committed

[1]) See RC XX, p. 140 'and Coirbre killed Cael as he was straying in the shape of the deer', i. e. Coirpre mistook him for the deer.

dorinde se é, 7 ar méd a aithr*igh*e and 7 ar febhus a beth*adh* 7 a gnimhart*hadh* sech Crimthand *con*uice sin, 7 tuc tanuistecht do Crimthand; 7 do léic reidh da tigh iad aml*aid* sin. Gonadh and asspert an rand-sa .i.:

Righe duid, a Cairpri cain, 7 dot śil ad degaidh;
gan toigecht adrud 's do rath, a Cairpri móir m*ic* Luigdech [1].

Et fos *conadh* and aspert-samh an rand-sa eli:

Feith*ig*, a Christ, an muir mall do Cairbre 7 do Crimthand;
go roissidh slán ceill gan meirg dia tir m*ac* Luigdech [Láimhdheirg.

Et as demhin an ní nach fédadh Rí Erend no naeimh Erind do réitech, corub docum C. C. do chuirdís a réitech go hÍ, amhail derbhus an scel-sa 7 moran do sceluib eli mar foillseochus an betha a n-inadh eli remaind sísana.

223. F*echtus* do cuir an nech naemtha .i. Findía m*ac* Ua Ḟíathruch manach da coimthinol fen re gnoaighib 'n-a aenar gan compánuch les, 7 tarla ben dó ar in sligidh, 7 do cuaidh sí da guidhe, 7 ni raibe sesiun ga gabhail sin uaithe, 7 do chuir sí lamh and fa deredh *no* gorb ecen dó a comhairli do denamh, 7 do lín tuirrse 7 aithrech*us* é iar sin fa'n pecadh sin do denumh; 7 ar filledh t*ar* a aiss dó mar a raibe Findía, tuc se a culpa do 7 tuc Findía esp*ol*óid dó-san, 7 adubairt nach raibhe pudh*ar* and sin 7 corub mór do daínibh maithe do mell an t-aidhberseóir remhe sin 7 gor gab Día aithrighe uatha 7 go ngebudh uadha-san mar an cedna; 7 ar n-erghe don manuch ó Ḟindía, tainec an t-aibirseóir a ndeilb duine cuice 7 do ḟadóigh se teine pecaidh an midóchais and, 7 adubairt se ris narb ferrde dó an esp*ol*óid sin tucc Findía dó, 7 gur bec an breth aithr*igh*e do cuir se air, 7 adub*air*t ris dul mar a raibe Comhghall Bendchair 7 a culpa do tabairt 7 breath aithrighi do gabail uadha. Téid an manuch iar*omh* mar a raibe Comgall 7 tuc a culpa dó; 7 ass í breth

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[1] *l. c.*, p. 142:
Cen tudecht etrut rorath duit, a Choirpre meic Lugdach.
Stokes translates 'without quarrelling, great grace (?), to thee O Coirbre son of Lugaid'.

by him and for which he had done great penance was not wilful, and since he had heretofore led a better life and had done better deeds than Crimthann. But to Crimthann he gave the tanistry; and thus he sent them home. Then C. C. composed this quatrain:

Kingship to thee, O gentle Cairbre, and to thy seed after thee,
without (anything) coming between thee and thy grace, O great
[Cairbre, son of Lughaidh!

He also composed this other quatrain:

Calm, o Christ, the tedious sea for Cairbre and for Crimthann;
That Lughaidh Lamhdherg's son, without harm, may reach
[their home safe and sane [1])!

And it is clear that whatever could not be settled by the King of Ireland or her holy men used to be referred to C. C. in Iona for settlement; as the above story proves and many others, as will appear from the following Life.

223. Once upon a time, a holy person, to wit, Findia mac ui Fiathrach, sent one of his monks on business, all alone and unattended. He met a woman on the way. She solicited him. He refused to go with her. At last taking hold of him, she forced him to do her will. Thereafter he was filled with grief and sorrow for his sin, and on returning home to Findia, confessed it to him. And Findia, having absolved him, said it could not be helped, and that many a good man had been previously deceived by the devil, whose repentance God had accepted, and that He would accept his in like manner. When the monk left Findia, the devil appeared to him in the guise of a man and enkindled within him the sin of despair saying that he was no better for Findia's absolution, and that the penance imposed on him was too small. And he told him to go to Comhghall of Bangor and confess his crime to him and accept his penance. Thereafter the monk goes to Comhghall and confessed his sin to him. And Comhghall gave him the same penance as Findia had previously

[1]) See RC, XX, p. 143. Stokes translates 'that they may come sane, without ill-will, from the land of Lugaid Redhand's sons'.



aithrighe do cuir Comgall air .i. an breth do chuir Findia reme sin air, 7 adubairt ris mar in cedna aithrighe do denamh in a pech*adh* 7 co mbeith Dia reidh rís. Et ar fagbail Comgaill don manach, tarla an t-aibirseoir 'sa deilb cedna dó, 7 do labuir ris 7 as edh adubairt gan creidemh do enní da ndubairt Comghall ris 7 gur ro-mho a pecudh ina in breth aithrighe do cuir sé air, 7 adubairt se ris dul mar a raibe C. C. 7 breth aithrighi do gabhail uadha. Teid an manuch mar a raibe C. C., 7 mar dob'ail les a culpa do tabairt dó, do foillsigh C. C. fen dosan gach ní dar imthigh air ó thus co deredh; 7 do adaimh an manuch corb ḟir do C. C. sin. 'Go mbendaighe Dia thú', ar Colam Cille, 'as mór an buaidr*edh* 7 an merughadh sin do cuir an diabul fúd. Nar tuicc tu gur lor duit méd na mbreth aithrighe do chuir (*fol. 29 b*) Findia 7 Comgall ort, 7 bídh a ḟis agad', ar se, 'da ndernta pec*uidhe* fer ndomhain nach fuil breth aithr*igh*i da laghad do cuirf*edh* an sagart da tiubartha do culpa ort 7 a híc, nac fuil tu reidh re Día at pecadh acht co raibhe aithrighe agad; 7 is dod chur ar sechrán 7 ar merughadh do cuir an t-aiberseóir a mídochas tu, 7 do cuir se a ceill duid cor becc na bretha aithrighi do cuir Findía 7 Comhghall ort, indus dá faghad sé ar an sechran creidimh sin thu, go tiubradh se bas duid 7 go mberudh sé hanum a pianuib síraidhe suth*aine* ifr*end*; 7 bidh a fis agad nach fuil pecadh ris nach co mór an midóchus[1]), 7 dá d*er*bhudh sin as mó do pecaidh Iúdas in a mídochas iná a mbrath an Tigerna; 7 ó do chuaid tussa a midochus, 7 ó do creid tú on diabul nar maithedh do pecudh duid ar son laghad na mbreth aithrighi do cuiretar na naimh sin ort, cuirimse cúig bliadhna dec ar aran 7 ar uisce ort, indus corub móide creidfes tú co maithfe Día do pecadh duit, an breth aithrighi mor sin do chur fort. Do bendaigh 7 do coisric C. C. an manuch iar sin; 7 ni raibe ar breith don diabul an pecadh sin an midóchais do cur fai o sin amach tres an mbendughadh sin C. C. Et is follas duind as so, nac edh amhain do claídhedh C. C. na diabuil a leith ris fen acht co claídedh se a leith ris na dainib eli íad. Et fos as follus duind ass na neithe nach fedaeis naeim íarthair domhain do ṡoirbhiughadh, corub cuice do cuiredh Día a soirbiughadh 7 a réitech.

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[1]) Leg. *nach fuil pecadh co mor ris an midochus.*



given him, and likewise told him to repent of his sin and that God would pardon him. The monk on leaving Comhghall met the devil in the same guise, who addressing him, said to take no notice of what Comhghall had told him, and that his sin was much greater than the penance that had been imposed on him. And he told him to go to C. C. and accept penance from him. The monk goes to C. C., and as he would fain confess his sin to him, C. C. himself revealed to him all that had happened to him from the outset. And the monk admitted the truth. 'God bless you', says C. C., 'the devil has caused you much worry and confusion. Did you not understand that the penance imposed on you by Findia and Comhghall was enough? And bear in mind', says he, 'that even if you were guilty of the sins of the men of the world (no matter how small might be the penance your confessor might impose on you to be performed), that you are all right in the eyes of God, if you are truly sorry for your sin. And it is to lead you astray and to confuse you that the devil has brought you to despair, and he impressed on you that the penance imposed on you by Findia and Comhghal was insignificant, so that having led you to despair, he would kill you and bear your soul to the everlasting pains of Hell. And be it known to you that there is no sin as great as the sin of despair. In proof whereof Judas sinned more by despair than by his betrayal of the Lord. And since you have given way to despair and have taken the devil's word that your sin was not forgiven you, on account of the small penance imposed on you by those saints, I put you on bread and water for fifteen years, so that on account of that great penance you may the more believe that God will pardon you your sin'. Thereafter C. C. gave him his blessing and benediction, and henceforward the devil could not tempt him to despair, because of C. C.'s blessing. Hence it is clear to us that not only was C. C. wont to defeat the devils in regard to himself, but also as regards others. And moreover, it is clear to us, that whatever the saints of the Western world found impossible to settle used to be referred by God to C. C. for settlement and arrangement.

224. Fechtus do C. C. a nhI, 7 do chuir an t-aidbirseoir fa mnai airidhe 'sa popul sin grad ro-mor do tabairt do, da fechain an ticf*edh* trithe a tarraing docum pecaidh do denamh ria; o nar ḟed se fen a clai *no* a mhelladh *no* buaidh do breith air lé a cuirf*edh* se docum pecaidh bicc no moir do denamh riamh é do taeb a *coir*p fen; 7 do cuaidh an gradh tuc an ben sin do tar modh aice, indus gorb ferr lé bas d'ḟagail iná gan techt d'foillsiughadh an gradha sin do C. C., da ḟis an fuigedh sí uadha a toil do coimlinadh leith re peacadh do denamh ría. Agus do gluais sí mar a raibhe se do chur a hindtinde a ceill dó. Ar n-a ḟaicsin sin d'ḟir graduigthe na genmnaidechta, 7 d'ḟir claite na n-aibirseoradh, 7 d'ḟir congbala aithnidhedh De co laidir n-a sesamh, 7 d'ḟir scrisda na n-uile locht ass fen 7 as cach, do aithin se an t-adbhur fa ndechaidh an ben sin n-a fiadnaise sul do indes sí fén scela dó. Agus do labuir C. C. ria 7 assedh adubairt: 'A ben', ar sé, 'smuaintigh ar breithemhnus bratha 7 smuaintigh gorub o marbuib tainic tú 7 co mbía tu ar na marbuib'; 7 do benduigh 7 do coisric se uadha í iar sin indus co tainic do bridh an bendaigthe sin C. C., gach uile ainmían dá raibe timchell a gradha aice do dul ar cul úaithe, 7 a gradh d'fuirech 'n-a inadh fen aice air d'estect breithre De 7 senmóra uadha 7 do gabail creidmhe 7 c*ra*buidh uadh; indus co raibe an ben sin 'n-a mnaí naemtha fa deoigh; cor morudh ainm Dé 7 C. C. de sin.

225. Do bi nech naemtha áirithe a n-Erind darbh ainm Finden, 7 do bi clu crabuidh 7 genmnaidhechta air, 7 do coimhéd se gloine 7 óghacht a coirp gan melludh do breith don diabal air, 7 do ḟoglaim sé ecna 7 eolas as a óige; 7 do smuaín se in a menmain fen C. C. do lenmain a nAlpain, 7 do batar a braithri 7 a cairde colluidhe ga toirmesc sin uime. Et teid co nech glic ars*aid* dobo brathair dó fen do bí n-a clerech ro-maith darb ainm Colman 7 [1]) do denamh comairli ris, 7 do foillsigh se dó an tríall do bi fai. Is andsin adubairt Colman ris: 'Bidh a ḟis agad, a Findein, ma's ferrde le C. C. fen tu da lenmhain, nach eidir a toirmesc umad; 7 aderim-si red braithr*ib* gan a bachudh dít a lenmhuin, oir nir cuir a dóchus ann riamh 7 ni raibe' gradh dariribh ag en duine air nach tiubradh Dia grasa dón duine ar a ṡon'; 7 ar an pongc sin fen do gair Findén ainm C. C. mailli

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[1]) Sic MS. Leave out.

224. Once upon a time, when C. C. was at Iona, the devil incited a certain woman of the congregation to love him inordinately to see if she would succeed in getting him to sin with her; since he himself could not overcome or deceive him or ever prevail on him to commit sin, great or small, as regards his own person. The woman's love became unrestrainable, so that she preferred death rather than abstain from coming to show her love for him, in order to get him to fulfil her desire and sin with her. She set out to him to declare her mind to him. When this was seen by the lover of chastity, and the subduer of the demons, and the strong upholder of the commandments of God, and the destroyer of all vices in himself and in others, he understood her motive in coming before ever she spoke. And C. C. addressing her said: 'Woman', says he, 'call to mind the Last Judgment and thy origin from death and thy end in death'. And thereafter he gave her his blessing and benediction from a distance. As a result of that blessing all her inordinate desires ceased, and her love for him resided in its proper place, on hearing the word and speech of God from his lips, and on his instilling into her faith and piety; so that at last she became a holy woman.

225. There lived in Ireland a holy person named Finnian, who was noted for his piety and chastity. He preserved his purity and chastity in spite of the wily attacks of the Evil-one, and from his youth he advanced in wisdom and knowledge. He bethought himself to follow C. C. to Scotland; and his relatives and friends tried to dissuade him from that idea. He sets out to a wise old relative of his and a very good cleric to boot named Colman, to get his advice. He laid his plans before him. Then Colman said to him: 'Be it known to you, O Finnian, that if C. C. himself prefers you to follow him, no obstacle can be placed in your way, and I forbid your relatives to oppose your following him; for all who ever trusted in him and sincerely loved him, obtained grace from God for his sake.' And there and then, Finnian invoking the name of C. C. with great affection

ré duthracht mór 7 re gradh, 7 do íarr se air grasa d'ḟagail o Día dó in a onóir fen; 7 nir mor cor deal*aigh* deiredh an anma sin ren a bel anuair fuair se spirad ḟáidhetorachta o Dia. Et ar cluinsin gach comraidh da ndearna Col (*fol. 30a*) man 7 Finden do macamh óg do bí do láthair and sin darb ainm Irial, do gair se ainm C. C. 7 do íarr air grassa d'ḟaghail dó fen o Día mar an cedna. Is andsin do labhuir Findén tre spirad faidhetórachta 7 assedh adubairt: 'An tenga sin, a Iriail, ler goiris an t-ainm benduighthe naemtha sin .i. C. C., biaidh sí fen bendaighte naemtha ó so amach, 7 biaidh blas 7 grasa ag cach ar gach enní da laibeora si coidhce aris; 7 gen co fuil cin ag cach anoiss ort, biaidh cin mór aris acu ort sa coimhtinol-sa in a bfuil tufen anoss ac siludh 7 ag senmoir breithre De doibh'. Et do indis Irial gach ní da ndubramar andso d'ab naemta airithe darb ainm Segenus, 7 do indis an t-ab sin d'Adhamhnan íad. Et ata Adhamnan naemta ga mebrughadh cor foillsigh Día moran eli tre spirad faidhetorachta, ar furailemh C. C., don Finden-sa adubramar romhaind, 7 go hairidhe cor foillsigh se dó mar do reidhechadh se an imresain do bi itir na naemaib fa ḟésda na casc a fiadhnaise Ciarain. Et as follus dúind ass so gebé len a b'ail gradh do bheith aige ar C. C. no cengal do beith aige ris, go tiubra Dia grassa dó amail tucc sé do na naemaib-se adubramar romhaind .i. do Ḟinden 7 do Írial.

226.[1]) Fechtus eli do Colum Cille a nhÍ, 7 do togaib a rusca suas docum nimhe 7 adubairt na briathra-sa: 'As bendaigthe conáich an ben 'sa hanam ataid aingli De do breith leo docum na cathrach nemdha anois'. Agus do bi duine c*ra*ibtech airithe do lathair and sin ag estecht ris an comhradh sin C. C. darb ainm Generifebus[2]), 7 ass e do bidh os cind bacúis ag na manchaibh, 7 tuc a aire gu ger don comhradh sin 7 do coimheid go descreidech in a menmain e. Et do léicetar sin tarrsa go cend mbliadna ón lá sin. Is andsin adubairt C. C. ris an nech cedna sin do raidhsemar romhaind: 'Ag siud anum na mna dar labrus at ḟiadhnuisi bliadain cus an la aniugh', ar se, 'ag tabairt aircissi ar anam a fir posda fen, 7 ata sí ag tabairt cobrach dó a n-agaid na ndrochspirad ata ga pianadh, 7 ag cuidiughadh le hainglib De a anum do

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[1]) Taken literally from Adamnan. See Reeves' edition, pp 208—209.

[2]) *Genereus* in Adamnan.



and love, asked him to obtain the grace of God for him in his honour. And that name had scarcely passed his lips, when the spirit of prophecy took possession of him. And a youth who was present named Irial, having heard this conversation between Colman and Finnian, invoked the name of C. C. and asked him to obtain the grace of God for him in like manner. Then Finnian prophetically said: 'That tongue, O Irial, wherewith thou hast invoked that blessed holy name, to wit, C. C., shall be blessed and holy henceforward, and there will be delight and grace with all in everything it shall utter for evermore. And though thou art not regarded by all with affection now, thou wilt one day be greatly loved by the community in which thou art now, when thou sowest and preachest the word of God among them.' Irial told a holy abbot named Segenus concerning everything we have said here; and he in turn informed Adamnan concerning them. And holy Adamnan relates that God, at the prayer of C. C., prophetically revealed many other things to the aforesaid Finnian, and especially that the latter would settle the controversy among the holy men regarding the Easter Festival, in the presence of Ciaran. Hence it is clear to us, that whosoever would fain love C. C. or join him, would receive the grace of God, as was the case with the aforesaid saints, to wit, Finnian and Irial.

226. On another occasion at Iona, C. C. gazing towards heaven said: 'Blessed and lucky is the woman whose soul the angels of God are now bearing to the heavenly city.' A certain holy man, named Generifebus, who was present at the time, heard that remark of C. C. It was he who superintended the bakery of the monastery. He paid close attention to C. C.'s remark, and kept all to himself. And nothing further was said about it for exactly a year to the day. Then C. C. said to the aforesaid person: 'Behold', says he, 'the soul of the woman I spoke of in your presence a year ago exactly, pleading for the soul of her husband. She is helping him against the evil spirits who are torturing him, and assisting the angels of God in bearing his soul into everlasting glory.' And scarcely had he ended that

breith do caitemh na gloire suthaine'. Agus ní mor gor delaigh deredh an comraidh sin riú an uair do condcatar na haingle ag breith na n-anmond sin leo a flaithes De; 7 do bi an t-anum sin na mna go luthghairec[h] frithoiltech fá anum a fir posda fen. Agus as follus dúind as so gur lec Día moran do ruinibh a ṡecréide diadha fen re C. C.

227. Fechtus eli do Colum Cille a nhÍ, 7 do gair se a descibul fen cuige .i. Diarmaid; 7 ba he an Diarmaid sin do bidh do gnath in a seicreidib sech cach, 7 adubairt ris: 'Erigh co luath', ar se, '7 desigh na haltóra 7 cuir a culaidhecha orra; oir is aniugh as coir sollam*ain* bais Brenaind naemtha do denamh'[1]). Frecrus Diarmaid é 7 assedh adubairt ris: 'Cred fa cuirthai an tṡollamain sin da denam 7 nach facubair tectadha cindte a hErind do berudh deimhin bais Brenaind dib'? 'Dena mar adub*art*-sa rit', ar C. C., 'oir do cond*ar*c-sa', ar se, 'flaithes De foscailte aniugh 7 aingli De ag techt a coinde anma Brenaind, 7 tucutar delradh 7 solus don tṡaegul uile an uair sin'.

228.[2]) Fechtus eli do Colam Cille a nhÍ, 7 adubairt ren a mhanchaibh iad féin d'ullmhughadh co luath docum na n-aifrend 7 sollamain an lai sin do mhedughadh a n-onoir an te 'sa hanam do cuaidh d'indsaighe flaithesa De an lá soin. Et adubairt C. C., gen co raibe sé fen dingbala cuice, go n-aibeoradh se an t-aifrend; 7 ar crichnughadh na hoifige doíb *con*uice an inadh a fuil cuimhne ar ainm Martain 'sa prefaid, adubairt C. C. ris na manchuib: 'Aniug as coir daeib cuimhne bais Colmain Esp*oig* do beith agaib fuair bás a cúigedh Laig*hen* a nErind, 7 do condarc-sa aingli De ag breith a anma leo do caithemh na gloire suthaine'. Agus do bí an comhradh sin ar cuimne ag na manchaib no gu facatar daine naemtha eli a hErind tucc a demhin doib, corub e an la sin fen adubairt C. C. bas d'ḟagbhail dó, fuair Colman Espog bás; cor moradh ainm De 7 C. C. de sin.

229.[3]) Fechtus eli do Colam Cille a nhÍ, 7 do cruindigh na manaigh cuice san inadh a raibe se fen, 7 do labuir riu 7 assedh adubairt: 'Rachud-sa ani (*fol. 30b*) ugh', ar se, 'sa cuid siar don oilen-sa le gnoaighibh airithe 7 na lenudh nech ar bith me; 7

[1]) See Plummer's V. S. H., I, p. 151, and Reeves' Adam., pp. 209—210.
[2]) Taken literally from Adamnan. See Reeves' edition, page 210 ff.
[3]) Taken literally from Adamnan. See Reeves' edition, page 217 ff.

conversation when they beheld the angels bearing those souls to Heaven; and the woman's soul was joyful and glad because of the soul of her husband. Hence it is clear to us that God revealed many of His divine secrets to C. C.

227. On another occasion at Iona, C. C. calling to his presence his own disciple, to wit, Diarmaid, the same who was wont above all others to be in his confidence, said to him: 'Go quickly', says he, 'and get ready the altars, and put on the cloths, for to-day it behoves us to celebrate the death of holy Brendan.' And Diarmaid said in reply: 'Why hold that celebration, since you have not seen trustworthy messengers from Ireland bringing certain news of his death?' 'Do as I have told you', says C. C., 'for I beheld', says he 'the heavens opened to-day, and the angels coming for Brendan's soul, and the whole world was then lit up with splendour and brightness.'

228. On another occasion at Iona, C. C. told his monks to get ready quickly for mass and to solemnise that day in honour of him whose soul went to Heaven on that day. And C. C. said that though unworthy to do so[1]) he himself would say the mass. And on coming to that part of the office where there is mention of Martin's name in the preface, C. C. said to the monks: 'To-day it behoves you to commemorate the death of Bishop Colman, who died in Leinster in Ireland, and I beheld the angels of God bearing his soul into everlasting glory.' The monks were mindful of these words till they saw other holy people from Ireland who confirmed what C. C. had said concerning the death of Bishop Colman on that day. God's name and C. C.'s were magnified thereby.

229. On another occasion at Iona, C. C. having assembled the monks in his presence, addressing them said: 'To-day', says he, 'I shall go to the Western part of this island on certain business and let nobody follow me.' The monks agreed to that.

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[1]) *Quamlibet indignus sim*, Adam., see Reeves' edition, p. 211.

do toilighetar na manaigh sin dó. Agus teid remhe san inadh in ar ghell dul, 7 do lean manuch airithe é gan ḟis dó fen, ler b'ail a ḟis do beith aige créd é an t-adbhur fa ndeachaidh se san uaignes sin, 7 do folaidh é fen a cnocan tṡleibe do bi os cind an inaidh a raibe C. C. as a facu se amharc air. Agus as amluidh do condairc sé é a croisfighill 7 a agaidh súas ar nemh 7 é a guide De co duthrachtuch 7 leighión d'ainglib gacha taebha de; oir ba bés do na hainglib techt do tabairt ṡolais do C. C. an uair do bidh se go dólásach on a beith ag denamh crabuidh a n-inaduib fuara anṡochra, no ó beith 'n-a ṡesamh a n-uisce gó a smeig ag radh urnaidhte roḟaide a n-aimseruib geimhreta no ṡneachtamla, nó on aibsdinians romór do cuiredh se ar a corp fen do dith bidh 7 dighe. Et ass e adbur fá tuc Día an taispénadsa na n-aingel don manach, do médughadh anma C. C.; o nar b'ail le C. C. fen a medughadh leth ris na taisbent*aibh* do bertaí do d'foillsiughadh do cach. Oir ni foillsighedh sé coidhce íad d'ecla gloir dimhain do beith dó fen and muna thuicedh se riachtanas a les a foillsigh[th]e do beith ar daínibh eli leath amuig de féin; mar tá guidhe do cur ar anum duine do gebudh bas *no* le guidhe do chur ar dhainib do beith a nguasacht mara no tire, no muna beith médughadh anma no onóra do nech naemtha eli and é da foillsiugadh. Et ar crichnughadh a urnaidhe do Colam Cille, do imgheatar na haingle uadha 7 do ḟill fén tara ais docum na mainistrech, 7 tuc na manaigh cuige 7 do fiarf*aigh* dib cia acu do len é a n-agaidh na haithne do chuir se orra; 7 adubratar na manaigh do bi saer iar sin nach raibe a fis sin acu fen. Ar na cloisdin sin don manuch do lean é, do lec ar a gluinibh a fiadnaise C. C. é 7 adubairt gur pecaigh se fen co mór 7 do íar se a maithem dó; 7 do maith C. C. sin dó ar tuicsin a umla 7 a aithrechais. Et in a diaidh sin ruc C. C. an manuch sin les a n-inadh ar leith, 7 do íarr air gan an radhurc ainglidhe sin do condairc se, d'indesin do énduine an cein do beith se fen n-a beathuigh. Et ar faghail bais do Colam Cille, do foills*igh* an manach cedna an radhurc sin do condairc se do na manchuib; gor morudh ainm De 7 C. C. de sin. Et da derbudh sin, goirther cnocan na n-aingel aniugh don cnocan sin in a bḟaca in manuch na haingle timcell C. C.

230. Fechtus do Colam Cille a n-oilen áirithe a nAlbain, 7 do bi doinend ainmesardha and an uair sin; indus cor erich

He sets out to the appointed place, and a certain monk who would fain know the motive of his journey to that wilderness, followed him unawares. He hid himself in a hillock overlooking the place occupied by C. C., whence he got a view of him. And he beheld C. C. looking towards Heaven, with his hands outstretched in the shape of a cross and surrounded by a legion of angels. For the angels were wont to come to console C. C. when in a state of gloom as a result of pious exercises in cold rough places, or from being standing up to his chin in water engaged in protracted prayer, or from very long abstinence from food and drink whereby he used to chastise his body. And God allowed this vision of the angels to be seen by the monk for the exaltation of C. C.'s name; since the latter did not seek to exalt it by revealing to others the visions seen by him. For he never disclosed them lest it should fill him with vain-glory, except he understood that such was necessary for others besides himself; for instance to pray for the soul of somebody who had died or for people in peril by land or sea, or except when their, manifestation would redound to some other holy person's honour and credit. When C. C. had finished his prayers, the angels left him, and he returned to the monastery. And having summoned the monks to his presence, he asked them which of them followed him contrary to his orders. Thereupon, the monks who were innocent said that they knew not. When the monk who had followed him heard that, he fell on his knees in the presence of C. C., and confessing his great sin asked to be forgiven. And C. C. forgave him when he saw that he was humble and contrite. Thereafter, C. C. taking that monk apart begged of him not to disclose that angelic vision witnessed by him to anyone during his own lifetime. After C. C.'s death, that same monk revealed the vision he had seen to the monks; and God's name and C. C.'s were magnified thereby. In proof whereof the Hillock of the Angels is at this day the name of the hillock in which the monk saw C. C. surrounded by the angels.

230. Once upon a time, C. C. was in a certain island in Scotland. It was exceeding bad wheather at the time; so that a

sdoirm adb*al*-mhór ar in fairge, 7 do bi C. C. 7 a manaigh a tigh airidhe 'san oilen an tan sin. Et do cuir fa aithne ar a manchaibh biadh 7 deoch 7 uisce in*n*alta do beith co des acu, 7 tene d'fadógh ar cend na n-aídhedh do bi ag techt cuca an la sin. 'Cindus bud éidir le nech 'sa doman an fairce do siubal aniugh re med na sdóirme ata uirre?' ar na manuig. Is andsin adubairt C. C.: 'As deimhin co tiucfa ocl*aoch* Dia .i. Caindech naemtha [1]), san uair reme esp*er*tain aniugh cucaib, 7 dobera ante gá fuil na huile chnmacht a nimh 7 a n-ifren, ar muir 7 ar tír, ciunus dó'; 7 ar cur an lai tarrsa doib conuice an uair airithe-si adubairt C. C., docondcatar an long a raibe Caindech cuca, 7 docuatar 'na coinde, 7 tainic se a tir sa port a rabutar-san ar a cind; 7 do bi lutghair mór ar C. C. 7 ar na manchaibh remhe 7 do fiarf*aigh* manuch do manchuibh C. C. do Caindech cred far thairc se an fairce do siubal ina commor sin do sdoirm 7 do doinind, 7 adubairt Caindech co bfuair se ciunus ó Día 'san uair airithe adubramar romaind don ló; 7 do molutar na manuigh Día 7 C. C. go himarcuch trid sin, 7 adubratar cor follus do cach nach raibhi ní sa doman 'na dorchadus ar C. C.

231. Fechtus eli do C. C. a nhÍ 7 dorinde gaire, 7 do fiafr*aidh* manuch airidhe de créd é an t-adbur fa nderna sé an gaire sin. Adubairt C. C. gorab nech naemta airite darbh ainm Colman [2]) do bi ag techt ar cuairt cuige fen an la sin, 7 gur erich anf*adh* 7 sdoirm ar an fairce; indus co raibe sé fen 7 a raibe 'na luing a ngúasacht a mbáite (*fol. 31 a*), 7 go raibe Colman fen ar a gluinibh a tosach an arthraigh ag bendugadh na fairce reimhe 7 gacha taeba de, 7 co raibe ecla mór air, 7 co raibe se ag guidhe De co duthrachtach fa furtacht d'faghail dó on gua*sacht* mor sin a raibe se; 7 adubairt C. C. nach baithf*id*e é 7 co n-éstfedh Dia a guidhe 7 co tiubr*adh* se ciu*nus* dó, 7 corb e dob adbur do Día ag léiccen an michiún*uis* sin cuice, do mhedughadh a fuirechruis 7 a duthrachta acus da chur a ceill dó co raibe a cumhachta fen ar muir 7 ar tír; 7 adubairt C. C. co tiucfadh Colman san uair sin fen do ló da n-indsaighe. Agus do firadh an faidhedoracht sin uile; 7 do indis Colman fen gur imdigh gach enní dib-sin air amail adubairt C. C., gur moradh ainm De 7 C. C. de sin.

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[1]) See Plummer's VSH, I, p. 161, and Reeves' Adam., p. 27 ff.

[2]) See Reeves' Adam., p. 29.



very great storm arose at sea. C. C. and his monks were at that time in a certain house in the island, and he ordered the latter to prepare food and drink and washing water and to kindle a fire for the guests who were coming to them that very day. 'How could anyone in the world travel by sea to-day with such a storm?' reply the monks. Then C. C. said: 'It is certain that the servant of God, to wit, holy Cainnech shall visit you to-day before vespers, and He who is Ruler of Heaven and Hell, sea and land, shall give him a calm voyage.' And having spent the day till the time referred to by C. C., they saw coming towards them the vessel which had Cainnech on board. They went to meet him, and he landed in the harbour where they were awaiting him. And C. C. and the monks welcomed him with great joy. One of the monks asked him why he attempted to travel in such stormy and foul weather. Cainnech replied that God gave him calm weather at the aforesaid time of day. Thereat the monks were loud in their praise of God and C. C., and said that it was clear to everyone that there was nothing in the world hidden from to C. C.

231. On another occasion at Iona, C. C. happened to laugh, and a certain monk asked him the reason of it. C. C. replied that a certain holy person named Colman was coming to visit him on that day, and that a hurricane had arisen at sea, so that the latter and all on board were in danger of being drowned, and that Colman himself in a state of great terror was on his knees in the front part of the vessel, blessing the sea in front and on every side of him and praying God fervently to rescue him from the great danger wherein he was. C. C. added that he would not be drowned, and that God would hear his prayer and send him calm weather, alleging that the reason why God had allowed that storm was to increase his watchfulness and fervour and to remind him that His power extended over sea and land. And C. C. declared that Colman would visit them that very hour of the day. That prophecy was fulfilled to the letter, and Colman himself told them that everything came to pass as C. C. had foretold. God's name and C. C.'s were magnified thereby.

232. [1]) Fechtus eli do Colum Cille a nhÍ, 7 tancatar dias airidhe don popal da indsaighe 7 a ndís m*ac* fariu, 7 do ḟiarf*aigh* nech acu de cred hí an cailidecht a rachadh a mac fen no cindass do teicemhadh dó 'sa saeghal. Frecrais C. C. é 7 assedh adubairt: 'Cia he an lá aniugh?' ar se. 'An satharn', ar an t-oclach. 'Mass e', ar C. C., 'dogebha do mac-sa bas dia haíne-si cugad 7 andluicfidher sectmain ó aniug sa mainestir-se fen é.' Do fiarfaidh an dara nech scela a mic fen de mar an cedna. Frecrais C. C. é 7 assedh adubairt: 'Docife do mac-sa cland a cl*aind*e', ar se, '7 dogeba se bás a n-aeís ḟoirbthe 7 adlaicfi*dh*er 'san oilen-sa e'. Agus tainic gach ní dib-sin amhail adubhairt C. C.

[1]) See Reeves' Adam., p. 45.

232. On another occasion when C. C. was at Iona, two certain persons of the congregation accompanied by their two sons came to see C. C. One of them asked him what reputation his own son would have, or what his lot would be in the world. And C. C. answering said: 'What day is this?' says he. 'Saturday', replies the youth. 'Well', says C. C., 'your son shall die next Friday and shall be buried this day week in this monastery.' The other sought for information regarding his son in like manner. And C. C. said in reply: 'Your son shall see his grand-children', says he, 'and he shall die at an advanced age and shall be buried in this island'. Everything came to pass as C. C. had foretold.

Great Crosby, Lancashire.

ANDREW KELLEHER.

A ḞIR NA HEGNA D'IARROIGH.

The following poem is printed here from the British Museum MS., Egerton 136, fol. 133 b. This is a paper quarto, the bulk of which was written circa 1630. The contents are mainly religious prose of a type common in 15th and 16th century MSS. The article immediately preceding our text, however, is a religious poem, headed *Muiris Ó hEodhusa ct*, and begins: *Tosach ar mbethadh bás dé.* It contains 36 quatrains of *debide*, and treats of Christ's birth and crucifixion. A transcript made from the present MS. by Aodh Ó Dálaigh is in H. 1. 11 (no. 1285), fol. 79. The provenance of the MS. is uncertain, but it is clearly Northern. At fol. 95 is a note in a somewhat later hand: *Ag so leabhear* (sic) *Cormaic Mic Parthalain ⁊ go ndena dia trocuire air an tí ro sgriobh é ⁊ oram phfein mur in ccedna.* Our poem has been written by a hand not later than the second half of the 17th century in a blank space on fol. 133 b, and the scribe has added the note: *Sin duit a Padruig Mic Soluimh ⁊ bendacht leis chugaiph cebe me d'ḟeraiph an domhuin.* It is immediately preceded by the quatrain:

Le dia bheirim a bhuidhe
beith mo hsuidhe a gcuing crabaidh;
cora dhamh, a dhe dhuiligh,
no bheith a luirigh ḟuair ḟainnigh.

[„To God I give thanks that I sit under a yoke of piety; fitter so for me, O God of the elements, than to be clad in a corslet of freezing chain-mail."]

There is nothing to show the date of the poem or its author. But perhaps we should not be far wrong, if we conjectured the

author to be one of the Northern school of poets of about 1600, who, like Giolla Brighde Ó hEodhusa, had exchanged the rule of the bardic order for the rule of St. Francis.

1. (*A*) *fir na hegna d'iarroigh!*
bheith ria is obuir eigciallaigh
gan gradh is egla an athar,
madh ail h'egna d'ollmhachadh.

2. *Dimaoin do dhuine air doman*
bheith ag iarraidh ealadhon,
na mes go bfhuige se sin,
(*i*)*s gan guidhe do dhenomh.*

3. *Ceird gach suadh is e do ni*
mac de athar, an t-airdrigh;
fa luach na ceirde is e is ferr,
ni feirde an te nach ttuiginn.

4. *Da bhfaga duine ar a dhan*
an mheid iarrus go hiomlan,
ni bhia se ar buil do bhunadh
's gan toil de da dheonughadh.

5. *Deis a dhenta 's a dhiola,*
le dia ag deanamh eissiogha
bhur n-egna dobeir gan bhuil,
(*a*) *fir na hegna d'iarroidh!*

1. Thou that followest after poetry! 't is but a fool's deed to meddle with it without the love and fear of the Father, if thou wouldst bring thine art to perfection.

2. Vain for any man on earth to be seeking after art — never think that he will attain to it — if he offers no prayer.

3. 't is the son of God the Father, the high king, that brings to birth the work of every man of art, and he it is that best rewards it — ill for him that understands this not.

4. If for his poem a man get all his asking utterly, he will not be on the way of stable good, if God's grace will it not.

5. When once the poem is made and sold, if thou art unfriends with God, it brings thine art all to nought, thou that followest after poetry!

Thou that followest after poetry!

London. ROBIN FLOWER.

NOTE. After this article had been sent to press I found that the poem had already been printed from three modern copies at Maynooth (Murphy 70, p. 113. 72, p. 48; Renehan 84, p. 51) by T. P. O'Nowlan in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record, 4 ser., XXIV, p. 393. But as these copies are late and corrupt, it seems well to print this earlier copy. In the first of the MSS. mentioned the poem is ascribed to St. Ciarán. R. F.

FLANN MANISTRECH'S GEDICHT:
RÉDIG DAM, A DÉ DO NIM, CO HÉMIG A N-INNISIN.

Nachdem J. MacNeill[1]) die Ansicht ausgesprochen hatte, das Gedicht Flann's, das die sämtlichen „Weltkönige" bis auf Kaiser Leo III. aufzählt, sei aus den Synchronismen geflossen, das die Rezensionen des Lebor Gabála, die ich mit B I and C bezeichnet habe, enthalten, habe ich dem entgegenstellt, daſs der Inhalt beider Denkmäler vielmehr das umgekehrte Abhängigkeitsverhältnis wahrscheinlich mache[2]). Ich kannte damals im genaueren Wortlaut nur die Schluſsstrofen des Gedichts, da ich mir nur zu diesem schon von Mac Neill veröffentlichten Stück die Varianten aus dem Book of Hy-Maine notiert hatte. Hätten mir damals auch die unmittelbar vorhergehenden Strofen vorgelegen, deren Kenntnis ich jetzt der stets bereiten Freundlichkeit von R. I. Best verdanke, so hätte ich viel positiver sprechen können. Flann führt seine Tabelle bis zum neunten Jahr Leos III. (s. u.). Mit anderen Worten, er hat einfach Beda's *Chronica* in irische Verse umgesetzt, die bekanntlich eben mit diesem Jahr, d. i. 725 n. Chr.[3]), abschlieſsen. Daſs zwei Chronisten, einer in England und einer in Irland, zufällig mit Leos neuntem Jahr abgebrochen hätten, ist natürlich nicht anzunehmen; auch der Wortlaut weist, wie sich zeigen wird, auf Beda.

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[1]) An Irish Historical Tract, dated A. D. 721 (Proceedings of the R. Ir. Academy, Vol. XXVIII, Sect. C, 125 ff.).

[2]) Zu irischen Handschriften und Literaturdenkmälern, 2. Serie, S. 9 (Abhandl. der K. Ges. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen, NF., Bd. XIV, Nr. 3).

[3]) S. Mommsen, Chronica Minora III, 226 (Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiquiss. XIII).

Ich gebe die neun letzten Strofen des Gedichts, bezeichnet mit den letzten Buchstaben des lateinisehen Alphabets P—Z, nach drei Handschriften und emendiere sie, so gut es geht:

M = Book of Hy-Maine (R. I. A., D. II. 1), fol. 103 r, a.

D[1]) = R. I. A., D. IV. 3, nach alter Bezeichnung fol. 36 (34), nach neuer 37 r.

L = Book of Lecan (R. I. A., 23. P. 2), nach alter Bezeichnung fol. 22 v, b, nach neuer S. 48, b.

Die beiden letzten Handschriften haben das Gedicht, etwas gekürzt, mit den Synchronismen ins Lebor Gabála eingeschoben.

. . . .

P. Anastais tánaisse tair cen támthaisse trebliadain;
oc Necea co ndaithgním dois ro·n-aithríg in tres Téothois.

Q. Téothois, óenbliadain a ré fo chóemríagail chrístaide;
ó ro·chloí cialla cen chair, noí mbliadna don tres-[Léomain.

R. Ó chétbliadain Iúil ros·gab co tétríagail tres-Léoman
fíad gach slúag co ndaithe dál at·chúad flaithe na Rómán

S. Co flaith Fergail, fir ro·gab Temraig — ros·n-acht [annalad —
is Murchada — main co miud — is Chathail chaím a [Caissiul.

Wichtigere Varianten:

P. tanaisde *M.* thair *D, M.* tri blíadnaib *M.* Neicia *M.* condathgni*m* *D*, *con*dathgni*m* tois (*aus* tais *korrigiert*) *L*, cen daith níam nois *M.* rus naithrigh *M*, ro*n*athrigha *L*, ronathgni*m* *D.* in *om. D, L.* Teothais *D*, Teoth*ús* *L.*

Q. Teothais *M.* co cæmriagail *D.* arochlaicialla *M* (*der Rest der Zeile fehlt*); ós ca*ch* cloe chiallna *D*, osgachlæchiallna *L.* do*n* tresblia- *L.*

R. On *D, L.* rusgab *M.* c(et)riagail *L, M.* tresleomain *D*, tres blia- *L.* sluaígh as daithe dan *M.* atcuadh *L*, adchnaídh *M.*

S. Fergail *om. L, D.* rusgabh *M.* doruacht a*n*nalad (andal *D*) aml- *L, D.* Murchadh *M.* co main *M*, maen *L.* mid *M*, mudh *L.* Caisil *M.*

[1]) Von dieser Hs. habe ich nur die zwei ersten Strofen vollständig vor mir, zu den folgenden nur ein paar wichtigere Varianten. Sie liest aber im Allgemeinen wie L.

T. Cach flaith — fáilte ọs gargbrí glain — fris·ráite ardrí [ịn domain
ó Nín co Léo lemnach (?) lang ro·rím co hengach aen-Ḟlann.

V. Flann féigbind ro·ben bríg mbreth, fer léigind mín Mai- [nistrech,
ro·glé tre a gním a guth ré cach ríg do réidiugud.

X. Tri chét bliadan brethaib blat is a cethair cethrachat
ó chond (?) — is mórglicc in mod — cen chrónic do réidiugud.

Y. Conchobur clannmín, fo-chen! Áed, Gairbíth, Díarmait [dúrgen,
Donnchad, dá Níall cen sním snéid ríg na ré sea co roréid.

Z. A thrínóit tréoda na tor, rob déoda mo dallmonar,
corom·tócba ịt rígthreib réil m' ḟorom dot rígthig roréid. [Rédig.

Wichtigere Varianten:

T. fáilte *om. M.* os a ghairgbrigh nglain *M*, gairbri *L*. frisraitea airdríg *M*, airdri *L*. co Leo leamnach lang *M*, co Leomain na clann *L*. rosrim *L*. co heanghach *M*, int eolas *L*.
V. feidbind romben *L*. breath *L*, mbrleigind *M* (eth fer *ausgelassen*). rogleaá *M*. triana gnim *L*, tre gnímh *M*. rena righ *M*.
X. (*Diese Strofe fehlt in L u. D*) breathaibh blad *M*. ceath*air* .xl. ad *M*. chroínic *M*.
Y. glainmín *M*. na cneadh (*für* fochen) *L*. duírgean *M*. co mbrigh ba at iaḋ righa na re sea *M*. na re sin *L*.
Z. (*Diese Strofe fehlt in L u. D*) thrínoíd — corom togha ad rίghthreibh neíll — dod — roreígh *M*.

P. Anastasius der Zweite im Osten, drei Jahre ohne Pest-reliquien; bei Nicaea mit rasender[1]), rascher Tat enttronte ihn der dritte Theodosius.

Q. Theodosius, ein Jahr (war) seine Zeit unter der lieblichen Christenregel; nachdem er ...[2]) ohne Tadel, (regierte) der dritte Leo neun Jahre.

R. Vom ersten Jahr des Julius, der sie (die Regierung) ergriff, bis zur heifsen (?) Regelung des dritten Leo habe ich

[1]) Zu *dois* vgl. *doise* .i. *dásacht* bei Stokes zu O'Dav. 163.
[2]) Was heifst *ro·chloi cialla*? Umschreibung für „nachdem er gestorben war"? Der Text ist nicht sicher, aber die Lesart von DL nicht besser, *ciallna* wohl überhaupt kein Wort.

vor allen Scharen, die sich rasch versammeln, die Regierungen der Römer berichtet

S. bis zur Regierung Fergals, des Mannes, der sich Temairs bemächtigte — die Annalistik hat von ihm (Temair) berichtet (?) —, und Murchads — ein Juwel mit Met — und des lieblichen Cathal aus Cashel.

T. Jeden Fürsten — eine Freude über lauterem, schroffem Hügel —, zu dem man Hochkönig der Welt sagte, von Ninus bis auf Leo, den Anhänger (?) der Gelage[1]), hat der einzige Flann wortreich aufgezählt.

V. Der scharfsinnig-gesangreiche Flann, der wuchtige Urteile gefällt hat (?), der Mann des feinen Studiums in Monasterboice, dessen Stimme hat durch ihre Tat es zustande gebracht, die Zeit eines jeden Königs klar (eigentlich: leicht) zu machen.

X. 344 Jahre nach kräftigen Urteilen ...[2]) — gar klug ist die Weise — tut keine Chronik kund.

Y. Conchobur mit den feinen Kindern[3]) — willkommen! — Aed, Gairbith, Diarmait Durgen, Donnchad, zwei Niall ohne niedrige Sorge, das sind ganz klar die Könige dieser (unserer) Zeit.

Z. O dreifache Dreieinigkeit der Scharen, möge mein blindes Tun göttlich sein, damit mein Getöne (mein Lauf?) mich in deine klare Königswohnung zu deinem ebenen Palast erhebe!

Mit den beiden ersten Strofen vergleiche man Bedas Text[4]):

Jahr der Welt 4670: *Anastasius an. III* ...
„ „ „ 4671: *Theodosius an. I. Hic electus in inperatorem, Anastasium apud Niceam ciuitatem graui proelio uicit datoque sibi sacramento clericum fieri ac presbiterum fecit ordinari. ipse uero ... cum esset catholicus* etc.
„ „ „ 4680: *Leo an. VIIII.*

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[1]) *lemnach*, das durch die Alliteration und den Reim mit *engach* gesichert scheint (also nicht etwa *leomnach*), kenne ich nicht. Zur Glosse *lang .i. fled*, die mehrfach überliefert ist, s. Stokes, Metr. Gloss., S. 80 (Bezz. Beitr. 19, 90). Etwa *lenmnach lang?* Danach habe ich übersetzt.

[2]) *ó chond* ist mir nicht klar; es scheint etwas wie „von da an" zu bedeuten. An einen Eigennamen kann man nicht denken, da zu jener Zeit kein Cond regiert hat. Ist etwa *ó chiunn* zu lesen?

[3]) *glan-mín* M gibt einen besseren Reim mit *Gairbíth*, zerstört aber die Alliteration.

[4]) ed. Mommsen, S. 318 ff.

Es handelt sich also keineswegs um einen irischen Traktat. Sondern Flann hat im 11. Jahrhundert Bedas Chronik versifiziert und glaubte bestimmen zu können, daſs zu Ende des dort verzeichneten Abschnitts in Irland Fergal, Murchad und Cathal geherrscht haben. Das stimmt zwar nicht für das neunte Jahr Leos, da Fergal nach der irischen Annalistik schon 722 erschlagen worden ist, wohl aber für die Regierungszeit Leos im Allgemeinen; denn Fergal scheint 710—722, Murchad 712—727, Cathal 712—742 regiert zu haben[1]). Aber von da an, sagt Flann, fehlt eine Chronik. Er glaubt (nach Str. X) 344 Jahre später zu dichten. Auch das ist nicht möglich, wenn man vom Jahr 725 ausgeht; denn Flann ist 1056 (AU) gestorben, konnte also um 1069 nicht mehr dichten. Er hat sich demnach irgendwie verzählt oder falschzählende Annalen benutzt. Hat er etwa Leos neuntes Jahr in das Jahr versetzt, das wir 712 n. Chr. nennen, so könnte er das Gedicht in seinem letzten Lebensjahr 1056 verfaſst und sogar die um 712 regierenden irischen Fürsten richtig bestimmt haben. Aber natürlich ist das unsicher. Die zeitgenössischen Könige, die er in Str. Y nennt, lassen leider sehr weiten Spielraum (c. 1045—1056)[2]).

MacNeill (a. a O. 139) machte es Schwierigkeit, daſs in den Prosa-Synchronismen mit dem Ende (*forba*) der Regierung Leos gerechnet wird. Doch hielt vermutlich schon Flann selber, sicher der Prosabearbeiter des 12. Jahrhunderts die *anni nouem* für die volle Regierungszeit Leos, also das neunte Jahr für ihren Schluſs. MacNeill ist seit jener Abhandlung so tief in die Entstehungsgeschichte der irischen Annalen eingedrungen, daſs er vielleicht schon selber gesehen hat, was ich oben auseinandergesetzt habe.

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[1]) MacNeill a. O., S. 139.
[2]) MacNeill a. O., S. 138.

Bonn. R. THURNEYSEN.

COMHRAG FIR DIADH & CHON CCULAINN.
TÁIN BÓ CÚAILNGE.

The Fir Diad episode of the Táin Bó Cúailnge has been analysed and discussed by Nettlau in the Revue Celtique X 330 ff., XI 23 ff. 318 ff., where several versions are printed and collated by him. But he did not make use of that contained in the Franciscan Convent MS. no. 16, beyond printing the opening and and closing lines (XI 329 ff.). Professor Thurneysen in his masterly paper on the transmission of the Táin (ZCP IX 438) having remarked on the need of an edition of this MS. and that of Egerton 106, the following transcript has been undertaken. The MS., a small paper quarto (19 by 14 cm.) of the seventeenth century, has been described by Nettlau (l. c. 326). In addition to the pieces mentioned by him, it contains also poems by Tadhg Dall Ó Huiggin, Eochaidh Ó Heoghusa, Fearflatha Ó Gnímh, Muiris óg Mac an Bhaird, Maol Muire Mac Craith, Flann óg Mac Craith, Conchobar Ruadh Mac Conmidhe, &c. For convenience of comparison I have added the numbers of Nettlau's paragraphs within brackets. The word-division of the MS. has not been strictly adhered to, and punctuation and capitals have been added. The extension of contractions is indicated by italics, but not in every instance, where no real purpose would have been served.

As I found it necessary in the preparation of this text to collate that of H. 2. 12, it seemed to me that it would be useful to append a fresh transcript of this important fragment, especially as Nettlau was obliged to pass over sixteen lines, which in a short visit to Dublin he could not attempt to decipher, and as it was possible also to improve upon several of his readings. This fragment is no. 15 of a miscellaneous collection of loose vellums

preserved in a wooden case in Trinity College Library, and marked H. 2. 12. It consists of a single gathering of two leaves (26 by 20 cm), one column to the page, belonging probably to the sixteenth century. The recto of the first leaf has been damaged by water evidently, and is much effaced and stained towards the centre, and also dilapidated. There are several rents and fractures in this portion, round which the membrane has become so fragile as to require the most delicate handling. The letters lost in these rents are indicated here by dots within parentheses (). The writing is in places almost entirely effaced, only the faintest white traces remaining, which could not be read at all without the aid of parallel passages in LL and elsewhere, to which Windisch's monumental edition furnished a useful clue. On the other hand, where no such clue was available, the decipherment of passages in reality less illegible had to be abandoned, after many whole mornings were spent in the attempt. As it is, I hope I have set down nothing that is mere guess-work, that cannot be verified with some patience by others.

Neither MS. can be said to be very good. From the wrong division of words it is apparent that the scribe of F did not always understand what he was copying, nor have I always succeeded. There are several obscure passages in both versions. For unravelling some of these I have to thank my friend Dr. O. J. Bergin, who was almost always ready with fruitful suggestions when appealed to. Some difficulties, however, still remain to be cleared up.

Perhaps, in such late manuscripts it would have been more consistent with the orthography of the period to extend the tall *e*, and the symbols for *en*, *er*, *ed* as *ea*, *ean*, *ear*, *ead*. In the often recurring name Fer Diad, the symbol has been silently extended Fer, italics being used in both versions only in the oblique cases. In H. 2. 12 the symbol for *ar* has often a slight hook over the *a*; it is not clear whether the scribe intends it always for *air*, but I have so extended it, following Nettlau.

My thanks are due to the Rev. Fr. O'Reilly, Librarian of the Franciscan Convent, and to the Librarians of Trinity College, for the facilities so kindly afforded me when transcribing the manuscripts.

COMHRAG FIR DIADH & CHON CCUL*AINN* ANDSO.

Franciscan Convent MS. 16

(pp. 83—102)

[2] As andsin do hiomraidheadh ag *fer*oibh Eirion*n* cia budh coir do chathughadh & do chr*uadh*chomhrag re Coin ccathbhuagh*ach* cCul*ainn* a mocha na maidne arnamaroch. Adubradar cach uile gurab é an feidhm n*a*ch fuloingth*er* & an boirbfreagartach biodhb*adh* 7 an trénmhíl*idh* trasgartha tromchomhloin*n* & an coghainchneasach[1]) a hIorrus Domhn*an* .i. dile 7 dearbhchomhalta *Con* cCul*ainn* b*u*dhein & a cheile comhghaisgidh 7 comḟoghlama .i. Fer D*iadh* mac Damh*ain* mic Daire Domnandoigh[2]) .i. an mil*idh* ar morchalm*acht* os *fer*oibh Domnan*n* uile, ór ni raibhe cleas goile no gaiscidh ag Coin cC*ulainn* nach raibhe ag Fior D*hiadh* acht cleas an gháoi bhulga nama. Gidheadh *da*r leosan do bhi iongabháil an chleasa sin fein ag Fior D*hiadh,* doigh as cneas coghna 7 cnamha baoi uime g*o*nach gondaois airm naid iolḟæbhoir a n-am chatha no comhl*ainn* é.

[3] Ar sin faoigheas Meadhbh feasa & teachda ar ceand Fir D*hiadh.* Ro ér & ro aither Fear D*iadh*[3]) na t*eacht*a sin, ór do aithin an t-adhbhar fá raibhe M*eadhbh* dia thochuir*edh* .i. do cathugh*adh* 7 do chomhr*ag* re charoid 7 re cumpan*ach* fein re Coin cCul*ainn.* Iar sin fæigheas M*eadhbh* a draoithi & a deighḟilidh ar ceand Fir Dh. dia æir 7 dia egnach 'na fiaghnoisi go tt*ur*thogbadæis teora bolg fora ghnuis o ainimh 7 o easb*uidh* muna tairis*edh* leo. Do eiridh Fer D. leo iar sin uair ba husa lais gæi ghaisc*idh* dfulang naid gæi aoire 7 aithisi.

[4] 7 tainic gusan ppubaill a mbæi M*eadhbh* & Oirill, & feraid ḟáilti fris diobh líonoibh, 7 do cuiredh Fionnabhair ingen Oiriolla 7 Meadhba (84) fora dheaslaimh. 7 as sí do ibheadh dos gach cuirn 7 gach copain nodberthဠoi dF*ior* D. Anuair ba subach forfaoil*idh* Fer D. & cach ar cheana adub*air*t Meadhbh, 'Maith amh a anam a Fhir D., an bfeadrois ciodh 'ma ttug*adh* san fpuball thú? 'Ni fead*ur* on', ar Fer Diad, 'achd maithe Eir*enn* uile and, 7 nach meisde doibh misi mar gach laoch do b*eith* mailli fríu'. 'As fíor sin', ol M*eadhbh*, '& ni huime sin tucamairne tusa cugoin*n*

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[1]) congenchnesach *YBL.* [2]) dom̄nandoig*h* *MS.*

[3]) Fear D. *added above line.*

don *chur* sa, acht dia iaroidh ort comhrag *Con* cCul*ainn* do diong-bhail dhin a n-ath an comhruig ar uair na maidne moiche amarach do cionn eall*aigh* & etála 7 comha móra *eile* dḟagháil uáine'. 'Ca comha sin amh?' ar Fer D. 'Ni handsa són', ar M*eadhbh* '.i. tiomthacht da f*er* deg d'edach gacha datha, 7 buinne niadh b*udh* coimhreamhar 7 b*udh* comhfada re roigh laimhe læich o iond a mheoir go hiond a ghualan*n* d'airgead aithl*egtha*, 7 an t-eo oir ata am brut sa fein a ndeachad*ur* deich n-uinge .xx. do d*er*gór & deich lethuinge d'airgead 7 deich cclocha fichead do criosdol, 7 cudruma Moighe nAirph do mhin Mhuighe hAoi, 7 feis a cCruachoin do gres, 7 fion do dháil fort and, 7 m'*ingen* sa do mnaoi doit, 7 saoirsi dot cl*ainn* 7 dot cinel ar oboir 7 ar ṡluaig*hedh* 7 ar gach dáil ghábhuidh ar cheana, 7 deich .c. bó dom tanoidh si fein, 7 gach maith oile o sin suas'.

[5] 'As mor na comh*ada* sin', ar cach, '7 dia ccomhoillt*er* iad dia re na ccomal uaimsi', ol Meadhbh. 'As mor iad', ol Fer D., '7 gidhad mor as agadsa fein fuicfight*er*, 7 ni ba misi b*er*us uaid iad idir ar dol do comhrag rem cumpanach fein re Coin cCul*ainn*'.

[7] 'As fior trá', ol M*eadhbh*, as tre coir n-indligh [1]), 'an briathor tuc Cu Cul*ainn*'. 'Cia briathor sin, a M.?' ol Fer D. 'Adub*airt*', arsí, 'na b*udh* folair leis do thuitim si a n-oirighin gaisgidh isan cheidionadh'. 'Nir coir dhosan sin do radh', ol Fer D., 'doigh amh ni meatachd no milaoch*us* ro fidirsiomh formsa riamh, 7 tuig-[2]) se gomadh misi nodsoichfe isan maidin amaroch go hath an chomhruig cuige'. 'Adfia buaid 7 beandacht', ol M., 'is ferr lind sin ina meatachd no milaochus do braith ort, doigh *con*dalph do dhaoinibh b*u*dheasda, 7 ga cora dhosan sochar Uladh do dhén*um* & a mathoir do Th*úath*oibh d*e* D*anann* ina doitsi sochor *Connacht* do denamh, doigh as m*a*c urradh do Con-dachtuibh thu, 7 is siad Tuatha d*e* D*anann* da bfoilsiomh tug diom bloig ar Fearuibh Bolg da bfuilisi a ccath Muighe T*uredh* gur chuirsiod fa daoirchios durḟognamha iad iarttain'.

[9] 'Tapoir urra damhsa risna comhadh*a* re geallois a M*headhbh*', ol F*er* D., '& dob*er*imsi fa mbreithir g*om*adh (85) me c*ét*duine rachus go hath an chomhroig a mucha na maidne amár*ach* a ccoinde 7 a ccomh*da*il *Con* cCul*ainn*'. 'Dogebht*ur* go deimhin', ol Meadhbh, 'gach urradh b*us* áil let'. As cuma ro bhaoi *da* radh 7 adub*air*t an laoidh an*n*: Rodfia buaidh id*er*. 'IS iad cuir

[1]) n-indligh- *MS.* [2]) toingimsa *YBL.*

iaroimsi amh', ar Fer D, '.i. righ ar rioghacht do chosnamh mo *da*la a cciort catha 7 comhloin*n*, 7 fil*idh* fri haoradh go ro thogbuid bulga neimhe f*or* na gnuisibh ro aorfadaois o acois 7 o breachtradh an dána, 7 mag f*ri* n*er*t comhl*ainn* dia ndiceanntar oineach, 7 draoi fri draoigheachta, 7 cainte fri glaimh*edh*, 7 brugh*aidh* fri doimhiadh do dhioghoilt monab tualoing ttabhoigh'. 'Doghebhair sin uile a Fhir Dh', ol M., 're cach 7 iar ccach accuinge'.

[11] IS andsin ta*rr*oidh M*eadhbh* modh n-a*r*oidh[1]) ar Fer nDiag um an comhrag do dhénam re seisi[r] comaoisi c*urad*[2]) mochtrath arnamaroch *dam*a*dh* usa leis a oba ina comhrug re Coin cCul*ainn* ni lam*adh* he o mhoirg*hr*iosadh M*eadhbh*a air, 7 do ceang*ail* Fer Dh. cor seisir ar Mheidhbh am fior*adh* na ngeall*adh* soin dho dia ttaothsad C*u* C. leis.

[12] Baoi fer amhra dUlt*aibh* a bfiaghn*uis*e na coroigheachta sin .i. F*er*ghas mac Rosa Ruaidh mic Rudhr*aighe*, 7 ro dhiult Fearghus dol isan slánoigheacht sin dF*hior* D. Tig F*er*gus roimhe cum an phubuill a mbaoi a mhuinnter f*ein*. 'IS saoth 7 as goirt lind an gniomh donit*her* amarach a óga', bar Fearghus. 'Ga gniomh soin?' ol na hoig uile. '*Cu* C*hulainn* do marb*adh* amarach', ol F*ergus*. 'Cia le marbhthar he?' ol na fiora. 'Mallacht a chadhois 7 a cumoin*n* fair .i. a c[h]ara 7 a chomhalta fein .i. Fer D. mac D*amain* mic Daire Domhnan*n*uigh, 7 a oga', bur F*ergus*, 'eirg*edh* neach agoibh le rabhadh 7 le hoirisiochd uáinne gus ar ccaroid 7 gus ar mbrathoir ionm*uin* .i. go Coin ccathbuadhoigh cCul*ainn* da fios an bfuigfese an t-áth dF*ior* D. isan mhaidin si amaroch'. 'Truagh amh sin', ar siad, 'uair gem*adh* tusa *no*beth san ionadh a bfoil Cu Cul*ainn* as dearbh n*ach*[3]) roisiodh rab*adh* uainne thú'. 'Geibht*er* m'eocha *da*msa', ol F*ergus*, '7 innillt*er* mo charbad g*o* ndeachoin*n* iarttain go hath an comhl*ainn* & go n-indisind do Choin cCul*ainn* an tí tig a n-oiris an coml*ainn* cuige amaroch'. Do gaph*adh* na heocha dF*ergus* 7 do hinnl*ed* an carbad 7 taini*c* roimhe g*o* hath an coml*ainn* go hairm a mbaoi C*u* C*hulainn*.

[*H. 2. 17. = Wi. 1809*] IS aml*aidh* baoi C*u* C. an lá soin 7 a druim frisan ccairthe a ccrich Rois 7 se ag imirt buanfoigh re a aroidh fein, uair ass aml*aid* baoi Laogh m*ac* Raoi in gaphra[4])

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[1]) = maeth n-áraig, *LL.*

[2]) ɔ7 *with mark of aspiration over* ɔ, *MS.*, ra sessiur curad *LL*, etc.

[3]) n÷ *MS.*

[4]) Raoi ingaphra *MS.*, *here and passim.*

an uair sin 7 a druim re Coín cCul*ainn* & ni thaighl*edh* an míol moighe an magh *gan* fios dó. 7 do b*eredh* leth mbrandoigheachta ar Choin cCul*ainn* 7 doníodh f*oraire*[1]) 7 forcoim*ét* ar ṡl*úagh* (86) cheithre n-ollchoigead Eirion*n* do Choin cCul*ainn* na ceand sin. 'Aonchairpeach sunda chugoind a ppuba a Chuagain', b*ur* Laogh. 'Ciondus cairpeach sin a Láoigh?' ol Cu Cul*ainn*, '7 tabhoir a thuarusgb*hail* dúin'. 'Carbatt cain[2]) mor and', bhar eision, '7 as samhalta liomsa re hion*n*a rioghrata romoire toratar an cuingidh si an carb*a*d fuil ina[3]) heocha dubha dein*medh*a gana[4]) ccuingibh don*n*ordoibh datha, *con*a ttarbhchlar umhoidhe, *con*a bf*er*sibh[5]) credumha, *con*a ccreit craos tana cleas aird clog*a*d chaoin. Do foil isan carbad laoch moingleabhar maothcorc*r*a mal*a* duph mongṡuileach riogh*da* romhor roisclethan, ulcha dhual*ach* ghabhlanoch fair go roichion*n* tar a maoiliochdair sios seachdoir go ndidn*edh* triar laoch a lo dhoininde 7 dearddoin b*heith* fa ḟasgadh na hulcha sin. Ba samhalta re doisbhile mor os ḟiodhb*aidh* an folt drongach dualach dondchas baoi forsan laoch baoi san carb*a*d. Brat ioldath*ach* uaine uime. Gasan[6]) gleglan gealairgid isan brut osa bruinne. Léine geal chulpuideach a ccusdal fria a geilchneas. Geilsciath go ttuaigmhioluibh deargoir for a chliú go ttri roth*aibh* caoimhdhentha credhumha ara t*h*oill*edh* osa airdleab*aidh* teora ndrong ndeicean*mh*oir fa tairsge uillion*n* an oglaoigh. Sleagh tredruimneach go bfeadanoibh oir 7 go bfonusgaibh airgid aoinghil tar an ccarb*a*d amh*ail* ba samhalta leamsa re tuin*n*siomh trenchuruidh [7])a n-ad*aigh*[8]) mhóranf*aidh* seasdan 7 siob*al* an carbuid 7 na n-each n-alloind n-allata fuil fan marcach fuil and. 'Fior amh', ol Cu Cul*ainn*, 'as se .u. F*ergus* mac Roigh an fer fuil and go rab*adh* 7 go scél*a* chugamsa re bferoibh Er*enn* lais. 7 ni cloidhiomh iaroinn a n-indtigh na lainde moire sin foil leision, doigh bliagh*ain* resan scel sa thána bo Cuailgne fuair Oirill uáir mbaog*ail* ar Feargus ag coimhriachtoin re Meidhbh ar an lit*er* os Cruach*ain*, 7 bean*us* Oirill a cl*oidh*iomh a truaill F*ergus*a 7 cuirios cloidhea*mh* croi*nn* 'na ionadh, 7 tuc *da* bhreithir nach

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1) f̄e *MS.*

2) *Added above line.*

3) *MS. has* Ina *with* I *erased, and an* i *stroke added over* n. *H. 2. 17. has* in carbad fuil i n-eachadhbadhaib na n-ech sin. *YBL.* for dib echaib duba *&c.*

4) = gona.

5) *Read* fertsibh, *cf.* feirstte *§ 32 l. 1.*

6) *Read* casán.

7) an *bis.*

8) *MS.* ag÷.

ttiobradh dF*ergus* e nogo ttíosad lá an mo*r*chatha airm a ttiocfadaois ceithre hollchoig*idh* Ere*nn* a n-áit n-aonbhaile ar Gháirigh 7 ar Iolgháirigh a ccath mhor thana bo Cuailgne'. 'Fior amh an ní sin a daltain', b*ur* F*ergus*, 'uair ni fuil cloidiomh i*tir* innte, 7 gemadh innte nobhiath ni b*udh* oma*n* doitsi 7 ni himeorthæi fort é'. [*1830, H. 2. 17*] 'Mocean do thorachtoin a mo ppuba a Fergois', ar Cu Cul*ainn*, '7 ciod nodgluais iar bfuin*edh* ngreine'. 'Tairisi liom an ḟailte sin', bhar eisin. 'Tairisi doit on', ar Cu Cul*ainn*, 'uair adfiása aoghoigheacht oidhche sun*n*a anochd, uair *da* ttaighle liath léna an magh rodbiasa caghan go l*eth*, 7 da (87) ttaighle iasg an inmhear rodbhiasa eigne go l*eth* aroile[1]), & biaidh dorn biol*uir* 7 dor*n* feam*n*oidhe 7 dorn fuluchta 7 deoch a gaineamh[2]) da eísi 7 feis ar[3]) osarleaba urluachra go ttuite do ṡuantoirrchim codalta fort, 7 foroire do denamh doit 7 comhrag re laoch tar do ch*enn* nogo rís iomṡlán dochum dhunoidh 7 longpport f*er* nEir*enn*. 'As agamsa foghebha'. 'Is ionḟoghl*aidh* an chuid sin', bhar Ferghus. 'As fior sin', ol Cu Cul*ainn*, 'as cuid foghl*aidh* agamsa hí, doig atusa on luan iar samhoin go haos na huairi si, 7 ni dheach*aid* adaigh[4]) n-aoigheachta dom *cr*ich no dom cuig*edh* fein achd b*eith* ag trénḟosdagh f*er* nErion*n* ar tanoigh bo Cuailgne don *chur* sa'. 'Rodfia buaidh 7 beannachtoin', b*ur* F*ergus*. 'Noc*ha* d'aoghoigheachta ort tan*acs*a, [*Tr. 3174*] achd da indisin doit an ti tig do chomhrac riot ath re headh na maidne a moiche arnamarach'. 'Cloamar[5]) uaid donna[6]) ale', bhar C. C. 'Mallacht an *ch*adoigh 7 an chumoin*n* air do chara fein 7 do chomhdhalta 7 ḟer comgaisgidh 7 comhgniomha .i. Fer D. m*a*c Da*main* mhic D*aire*'. 'Tigeadh as do*no*', b*ur* C. C., 'doigh ni rug*us*a troigh teith*idh* ar sluaig*edh* thána bó Cuailgne riamh 7 ni mo b*er*ad roimhe sion, 7 gidheadh cheana nocha dáil as deach liom d*ana*[7]) an d*a*il Fir Dh. [13] 7 nocha ara uaman e*tir* achd ar med a ghrádha liom'. 'Na haboirsi sin', b*ur* Fer*gus*, 'uair as coir eagla do comrag 7 do comla*nn* Fir Dh. uair ċneas coghna (*sic*) fuil uime uile 7 ni gabhoid[8]) airm naid iolḟaobhair greim de, 7 as maidhm dilion*n* 7 biodhbha soch*aide* e'.

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[1]) aroile is *put after* biaidh *in MS.*

[2]) ag aineamh *MS.*

[3]) ar *added above line.*

[4]) ag' *MS.*

[5]) do amar *MS.*

[6]) doa na *MS.*

[7]) da *MS.*

[8]) airm *to* daingne *in another hand.*

[14] 'Na raidh sin *eti*r', ar C. C., 'doigh luighimsi an luighe luidhid mo thuatha nach ba luaithe boigšibhen ar lar abhan*n* no gach alt 7 gach aidhe dhe fa dheis mo cloidimh se da tteagmhadh aoinfecht for ath an comlain*n* é, óir ni ghabhaid brechta daingne[1]) druagh[2]) re marmoibh no riomsa do ghrés[3]), uair isum[4]) eol*ach* sa a bf*uil* do chleasoibh draoigheachta aige, or is cian os aithn*idh* damhsa 7 dFior Dh. a cc*eile*'.

[16] 'Leig as a dhaltain', bur Fer*gus*, [*3183*] 'ni mar coch comhchomhruig duitsi Fer D'.

[19] Is andsin tanoig Fer*gus* roime nach abradaois fir Eir*enn* gomadh da mbraith no da ttreigen nobhiath da mb*eth* ni b*udh* sia ag iomagall*amh* re Coin cCul*ainn*, & do cheileabhoir cach da cc*eile* aca, [18] 7 adub*air*tt Cu C., 'm*aith* 7 sen 7 soladh n*ach* neach oile df*er*oibh Eir*enn* tainic leisin ttoisg sin, m*in*a ttiosdais (88) ceithre cuigidh Eiriond and 7 dob*udh* fo li liomsa sin on uair do bhiath raon aoinfir agamsa orthaib'. 7 tain*ic* Fer*gus* iar sin (*sic*).

[21] Iomthusa *Chon* cCul*ainn* dob*er*ar os airtt andso adb*ert* re a aroidh, 'Cred as coir dhúine do denamh anois?' 'Do ḟetor', ar Laogh. 'As saml*aidh* adró Fer D. dot ion*n*soigh*idh*si fa núaib*er*[r]t[h]e foilce 7 fothrag[÷5]) 7 ceithre cuigidh Eir*enn* dfech*ad* an comhruig, 7 rob ail damhsa do d*ul* sa a n-ait a bfuighthea an fothragadh c*et*na fort gusan ionadh a bfoil Eimhear i*ngen* Fhorghoill Mhanoch go Caorthand Cluana da Dham ar Sliabh Fuaid'.

Tain*ic* C. C. reimhe 7 baoi araon re a mnaoi and an ad*aigh*[6]) soin.

[23 *YBL. 2431*] Ba deim*in* leo ait a ccomragfadis da uaithne comhloin*n* an betha gomadh coimhthuittim[7]) doibh a ndís *no* m*in*a b*adh* dh*e* gomadh he Fer D. nothuitf*edh* and, doigh nirbho soirph combrac re Coin cCul*ainn* ar sl*uaighedh* thána bo Cuailgne.

[23. 24] Iomtusa Fhir D. deis a chom*adh* do šnadhm*adh* do rainic chum a ppuible 7 a mhuin*n*tire, 7 robsad dub*aigh* doim*en*-

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[1]) *Second hand ends.* [2]) *After* druagh, no *erased.*

[3]) *Eg. 106 has, according to Nettlau,* óir ní ghabhann brég daingen dr*ú*adh riomsa re marbadh do ghrés.

[4]) is umeol*ach MS.*

[5]) *cf.* nuamaisi foilce ṫigi 7 bertha 7 foilci 7 fothraicthi *YBL 2423, and* berrtha núa leo *LL. 107 b 8.*

[6]) ag÷ *MS.* [7]) thuit tim *MS.*

mn*aigh* iad an ad*aigh*[1]) sin, 7 tuilis an mil*idh* morchalma an ad*aigh*[1]) 7 do luidh a mheisce dhe 7 doch*uaidh* a chodl*adh* uadha, 7 do eir*igh* 'na ṡuidhe 7 t*uc* lamh tar a ag*aidh* da níamhghlan*adh* 7 *gabh*aid lamh for a aroidh 'ma a charbad d'indeall. 'Geibh ar n-eocha dhúin 7 indill ar ccarbad, doigh as mocheirgeach m˙[2]) an laoch tig inar n-ag*aidh*'.

[25. 26] 'Dar ar ccuphus amh', ar an giolla, 'ni toghairm ṡocra lind an ní sin .i. dol a ccomhdail *Con* cCul*ainn*, uair gach a ndeach*aid* df*er*oibh Eir*enn* riamh 'na dhail ni térna fer indiste scel as uadhasan diobh, 7 ni lugha tiocf*as*i leis ina gach aon l*aoch* eile'.

[27. 27] 'Na haboirsi sin a ghiolla', ar Fer D., 'or as damhsa as haithn*idh* an laoch ud, 7 as liom tuitfeas.' 'Dar ar ccubus amh', ar an giolla, 'as drocht*ur*us tochd a ndail an ti tig and', arse, 'uair as se maith 7 olc Ul*adh* he, 7 as mairg *ata* a bord a iondsoigh*idh*, 7 b*ad* cum*an* let ua 7 let iarmhua[3]) e'.

[30] Iar sin ro *gabh*adh a eocha dF*ior* D. 7 do hindl*edh* a charbad 7 tainic go longpp*or*t bf*er* nEir*enn* b*udh* th*uaidh*.

[31] 'An eadh dob ail leatsa', ar an giolla, 'd*ul*a a ndail C. cC. 7 *gan* ceileabr*adh* do Mheidhph 7 dOirill 7 df*er*oibh Eir*enn* ar ch*ena*?' 'Ni head amh', ar Fer D., '7 iompogh na heocha 7 an carbad dhuin ar f*er*oibh Eir*enn*' o nach ttain*ic* C. C. fos ar an ath. Iompaighis an giolla na heocha 7 an carbad dochum an dun*aidh* ar fearoibh Eir*enn*. IS andsin dorala M*eadhbh* ag s*r*iobhladh a fuail uaithe ar url*ar* na puible. (89) 'An cottl*ad* dhoit a Oirill?' ar Meadhbh. 'Ni h*eadh* amh', bar Oilill. 'An ccluinir do cliamh*ain* nua ag ceileabhradh doit?' 'An é doni so?' bar Oir*ill*. 'As se', b*ur* M. 'Luighimsi an loighe luighid mo thuatho nach ttiocfoidhse ar na cosoiph c*et*na cugoibhsi aris', ol Oir*ill*, 'an te doni an ceileabhradh daoibhsi, araba a ttaramoirne *da* cleamhnus', ar Oir*ill*, 'achd go ttaoithsad Cu C. leis fo lind gem*adh* coimtuitim doibh, ach gemadh f*err* lind Fer D. do t*er*namh as'.

[*2485 YBL*] Tain*ic* Fer D. roime go hath an chomhruic a haithle an comhráidh sin. 'Fegha leat amh a ghiolla', bur Fer D. 'an f*uil* C. C. ar an ath?' 'Ni brodh beag a pfal*ach* e',

[1]) ag˙ *MS.* [2]) = mór (?).
[3]) le tua 7 le tiar... *MS.*

ol an giolla. 'Is fior am, a ghiolla', b*ur* Fer Diagh, '7 nocha ccual*aidh* *Cu* *Chulainn* daighf*er* do to*cht* na agh*aidh* go sunda for *th*anoidh[1]), 7 an trath ro cual*aid* ro ḟagaibh an t-ath.' 'Mór an liac *Cu* *Chulainn* d'egnach 'na egmhais', ar[2]) an giolla, '7 an cumhain let an trath tugsa*mh* an cath do Gherman Garbhghlas os eochair imlibh mhara hIocht, 7 ro ḟagbh*uis*se do chloidhemh ag na sluagh*aibh*, 7 gurab é Cu Cul*ainn* ro marbh *cet* laoch ag rochtain do cloidimh si doridhesi go ttugadh duitsi é? 7 ni he an lá sin aderadh tusa gom*adh* f*err* do ghaisgedhach tú fein oldas C. C. 7 an cumhain let', ol an giolla, 'ga t*e*ch 'na rabhamar an adh*aigh*[3]) sin?' 'Do ḟedar', ol Fer D., 'sa ttoigh rechtaire do bhamar'. 'As fior gurab an*n*', ol an giolla, '7 dochuadhaisi *go* sotal soightenach romhainne gurab an*n*sin dob*ert* an t-aithech baoi asan tigh beim dond[4]) aoil treabhth˙[5]) duidsi a mbiodhb*ach* do dhroma go ttard orchar dhiot tar an doras amach, *go* ttainig C. C. asdeach *go* tt*uc* beim cloidimh don aithec[h] *go* nderna da n-ordain de, 7 ni hé an la sin adertha gom*ad* f*err* do gaisg*ed*ach[6]) thu ina C. C.'. 'Egcoir a ndearnois a ghiolla', ol Fer D., 'nach ar thus tucoisi an comhoirle sin damh, uair ni thiocfoin*n* cum an coml*ainn* damadh eadh'.

[32] 'Maith a ghiolla', ol Fer D., 'scaroidh feirstte 7 f*or*geime mu charboitt fum sunda go nd*er*noin*n* suan 7 codl*adh*, or ni d*er*nus cottl*ad* le ceisd an coml*ainn* & an comhroig do ghabhuis do laimh, 7 as moch do eirgemar aniú, or ni trath coinde na comh*dha*la and'. 'Dar ar ccubh*us* amh', ol an giolla, 'as droichionadh codalta so, ór[7]) as crioch biodhb*adh* 7 as faighthe namhad 7 as belach bodhbha, 7 ni crioch ionloighthe, 7 ni coir a dhenamh 7 ceithre cuigidh Eirion*n* ag goin 7 ag friothgoin a ch*eile*, 7 gidhbe im*r*eas mela no mearoigheacht fort isan codal soin ni ḟoighbhe ioc no inocland[8]) and'. 'Den*us*a m'fairi si 7 m'forchoimh*ét* a ghiolla', ol Fer D., 'nach tti neach df*er*oibh Er*enn* gan rab*adh* gan rathug*adh* chugam, 7 m÷ *dá* sois*er* iñ ñte[9]) m*en*m*an* 7 aigeanta re h*eadh* 7 re hathoidh do lo'. (90) Iar sin scaoilis an giolla f*er*stte 7

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1) 7 an trath *to* gaisgedach, *note 6 infra*, *in another hand.*

2) an *MS.*

3) ag˙ *MS.*

4) don daoil *MS.*

5) trebennach *YBL.*

6) *Second hand ends.*

7) or *bis.*

8) *MS. has* ioc-land, *with two caret marks over and under the* c. = eneclann.

9) *Meaning obscure.*

forgemne an charboitt faoi, 7 tuilis an mil*idh* morchalma 'na suan 7 'na codl*adh* go heirge laoi.

[34] Iomtusa *Con* cCul*ainn* do aithin da aroidh a eocha d'iomcoimh*ét*. Tuirtheachta ů Laoigh mic Raoi in ghabhra ta*rr*oidh dho ag[1]) airighin a eachroidhe go ttanoig nel liath ghlas na maidne moiche & ro ghap*us*doir a eachruidhe 7 do inl*ed*ar a charbad 7 ro eirniodar a chleasa 7 tanoig roime go hairm a mbaoi C*u* C*hulainn*, 7 nir eiridh C. C. go moch an la soin *gur* foilc 7 *gur* ḟothruig 7 *gur* domhuil feis diothad an laoi sin.

[37] 7 ro ling 'na charbad iar sin 7 tainic roimhe go hath an chomhl*ainn*.

[38] 7 nirbo cian dIogh Mhór mac Raoi an gabhra and an tan adcual*aidh* fuaim an charbuid chuige, 7 ro *gabh* grain 7 om*un* mor é.

[39] 7 tainic roime d'iondsoigh*idh* a thigerna, 7 iadhois a dí láimh uime 7 do duisigh asa codl*adh* e, 7 tuc lamh tar a ag*aidh* 7 doroighne roth nuall corcra de o mull*ach* go talmoin. 'Do ḟoil sund C*u* C*hulainn* chugad', ar Iogh, 'a Fir D'.

[42] 'Ciondus rod*us*nacaghois he a ghiolla', ol Fer D. '7 an ttuccois leat dhuin fios a iorroidh 7 a edoigh 7 a charboid?' 'Do ugus ů', bar Iogh. 'Tabhuir a tuar*us*spail (*sic*) dhúin', ol Fer D. 'Adcon*n*arc and', b*ur* an giolla, 'carbad foill fetamoin fion*n*drúinne, go luas go luth go láinghliocus, go ppubuill n-uainighe 7 go ttarphchlar n-umhoighe, go rothoibh fionnbhruine, go pf*er*sibh fion*n*airgid[2]), cco ccreit n-uraird n-uraoiphin*n* ndirigh ndreasachd*aigh* ndasachdoigh ccaoimh ccneas saoir ccolg*da* cclag*ad* chaoin, cco ccarbatt ccomhthrom cc*r*aoislech an cc*r*iothluath ar *da* n-each*aibh* crodha commora at iad bior*igh* bag*haigh* buaicl*igh* buil*idh* bedcrom bolgsronoigh. 'Loim chro 7 fola ad bel a ghiolla', bar Fer D., 'as aicsighe[3]) an tuarusgbá*i*l adb*er*tois fair'. 'Narab diomdhoidhe tusa sin i*tir*', ar an t-aro, 'uair gem*adh*[4]) é a ara san dochif*idh* tusa ni b*udh* tl*áith*i do t*úar*usgbhail si leis. 7 an ccluinesi culgoire carboitt an curadh don leirg?' 'Ni chluinim', ol Fer D. 'Adchluinimisi', ol an t-aro.

[44] 'As truagh an guiomh ar ar *ch*indeabhoir', bar an gille, 'i. cindeadh an comhl*ainn* a n-aghoidh do chomdalta chartan*aigh* fein, as leomh*an* ar feirg, as tarbh ar treisi, as naith*er* ar neimh-

[1]) ag *bis*.
[2]) fion- airgid *MS*.
[3]) = aicside.
[4]) go ... *MS*.

nighe fulang feirge an fir ud', b*h*ar an giolla, 'a torchair leis go ttrastta gach aon dorala ris for thánoigh, 7 as doigh do tuitim si leis'.

[45 *H. 2. 12*] 'Coisc dhiom a ghiolla', ol Fer D., 'as romhor molae mo bhiodhbha am fiaghn*uis*e, 7 as briathar damhsa', ol Fer D, '*da* m*ad* bes damh aruidh naid eachl*ach*a *no* aos leth-ḟaobhoir do (91) marb*adh* doghebhtasa bás liom [46] ara mhet mholae mo biodhbha am ḟiaghn*uis*e o thanoig o chrich b*u*deisin, 7 dob*ud* maith do mheath drochlaoich a ndenoigh a ghiolla', bar Fer D.

[45 *YBL. 2577*] As a haithle sin adb*er*t Fer D. seaca re ar*aidh* go hiongantach, 'geibh ar n-eocha dhuin 7 innill aṙ ccarbatt 7 coir*igh* ar n-arma ar cion*n* *Con* cCul*ainn*'. 'Dar mo bhreithir amh', ol an giolla, 'dia n-iompaidhin*n* m'aghoid don leth atta mo chul dar liom do rachdaois na hairm indillte fuilid chugad t*r*iom.' 7 gerb eadh do eirigh an giolla 7 do indill an carbad.

[47] Iar sin rainig C. C. go hur an atha a n-agh*aidh* Fir D.

[49] Ott*con*nairc Fer D. e fiafruighis de, 'Can asa ttigeisi a Chuagain?' ol Fer D., doigh cu ainm don claoine 'san tsean-gaoidheilg, uair seachd mic imliosna baoi a ceachtar a dhi a rio (*sic*) rosc[1]) 7 da mac imleasoin claon dibh, 7 dob*udh* mo a maisi dhó ina mhímhaisi, 7 da mb*eth* ainimh budh mó ina sin air as í dob*udh* dócha do thugha[2]) ris dhósan.

[51] 'Can asa ttigeisi fein ceana a Fir D?' ol C. C., 'uair as córa a ḟiafr*aigh*idh diot, uair as tú n*ech* bí ar an ath sa gach laoe'. 'In misi ů', ol Fer D. 'As tu', ol C. C. 'Ni denta iongn*adh* dom faicsin si andso ů', bar Fer D., 'ar mhithin[3]) on ataimuidne ag dógḥ 7 ag loscadh an chuigidh on luan iar sam*ain* go hæs na huairi si, 7 t*u*csam lind a mbuar 7 a mbótainte a maoine 7 a maitheasa 7 a n-ionnmhusa, dos*r*allsan[4]) a ttolcha tar a n-eisi 'na bfant*aibh* gursatt comharda comrreidhe iad 7 a bfaighthe'. 'Tusa an chreach deisidhe', bar C. C. '7 as misi an toir, 7 ni denta iongnadh deisidhe dom faicsin a ndegh*aidh* mo c*r*uidh 7 mo cr*eth*e dus *da* ttáir sinde screamhghal teagl˙ na cuidiochda

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1) *Read* a dha rigrosc; dhi a *ends the line in MS.*
2) isedh rothuibebad fris *YBL.*; dotub(?ad)usā fris *H. 2. 12.*
3) = bhithin.
4) dolęgsum *H. 2. 12.*

nach adaibh danadb*eth*asa ad niadh no att n*ert*[1]) 'b*udh* du duitsi gesstt*ha* a ndegh*aidh* do cr*uidh*, achd ata ni ceana ataoi tretoll troimcrecdnoighthe 7 ní dot figh set*righ*[1]) coml*ann no* comhrug[2]) re curuidh calma mar meisi'. A haithle na mbriathar soin tuirlingis Cu Cul*ainn* 7 tig gu hur an atha, 7 baoi ag tabhoirt achmh*us*ain dF*ior* D. ar ttoigheacht do chomr*ag* 'na ag*aidh*. 'Eccoir amh doitsi a Fir D.', bar C. C., 'tochd a cc*enn* coml*ainn* 7 comhruig dom ion*n*soigh*idh* si 7 *ceith*re cuig*idh* Eir*enn* am agh*aidh* a n-aoinfeacht, 7 gin go gabhthasa leam nir gabtha duit (92) oram ar bithin on ad cara cach uain *d'a*roile'. 'Gidh eadh sin', bar Fer D., 'ni étoimsi gan comhrag re seis*er* curadh mochtrath amaroch'. 'As beth idir *dha* throm doitsi sin', bar C. C., 'uair gidh risin seisior sin doneththa (*sic*) an coml*ann* tuitfe leo, 7 gidh liomsa doneithea é fos tuitf*e* leam, 7 dob*é*ra misi an aei[n]chomhoirle doitsi', bar C. C., 'ar iomfasdogh ar ccadoigh & ar ccumoin*n*, tabhoir f*er* gach læi damhsa dioph araon rem comhl*ann* & as doigh go ttuitf*idh* leamsa amhl*aidh* sin, 7 as usa leam sin ina comhl*ann* riotsa at ænar'. 'Ni ettoimsi sin', ol Fer D. 'An é sena an caradr*aidh* 7 an comhaltois 7 an cumoinn b*ud* áil leat?' ar C. C. 'Ni he', bar Fer D., 'acht as eigin damh coml*ann* 7 comhr*ag* riotsa'. 'As olc an gniomh dob*ere* dot aire a Fir D.', bar C. C. 'b*udh* teasargoin[3]) *dara*ch do dornoibh doitsi sin, 7 b*udh* g*a*d um ghaineamh 7 b*ud* beim cin*n* fri samh 7 b*ud* teine fri soighnen 7 b*udh* beal*ach* bais doitsi an comhoirle sin aca'. 'A Chuagain', bar Fer D., 'adcualamairne nach comcalma re c*ur*oidh thusa o tanaghois ar sluaigh*edh* tána bo Cuailgne go haos na huairi si.' 'Tuinghimsi um na deibh *da* n-adhroim'[4]), bar C. C. 'nach doilge leamso do cumus sa na do chongnamh n*a* g*a*ch aon da ttora*cht* cugam', bar C. C., 'am agh*aidh* gusan ttrath sa'. 'B*udh* hí an uair si fiondfadmaid eisein', bar Fer D.

[55] 'Ga gaisceadh ara racham aniogh?' b*ur* C. C. 'or as tusa as tæsga doriachd go hoirighin an atha'. 'Inad cumuin si isna cleas*aibh* roniamhois ag Uath*aigh* 7 ag Scath*aigh* ag*us* ag M*ur*eighil Manan*n* 7 ag Abhl*aigh* Aran*n* 7 ag Abhradr*u*ag ri Tire an tSneachta 7 ag Ceis Enchin*n* 7 ag Crocán Mon*aigh* ag Seanach Siabhra ag Cir ag B*eth* ag Bailcín ag Cuar ag Aid ag Aoife i*ngen* Airdghine do Gregoiph?' 'Um cumoin amh', b*ur* C. C.

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[1]) *This passage obscure.*
[2]) comhruig *MS., with* i *erased.*
[3]) teas argoin *MS.*
[4]) *da*na d*h*roim *MS.*

'Tiagham orra', orse, '7 lottarsan ara ccleasoibh aml*aidh* sin .i. .uii. bfaobhairchleasa 7 seacht ccleasa cuirp 7 .uii. bfaoinchleasa. Tigdis uatha 7 cuca amh*ail* teagoid beich a beachadhbha a lo al*ainn* foghmhoir nach biadh gaoth. Ni teilgdis nach aimsidis, ni aimsidis n*ach* athaimsidis, 7 gur ansad da n-iomghuin baoi dfeaph*us* na hiomghaphala *con*nar fuil*igh* n*ech* diobh ar aroile, *con*narbó sofecsana df*er*oibh Er*enn* gnuis na n-anrad re suithin na ccleas uatha 7 cuca. 7 ta*rrus*duir doib ar an *ur*l*eth*i sin o ṡol*us*thrath eirge do lo go ndeach*aidh* tar meaghon laoi 7 lanṡoillsi. 'Ni fuil*ech* duin an gaisciodh sa', bar Fer D., '7 an bfuil ar ndisgur ris?' '*Da*m*adh* ail leatsa donetha', b*ur* C. C. Intsin do chinteador a ccleaso uath*a* a lamh*aibh* a n-arad ara n-aghartoibh (93) urdherghoighte, 7 do ghaphador a sceith aillne iarnoidhe 'na lámh*aibh*, 7 a slegha sleamhna snasta gana[1]) suainedhaibh lin lanchadoigh ina lamhoibh, 7 do ghaphador a ccloidhmhe daighbheimneacha fudois 7 rubuis[2]) cach a ch*eile* dibh, 7 g*er* athlamh a n-iomghab*ail* rangad*ur* .x. ppriomhghona .xx. ar co*r*puiph a ch*eile* uath*a* gurba toir cach gan sgath 7 gurba tiar cach gan taoi. 'Ant osadh antsin a Chuagain?' b*ur* Fer D, 'doigh as é an f*er* thionch*us* an ghaiscidh do gaph*ail* dligheas a disg*ur*'. IS andsin ro chuirs*et* a n-arma uath*a* 7 sguch*us* cach a ch*eile* díbh ar lán mhedon an atha, 7 tucsat tri pócca dia ch*eile* a cuimniogh*ud* a ccumuin*n*. Rangad*ur* na h*eich* ar aonscor 7 na h*ar*oidh um éntenidh, 7 iatt f*ein* aræn go haonfpub*aill*, 7 ro choirgetor a n-aroidh a n-iomd*edh*a urluac*hr*a go bfriothaghart*aibh* f*er* ghonta friu. Na biadho 7 na lentta do b*er*tha o f*er*oibh Eir*enn* dFior D. do beir*edh* cuttruma ris f*ein* do Coin cCul*ainn* dibh. An ni do b*er*tha a siogh*aibh* do Choin cC. do luib*ibh* ice 7 laimhsion do b*eredh* cuttruma ris f*ein* dF*ior* D. diph. An ch*et* trian don oidhche aca don (*sic*) re neimh na ccneth 7 na los n-íce isna cneadh*aibh*, 7 an trian tanoiste re comhuirle a ccomhruicc, 7 an trian deighenach re suan 7 re codl*adh*.

[56] ISan maidin arnamar*ach* faoighis Fer D. feasa go Meidhph 7 go hOirill da rádh riú, 'An gniomh do geall*us*a doibh a n-esbhuidh mo chuind 7 mo cheile 7 n*och*an fuil ur*us*a damhsa and, uair ni foil for tuind talman duine damadh ionraidh go ttuitf*edh* C. C. leis *no*go bfaic*edh* ag tuitim e, acht at*a* ni ch*ena* ni ria agh na imneth o Ch*oin* C. da n-ionnsoigh*id* siomh an ccéin

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[1]) = gona. [2]) fudbas 7 rudbas *H. 2. 12.*

bheam araon isan comrag sa'. 7 ro scoichsidsan a ttighe reisin ré sin.

Doch*uaidh* ara F*ir* D. leisin aitheasc sin go hairm a r*abha* M*eadhbh* 7 Oir*ill* 7 Fergus 7 m*aithe* bf*er* n*Er*iont ar cheana, 7 do intis doi*bh* aitheasc F*ir* D. ris. Antsin tucusd*uir* Oir*ill* cuige[1]) a r*átha* 7 a rothaoisigh 7 a fl*aith*i f*er*oin*n*, 7 do intis doi*bh* an ni sin, 7 ro raidhsiott, 'gidh gach f*er* do aothfadh uain ni fuicfeam comrac na deisi utt'. 7 do chomhairl*igedar* a n-aroidh 7 an tain do chur rompa 7 an*adh* do*ibh* fein ag faicsin a comhruig. IS antsin ro r*áidh* Mac Roth an rieachl*uch* nach r*ach*adh ara ar bioth andsin mona deachdæis fir Er*enn* uile ant, or ba deimhin leis nach biadh do n*ior*t a n-enduine 'san dom*un* fosttogh *Con* cC. acht g*o* cclu*ine*adh a tharbh 7 a thain do br*eith* uadho. Gidh t*ra* '*cht* ro heimd*edh* an comhuirle sin (94) aca 7 ro ansad re fechoin an comhl*ainn*.

[57] Tuirtheachta .ů. *Con* cC., do eir*igh* go m*och* an lái sin cum an coml*ainn*, 7 ni tanoicc Fer D. a commoch sin ina dáil, 7 baoi C. C. aga rádh re a aroidh, 'as fada ata Fer D. anin a n-éccmois an chomhl*ainn*'. 'Narab fada l*et*sa sin', ar Laogh, 'do ró re headh n-aithge*rr* dot iontsa*igh*idh, 7 ro f*uil* sunta chugad', ar L*aogh*.

Dala .ů. *Con* cC. rainic roime go h*ur* an átha 7 ni cian dia rapha ant go bfaicidh aoncharbad ag toigheacht go hur an atha don l*eth* araill da ion*n*soigh*idh*, 7 do intis do Choin cC. 'Ciondus carbad sin ale?' b*ur* C. C. Tuc an giolla a thuarusgb*ail* uadho 7 adb*er*t na briathra sa ant. 'Adchiúsa ant am*h*'[2]), ar an *giolla* 7 rl, 'laoch leidm*ech* lánchalma l*aoch* ceimn*ech* as mó do mil*edhaibh* 7 as crodha do ch*ur*adh*aibh*'. 'Dob*er*imsi aithne for an f*er* soin amh ale', u*ur* C.C., '.i. Fer D. mac Dam*áin* mic D*áire* Domnandoigh'. As andsin rainig Fer D. go h*ur* an atha da n-iondsoigh*idh*. 'Ba doigh linde', u*ur* C. C., 'nach tiosttasa aniu uair ro f*er*ois do siost comhl*ainn* 7 do buaidh ngairighe, 7 as lan od choroibh anú thu.

[58] 7 nirbho coir doit tochd do comhl*ann* riomsa ar bithín on ad combdhaltagha cach uain *da ceile*'. 'A Cuagain', u*ur* Fer D., 'ni hurusa damhsa gan congn*am* lem cairdibh, 7 nir chuimhnighis comalt*us* damhsa b*udest*a, or ni rodcoip*er*a'. 'Forf*et*amairne .ů. an ni dobeir ortsa sin do radh .i. gradh Fiondabhrach 7 m*ét*

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[1]) oi. ggggg *MS.* [2]) am̄ *MS.*

na ccomadh 7 bregtinghealladh Meadhbha, 7 budh grad nemhšomhaoineach dhuitsi sin, 7 nirbho du duitsi teachd isan comhrag a mh' aghoidh si.' 'As fior on', uur Fear D., 'nar dhu damhsa comrag rem aroidh na rem ghiolla, uair an tan bhámoirne ag foghluim as tusa ba hara damsa'. 'As coroide damhsa tfuabairt si sin', uur C. C., 'uair as romatsa ataid ar mna 7 ar mic ogus ar miondaoine, 7 as tu tánaig a ccein diar soigidh, 7 na bioth do domhna (*sic*)[1]) riomsa, or ni mé as ciontach riot'.

[59] 'Ga gaiscead ara racham anu a Fhir D.?' uur C. C. 'Leatsa do rogha gaisgidh anú', uhar Fer D., 'doigh as misi rug rogha isa laithe do luidh'. 7 lodursan ara ccleasoiph goile 7 gaiscidh an la soin, 7 doníoth C. C cleas an lá sin do milradh meanmon 7 aigeanta nach cualadh 7 nach facuidh riamh roime sin, 7 dogníodh an fer eile .i. Fer Diagh an cleas 'mon eacht ccetno do milradh meanman 7 aigeanta.

[60] Ogus do badur ar na cleasoibh sin o solustrath eirghe na maidne moiche go medhon an læi. 'An bfuil ar ndisgur dhe so?' uur Cu Culainn. (95) 'Fuil letsa', bhar Fer D. Ro cuirsead a ccleasa uatha a lamhoibh a n-aradh.

[61] 'Tiagham anois ar ar manaoisibh mora muirneacha, uair as neaso d'iomghoin & d'imraobadh[2]) iad ina an t-imdiobragad sa, 7 ro ghabhoid a n-airm & doronsad aonach chind tsoighedh an la soin, 7 tangadur aoible fola a hionadhaibh na laighion lethanghlas gurbo derg ath na habhond da n-eisi. 7 do sinset da ccloidhmib gur bheansad dóide feola a corpoibh a cheile, gurba saitheach braineoin agus aithide an aieoir dona fualadhoibh feola tanoig asa ccorpaibh amach. 7 tarrusttuir doib ant re headh an chaomhlaeithe go hoidhche. 7 o tanoig dereth don lo tucador a n-airm a lamhoibh a n-arad 7 tangador na haroidh go hénteinidh 7 a n-eich ar enscor 7 iátt fein a ndis go henpuboill.

[62] As annsin do raidh C. C re Fer D., 'ba heigcrionna dhuin ar ccaradrad do milledh ar comhracc o a cheile, uair do tairrngir ar mbuimetha dhuin gomad la ceachtar uain do faothsatt aroile'. 'Na haboirsi sin', uhur Fer D., 'a Chuagain, or as ferr liomso Meadbh 7 Oirill do cairttibh agam ina Sgathach 7 tusa.' 'Egcoir doitsi sin do rádh', ar C. C., 'doigh robsad comhdaltadho sinn ag Sgathaigh, uair is aice ro thuillmis ar ndis 7 do thiagh-

[1]) dogra na domenma *H. 2. 12.*

[2]) dim raobadh *MS.*

mhaois ar ar fiogh[1]) foirceadoil le Sgath*aigh*, 7 donimis coigle 7 do ruachdomois g*an* treiccin'. 'Na bi 'gom chaín*edh* a Chuag*áin*', u*h*ar Fer D., 'uair ni aineoca ní *da* ttagræ thu.' 'Beannacht ort a dheghlæich', u*ar* C. C., 'ná bris comhdhaltus na cumant oramsa uair soch*aidh*e diár naisged Fion*n*abhoir, og*us* as liomsa do thorchrad*ur* uile, 7 na tarr*us*a chugam dara n-eis'.

[63] Tar*us*doir doi*bh* ant an a*g*h*aidh*[2]) sin, 7 do eir*igh* Fer D. go moch arnamharoch, uair ba leis tocht a n-oiris a n-agh*aidh* C*on* cC. an la soin, 7 nir eir*igh* C. C. an la soin nógur dúisigh Laocch e. Attracht C. C. iar sin a n-oirios an chomla*inn*. 'Is meirtneach imṡniomhoch anṡuantach atathoir[3]) an*n*sin a Chuag*ain*', u*h*ar Fer D. 'Deithf*ir* damhsa sin', u*h*ar C. C., '.ů. .i. s*é*rcc an uilc 7 na fionghoile doghen ar mo chomhdhalta f*ein*, 7 dar liom gach la da ttiocfadh thorum ni tiocf*aidh*e do chomracc na do choml*ann* riom, uair misi ni f*uil* urusa damhsa an*n* mona t*r*eig*er* báidh Ul*ad* uile'.

[67] 'Aboir a F*ir* Dh. ga gaiscedh ara racham aniogh?' 'Ar ar n-oir*idh*ibh g*ail*e 7 gaiscidh', b*ur* Fer D. Ciodh t*r*a 'chd tiagoidsiomh ara n-oiridh*ibh* g*ail*e 7 gaisc*idh* an la sin, 7 tarr*us*ttoir dói*bh* aml*aidh* sin cco ttainic medhon an laoi, 7 nirba l*éir* do neoch dferoibh Eir*enn* gnuis eich *no* d*uin*e d*on*o cur*adh*uibh risin re sin[4]). (96) 'In bfoil ar ndisgur dhe so?' u*h*ar Fer D. 'Foil leatsa on', b*ur* C. C. & rocuirrset a ccleasa uath*a*.

[68] 'Eirgeam ar ar ccloidhm*ib* aniogh & ceangoilt*er* ar bf*r*ithbhacain iarnoidhe ar na carbaduibh'. 7 do gabhador a sceith 7 a ccloidhmhe 'na lamhoiph 7 ro thuairsiod a ch*eile* [69] go ttainig in m*er*tnighe menm*an* 7 aigenta do lucht na fiaghnoisi oga bfecsoin. 'Truagh amh sin', ar siad, 'a ndentar an*n*sutt .i. an choindle Gaoidhiol a ccomhland ag sgarthoin a ccomh*da*altois oniogh go brath, 7 a mbeith 'na mbiodhb*adh* bunoidh o sund amach tre breig tingheall' Meadhph'.

[70] Bador sund isan comhrag sin go ttangador c*r*iocha deir*idh* don lo soin da n-iontsoigh*id*. IS andsin adb*ert* Fer D., [*Wi. 3621*] 'Ad sgithe ar n-eich 7 ar n-aroidh 7 an ni mar*us*

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[1]) = fiodh, *cf. Wi. 3540.*
[2]) ag' *MS.*
[3]) at athoir *MS.*
[4]) *Here the scribe has filled up a portion of the last line of the page, in a slightly smaller hand, with the following imprecation:* Ailim trocoire ar an *trinóid.*

d'iarsma na bFomhorach agoin*n* ar n-eich, ciodh duinne an trath b*udh* eadh nach ba headh inde?' 7 adb*er*t an ran[n] sa:

> 'Ni dleaghor dhin*n* cuigl*aigh*i
> re Fomhorchoibh feidhm
> cuirt*er* futha a n-urcom*ail*
> mar as glai*n*n do deilbh.'

Iar sin tucoig a n-arma uath*a* a lamhoibh a n-aradh 7 do sgarsad gan ppoig gan beannacht o chach dia *ceile*. Tanoig saoghol an cumoind 7 an caradruigh 7 la etarsgar*adh* na n-each 7 na n-aradh 7 na ccarad fein re *cheile*, 7 ni tugadh lus ice na slainsiona o Choin cC. dF. D an a*g*ha*idh*[1]) sin, 7 ni mo rugadh biadh no lion*n* uadhasan do Choin cC. [71] doigh ba hiomhda biatoigh F*ir* D. .i. ceithre cuig*idh* Eir*enn* ar g- ndiongm*ail*[2]) C. C. in neoch do bhaoi aga n-iomfasdog on luan taide g*o* tai*m*di n-iomuilg, 7 ni r*abh*a ag biath*ad Con* cC. achd tuatha Breth[3]) nama, 7 ni tigdis achd le degdhil laoi *nó* le tosach seachdm*uine* bheos.

[72] Tainic roimhe a n-uchd a ṡloigh 7 a ṡochruide ar ath b*ud* dheas, 7 tainic M*eadhbh* gana[4]) mn*aibh* 7 g*o*na macoibh gan (*sic*)[5]) hairm a r*aibh*e Fer D., & tucadh ciuil 7 cruite d'urgairdiugh*ad* meanm*an* cuige, 7 ro meascoid 7 ro meghr*adh* hé, 7 doronsad dimiccin do Choin cC. 7 dia gaisgedh 'na fiaghn*uis*e. 7 nir thoirmisg Fer D. sin iompasan. 7 nir choduil Fer D. an a*ga*i*dh*[1]) sin, 7 nir leig*edh* dho gemadh mian leis a dhenam iontas go mairfet*h* aige cuimhne an comhl*ainn* & an comruig arnamarach.

[73] Cu C. .ů. raini*c* roimhe tar ath b*udh* tuaidh, 7 tuc a ghual*ann* re lár and 7 tuc osnuidh n-imṡnidh os aird, 7 adcual*aidh* L*aogh* sin. 'Ciodh an*n*sin a Cuagain?' bar Laogh. 'Fuil a damhna 7 a deithf*ir* damsa', bar C. C., 'uair bhithin on am cneth*ach* croilinteac[h] mo ghaoi chro 7 mo friothghona ag toigheacht triom, 7 as mor a dhaghadhbhar an laoch mormeanmnach ud ag toigeacht *r*iom[6]) a moch na maidne amarach, 7 roichsi la raph*adh* dUltoibh

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1) ag· *MS.*
2) *Read perhaps* ar go ndiongb*ad*; ar Choin C. do dingbáil díb *LL* (*3598*); ar dingƀ C. C. dioph *St.*
3) = Bregh.
4) = gona.
5) *Read* go, *the scribe wrongly extended* ḡ (?).
6) triom *MS, added above line.*

gannach rabhad ar m*aigh*ibh na ar moirreidhiph *con*nach airgter iad seachamsa'. Cromuis an t-ara a chenn 7 (97) baoi ag toirsi go mor, 7 nir thoirmisc Cu C. sin uime o do facas dofaicsin 7 fatha mhoirimnig. Iar sin ro mucusttair an t-aro a mheoir a ccnethoibh Chon cC 7 adb*ert* losa ice 7 slainsiona a ccnethuibh Chon cC., 7 ro suig*uis*ttoir cuilleab*aid* chorcoird*erg* do Coin cC., 7 ba léir dosan cach t*r*ithi 7 tairsi, 7 nirba leir do neoch aca si*n* eision. 7 do bhi go him*n*eadhoch intte nógo ttain*ic* trian deigenoch na hoidhchi sin, ór bador beoil na ccneth ag claoi a c*heile* 7 na luibhe ag gab*ail* na ccréchd. 7 codl*uis* C. C. iar sin.

[74] Iomtusa F*ir* D. do eir*igh* go moch 7 do gabh a airm 7 tain*ic* cum an atha 7 do fiafruidh a mbaoi C. C. an*n*, 7 ni [f]uair a freagra uime sin. 7 o n*a*ch fuair a freagra an treas feacht do fiafruigh an beo no an marbh C. C., 7 ni fuair neach da freagra. 7 o nach fuair ro gabhusttoir a del clis comcuar a ccobhruig a sceith, 7 tarrluicc uadha tar ath soir go cclos a thairm fo cheithre hairdibh an morlongfphoirt. Andsin do eirgidar ruiridh 7 rodhaoine bf*er* n*E*rion*n* um Meidhp 7 um Oirill. 'Ba doigh lin*n* amh', ar Meadhbh, 'nach gebhdhaois fiana Eir*enn* risan sunduidh utt agatt a hEam*ain* a F*er*ghois.'

Otcual*a* L*aogh* mac Ri an gabhra sin airm a raibhe ag oirighin a eac*h*ruidhe ro indill a carbad 7 a chleasa, 7 tainic roimhe 7 do dhuisigh a thighearna, 7 ba f*er*gach an duscadh sin, or tucusttair tumha dícle n-angmoigh n-ain*n*s*er*coch uadho dia chois co ttarla tar a iomduidh amach, gur meabad*ur* srotha fola a cnedhoiph 7 a crechtoibh *Con* cC. 'IS truagh sin a ghiolla', arse, 'as liach liom mo dhuscadh fos'. 'M*ór* .ú. a damhna damhsa sin', bar Laogh, 'uair fuil Fer D. agúd aithisiogh*ud* os ur an átha sa thios'. 'Egcóir dosan sin do dhenamh', ol C. C., 'or dob*er*im dom breithir ris nach gabh arm laoighc 'na laim a n*É*rin*n* neach nac[h] foil a diongmhail iondamsa re feadh laoi go hoidhche don ghairbhleighios dob*er*taisi form'. Iar sin adub*air*t C. C re Laogh m*a*c Ri an gabhra, 'Tabhuirsi dot aoigh 7 dot aire cía uain 'nar ndis m*is*e *no* Fer D. b*us* ban no b*us* imṡníomhoch aniu, 7 gidhbe uai*n* is é dofaoth san comhrac. [76] 7 a Laoigh', bar C. C., 'dén*us*a mo[1]) moladh sa 7 indis mo maith orm m*ad da*mh b*us* trén, 7 m*adh* orm b*us* raon déna mo ghriosadh 7 mo glam*adh*'.

[1]) magh *MS.*

[78] IS andsin[1]) tain*ic* C. C. [dochum][2]) an atha 7 do himdergadh am Fer Dh. aga faicsin, ór ba hain*n*s*er*g allata e, 7 ba hiongnadh m*or* leis an f*er* do maoidh an uair roimhe do b*eith* a cciond comhruicc dá ion*n*soigh*idh*. 'An é Fer D. sud ar úr an atha?' bar C. C. 'As mé .ů.', u*h*ar Fer D., 'bis and gach laoi'. 'An tusa an Fer D. bhis and g*ach* laoi?' 'As meisi .ů. a dhaighfir', bar Fer D. 'Égcoir amh doitsi a dhaghlaoich', bhar C. C., 'bheith agam chommaoidhiomh sa (98) os úr an atha sa thios 7 mé beo bheos'. 'Ni fetor', ol Fer D., 'go raibhe do n*er*t ionnat tochd a ndáil an comhruig si aniogh'. 'An tan atusa do niort', ol C. C., 'do fiondfasa ar bhithín on att dhealbh troch fort, 7 an bfead*r*uis gurab e an lá sa etarsgarthana ar ccomluin*n*, 7 iongoimh[3]) an t-ath damhso ó nagh foil do niort iondat corrio*m*sa, 7 na ta*rr* am aghaidh si and, or dofaothois liom'. 'ISam eigean sa sin', ol Fer D., 'no comhrag risin 6 c*ur*adhoibh is f*err* df*er*oibh Eirionn'. 'Dingeobhadso na tri curoidh b*us* f*err* leatsa dhíbh, 7 diongoimh[3]) f*or* na tri curuid eile.' 'Ni fuil urusa andsin', bar Fer D., 'doigh ni tiobharthaoi taobh re br*eith*ir duine ar domhan asa haithle sin, 7 ni gebthaoi cor tar ceand a c*heile* dia ndearnuin*n*si sin. 'Egcoir doitsi', ol C. C., 'toigheacht tar coll cairdeas dom iondsoigh*idh* 7 tiocf *id* cach tar a mbriathruibh b*udhesta*, 7 ní tiobhra neach taobh re c*heile* 'nar ndiaigh'.

[79] IS andsin tainic Fer D. roimhe tar an ath budh deas 7 do gabh a airm 7 tainig go hionadh an chomhloin*n*. Tuirrthea*cht* .ů. *Chon* cC, do ghabh a airm 7 tainoicc a n-oiris an comhl*ainn*. As andsin do chomhruiccę̧dar an da curuidh sin a n-osarlar an atha, [*Wi. 3807*] 7 ba he dlus na hiomghona go mbeandaois a nduirn re na ccneasuibh ag dinge na n-arm 'na c*heile*. [*Wi. 3823*] 7 baoi do dlus a n-iomaircc go 'morala srianmhaidhm ngreadha d'eachradhuibh bf*er* nEr*enn* gur meadhbaidhior a ttéta 7 a n-urchumhuil diobh, 7 gomdar[4]) lana reisg 7 lochmhoighe Crioch *Con*aill Muirtheimhne 7 gursad[5]) étal˙ na cean*n*toir Ult*ach*a uile diobh, gur eirg*e*dar maithe bf*err* nEir*enn* do mideamhuin an comhruig. [*Wi. 3817*] 7 ba he dlús a n-iomaircc gomadh indherghoighthe do rígh *nó* do rioghoin ar lár an atha da n-éis m*u*na sil*edh* ind dorisi si lesan s*r*aonghuil dorinde cach

[1]) sin *bis*.
[2]) *cf. Wi. 3745.*
[3]) *For* -gaibh.
[4]) gom dar *MS.*
[5]) gur sad *MS.*

d'iondsaighidh a cheile dioph. [Wi. 3814] 7 ba he dlus a n-iomaircc gomadh saimhe dferoibh Eirenn aighthe na mbadhbh ag sgeum 7 ag sgibeachuil d' ur- an atha aniu 7 cheana. [Wi. 3831] Do bi do dlus a n-iomairg gurbo fuil an apand uathoibh uile. Ba he dlus a n-iomaircc go bfaicdis na hairm fiartharsna trena ccorpuibh dfairsinge na ccrecht. [Wi. 3828] IS andsin do roich diobuirt Fir D. dar Coin cC.

[80] AS andsin tainig Dolph 7 Iondolbh dfoiridhin Con cC. Andsin do mothaigh Fer D. tionsaithin in trir 'na timcheall aga tuargoin a n-aoineachd, 7 dorad dá uidh an ni sin, 7 do smuain an trath do bador ag Uathaigh 7 ag Sgathaigh. Adubairt Fer D. re Coin cC. aon do lo do bhador a comhradh re ceile, 'Ni comhard ar ccomhdhaltus (99) na ar ccomund'. 'Ciodh de sin?' bhar C. C. 'Do charoid siogaidhe got aitidh si', uhar Fer D., '7 nior thaisbenois damhsa ider iad'. 'Ni foil urusa damhsa andsin', uhar C. C., 'uair da ttaisbenuinn eineacht an fé fiadh do neoch do macoibh Miledh ni bhiadh diamhur air as a haithle, 7 giodh thusa ider a Fhir Dh. an cunga chleas (sic) agat d'iomarcoig ormso, 7 nir mhuínis a iadhad na a foscaladh damhsa'. Ro mhuíneadorsamh a ccleasa gaile & gaiscidh d'aroile, 7 ni raibhe iomarcoigh chaigh (sic) gha cheile diobh o sin amach achd madh cleas an ghaoi bulga nar thaisbéin C. C do duine riamh. Feargoighter .ú. na siodhchoireth[1]) mar fuaradur C. C. arna crechtnughadh, 7 tucsat tri tromghona gacha fir acu ar Fer nD. IS and tairloicc Fer D. orchur da dheis dia dhéis Con cC. 7 gonus don urchar sin Dolph. Badur in da ghoin 7 in da bhuille a n-eineacht aga bforrach. Andsin tuc orchar da chle ar chle Chon cC. go ndorchoir Indolph ar lar an átha, conadh de ata in rann:

> Ciodh fa n-abrar Ath Fir Dhiad.
> risin ath ghar thoit in triath.
> ni lugha donithi a bhuidhbh
> Ath Duilph 7 Ath Induilbh.

Ciodh tra 'chd o do thuitedar na braithre[2]) fine sin baoi ag Coin cC. le Fer nD. do sonartoigh a menma 7 atbeart beim no dá beim d'iomarcoigh do Choin cC. ogus do bi ag fortamhlughadh go mor fair.

[1]) et with mark of aspiration over t.
[2]) na braithre bis.

[81] Ciodh tra 'cht ott*conn*oirc Laogh mac Ri an gabhra C. C. da traoth*adh* ba saoth leis a thuitim le haoinf*er* san domhan *cen*a diog*ail* fair, [83] ⁊ tain*ic* r*oimh*e go h*ur*a an atha ⁊ do intill an ghaoi bhulga ⁊ ro ghaph ar an sruth ⁊ ro lion ar an meirplind, ór ní teilgthe he achd tria meirphlind. AS antsin do d*er*cu*s*ttoir Iodh Mor mac Ri an gabra .i. ara F. D. an saoth*ur* sin, or adub*air*t Fer D. ris a ttus laoi Laogh do dhiongm*ail* go maith'. 'N*och*a fer diongm*al*a dó meisi', b*ur* Iogh, 'gion gurbeadh ni ria agh na imneadh uadh dot ion*n*soigh si an ccein rabharsa um seasam'. ⁊ baoi ag feitheamh a brathor am*ail* sin nogur ghabh ar na linntibh ⁊ nogo ndeach*aidh* suás tar a n-indioll. ⁊ mar dochu*aidh* L*aogh* suas doch*uaidh* Iodh sios ⁊ do foscoil an forgab*áil*. Ot*conn*oirc C. C. a in*n*ioll ar ndol on ghaoi bulga do ruithn*ighedh* uime ⁊ do ling do mhaoil an talm*an* go r*aibh*e ar bile sceithi F. D. aga thuarg*uin* (100) tar an sciath anuas. Craithios Fer D. an sciath go ttarla mogh[1]) naoi cceimean*n* siár seachdoir tar an ath, ⁊ ro ghabh C. C. lamh ar Laogh 'mun ngaoi mbulga d'innioll. Ritheas an t-ara gusan lind ⁊ gabhois uirt[h]i, ⁊ teid Iodh fan ccuma ccét*nó* & scaoilis an chora og*us* leigios an sruth seocha. Sciobois Laogh go hÍodh. Comhr*u*ct*er* doibh ar an lath*air* sin, ⁊ asonoroighios L*aogh* Iodh go mo*r*, or niorbh ail leis airm d'imirt fair. Iomtusa F. D. leanois C. C. tar ath siar do br*eith* amois fair, ⁊ lingis C. C. do cl*eth*ach an atha go r*aibh*e ar bile sceith F. D. ⁊ doradsan croth*ad* ar Choin C. gur chuir mogh[1]) naoi cceimeand tar ath soir é. Grechois C. C. doridhisi 'm*an* ngaoei mbulga d'indioll. ⁊ as and baoi L*aogh* ⁊ a brathoir ciond ar ciond, ⁊ fuaibris Iodh go calma c*ur*ata e. Iomp*oidh*is L*aogh* go hog*ul*borb aindrean*ta* & tuc cor luith a n-ag*aid* do, go chuiristoir Iodh faon ar l*ar* an atha, ⁊ toirb*er*is maolduirne meince fair gom*adh* saobh a rosc ⁊ a radharc ag Iodh, ⁊ do fag*aibh* 'na l*uigh*i liuin ar l*ár* an atha é. ⁊ dotaod uaidh asa haithle ⁊ dotaod gusan lind ccet*no* ⁊ do g*abh* ar an sruth ⁊ do líon an lind. Ciod t*ra* '*cht* eirgis Iodh as a thámh ⁊ ad*hconn*oirc L*aogh* ag indioll an cleasa, ⁊ riothois go hathl*amh* gusan ccor*aidh* ⁊ dob*eir* an chora ⁊ do léig an sruth ina reim bún*aidh*. Londuight*er* C. C. uime sin ⁊ lingis ar an sceith an treas feacht go hathlamh do mhaoil an talm*an* ⁊ doradsan buille día ghl*úin* cle a lethan an sceith go ttarla C. C. fo osair[2]) lindtibh an atha, ⁊ dorad

[1]) = modh, *see Wi. p. 556, n. 5.* [2]) os air *MS.*

Fer D. .iii. tromghona for C. C. Andsin *grech*us C. C. ar L*aogh* doridisi ag *gabh*ail a laimhe fair 'm*an* ngaei mbulga d'indioll. Fuaib[r]is L*áogh* a iondsoigh*idh* og[us][1]) do thoirmisc Iodh ime. Ruamnighth*er* L*áogh* daríribh andsin ⁊ iadhois a dhi laimh b*ha* Iodh ⁊ trascraois go hathl*amh* he ⁊ do indill an ghaoi bhulga ⁊ do raidh re C. C 'Fritheoil an gaoi bulga anois a Chuagain'. uair taparta cum *Con* cC. e *go* rab*adh* reimhe.

[85] IS andsin ad*conn*oirc C. C. an ghaoi bulga chuige tresan sruth ⁊ fritheoilios C. C. é tre laghoir a coisi deisi ⁊ diobraigios e, ⁊ fritheoilios Fer D. é do r*éir* a thuaruscb*ála*, ⁊ do leig an sciath sios go ttainic tar bile isan sruth, ⁊ sill*idh*[2]) ar C. C. ⁊ ad*conn*uirc a airm chleasa ar indioll aicce. Ni fidir cia dhiobh do fritheoilfeadh. Andsin adb*ert* C. C. an c*ert*gha do lar a bhoisi dF. D go ndeach*aidh* trena cl*eith* go comthrom.

[86] IS andsin dorad Fer D. an sciath sios go tindiosnach[3]) d'iomdidean an iocbdair a chuirp.

[87. 88] ⁊ dorad C. C. an ghaoi bulga tar an sceith tresan sruth. Ottchual*a* .ũ. Fer D. (101) easccland a airm sion tresan aphoin*n* dia ion*n*soigh*id* leigis an sciath do frithol*amh* an ghaoi bhulga, ⁊ tarla an ga isan sciath os a bhruin*n*e gor scoilt i, go ttarla isan bfuarthoig iarnoidhe ⁊ tresan oilchloiche baoi san pfuarthoig, *go* ndeil*igh* don chetchor í ar osarl*ár* an atha, go ttarla a bf*or*folamh a chleibh ⁊ a chuirp, gur dhir*igh* ar feadh a brond ⁊ a dhroma ar fedh a aoi ⁊ a arand, go rug a .x. n-urranda .xx. go mbaoi druchd fola for barr gach uirrindi diobh. IS andsin teiml*igh*ios a folt ⁊ dorch*ad*us a rosc ⁊ treinm*erda*igh*uis* a ghnuis ⁊ bior·*uis* a bheann m̄ m̄[4]) ⁊ tainic slaod f*or*a fuaire mairbh ina chos*aibh* ⁊ 'na lam*aibh*, ⁊ tangad*ur* neoil an bháis da ionnsoig*idh*, ⁊ do theilg an tsl*egh* baoi 'na laim t*ar* bile an sc*éith* d'ion*n*soig*idh* *Con* cC. gurbo cros bodhbh*da* 'na cl*iabh* an craoisech *gur* comtoitim doibh .i. C. C. re hath at*uaidh* ⁊ Fer D. re hath aneas, ⁊ as doigh gom*adh* comtoitim *dia* m*ad* coi*mh*n*emnigh* a n-airm.

IS andsin tain*ic* L*aogh* os cion*n* C. C. ⁊ baoi *da* r*adh* risan airsigh eirge do commaoidhimh an echda mhoir dorinde ⁊ m*en*ma mor do denamh dhe, uair ro fag*badh*[5]) e *gan* cre*cht*ach co*mh*art*ach*.

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[1]) og dbo *MS.*

[2]) sill⁻ *MS.*, sillis *St.*

[3]) tindios n' *MS.*

[4]) = a mbheanmain mór (?).

[5]) fag' *MS.*

Ro ér*igh* C. C. ⁊ tainic t*ar* ath b*ud* deas ⁊ do nochd a chl*aidh*eamh dia dhichennadh[1]) os cion*n* F. D. 'As lor a nd*er*nois a chara a Chuag*ain*', *or* Fer D., 'or do thorc*ur*sa l*et* cheana'. 'Uc*h* uain san toitim sin a d*er*pcomhalta', b*ur* C. C., '⁊ ni ria ni b*us* mo uaimsi thu m*adh* do thorc*r*uis'.

[89] ⁊ do ch*uir* C. C. a cl*aidh*iomh 'na truaill ⁊ toccbh*uis* Fer D. *eter* a dhoidriog*aibh* mora mileata tar ath b*udh* th*uaidh*; g*er*bo suaill ccoigchle an abhand ni lemhdaois fir Er*enn* t*eacht* tairrsi. IS andsin do ghabh Cu C. ce*nn*[2]) F. D. 'na uchd ⁊ do bhadar sreabha fola ag tion*n*saighin[3]) chuip F. D. ar C. C., ⁊ baoi Fer D. da r*ádh*, 'Is mo*r* an tion*n*soighin fola foil fort, ⁊ nior dheas doit mo ghuin si do denamh, ⁊ as scith ar scaradh asdrasta.

AS an*n*sin tangad*ur* neoill troma trochamhla d'ionnsoig*idh* *Con* cC. ⁊ an bradan b*eth*adh baoi fo bruinde F. D. ro ela uadha.

[91] Ro eir*igh* .ů. C. C. asa nel sin ⁊ caoineas Fer D. go mor. 'B*á* d*ur*san liom tfaicsin amhl*aidh* sin a chomhd*a*l[t]a charthan*aigh* a Fir D.' bar C. C., 'or diam*adh* a n-oir*er* an dom*uin* mhoir doneathasa ecc ni fada do bein*n*si beo dott eisi'.

[96] IS andsin ad*u*b*airt*[4]) C. C. re *Laogh*, 'Fodb*adh* Fer D. f*est*a dhuin, ⁊ bean an gaoi b*ulg*a as go ndeach*aid*san uaidh gan rab*adh* gan fiagnuisi ar an ccoscorr[5]) tucsamh fair'. Iar sin fodhbhuis Laogh e ⁊ beanuis an t-eo óir do báoi 'na brut as, ⁊ tuc a laimh *Con* cC. é. 'Truagh sin', ol C. C., 'dom doigh as se an sed sa ⁊ na com*adh*a do gęll*adh* (102)[6]) dhó fad*era* tuitim dom charuid ⁊ dom choigeile liomsa san chomhr*ac* sa, ⁊ as truagh an bregadh tug*adh* um na com*adh*uibh se fair', .i. ar Fer D.

[92] Asa haithle sin adup*airt* C. C. 'Ni[7]) demad fir h*Erenn* fir fear a ccomhl*ann* na feineachus flatha duine tar eis Fhir Dhiagh do thuitim lin*n* amhl*aidh* sud, oir do ḟeadadar nach bḟuil aca aoinf*er* dar theac*ht*a do chomhrac riomsa tar eis Fhir Dhiagh, oir ni dingne *Con*nachtach re cath Mumhan g*an* iomr*adh* re Fear D., [*Wi. 4022*] oir ni ding[8]) lamh laoich ledeor*us*[9]) curna

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1) d*h*ic*h*etn*adh* *MS.*
2) cetn *MS.*
3) = tionnsaitin.
4) ad-b-t *MS.*
5) ccos corr *MS.*
6) *Here another hand continues the tale to the end.*
7) in *MS.*
8) ding *for* dingne (?), *LL &c. has* nibha, *the passage obscure.*
9) le deor*us* *MS.*, lethas *LL*, ledr*astar* *St.*, leattr*astar* *Eg. 209.*

*cur*ac[h], ⁊ ni buaidr*edh*[1]) baidhbhe beild*er*ge fa sgoruiph sgathuighe. Comhr*ac* Fir D. gur thuit do*n* lathair sin.

[98] Asa haithle sin cosguir*uis* Laogh e ⁊ bean*uis* an gaoi bulga as, ⁊ teid a ndeaghaidh C. C., ⁊ iompóighis *cr*uth do Coin cC. aga cloisteacht 'na dheagh*aidh*. 'Cidh ima ndenæ in clogh[2]) crotha sin a Cúagain?' bar Laogh. 'Dar liom', ol C. C., 'as e Fer D. ata agum tslaighe gach l*eth* dia tteigim, [*Wi. 4160*] ⁊ as cluithe dhamh g*a*ch comhrac da ndearnus riamh gusan ccomhrac sa Fhir Dhiagh'. Cconad e Comhrac Fhir Dhiagh agas Chon cCol*ainn* gonuige sin ⁊r-

FINIS.

H. 2. 12 [15]

(fol. 1 r).

[42] 'go luas faindli no eirbi no iaran*n* no cliabhaighi[3]) all*aidh*i tair eit*r*i (?)[4]) sleibhe no m*ur* tsighi gaithi gere gailbidhi[5]) adhuaire i*m*lui*m*e earraithe tar cę*nn* machaire maigh sleibe. IS e sin t*r*eisi ⁊ t*r*it ⁊ tairptighi & t*r*eabarluas fo th*iag*aid na heich sin isin madhrod gur c(*ro*)itsed[6]) in talm*ain* t*r*omfodh fo c*r*aithib let*r*oisi an ceimnighthi b*er*id. & srianta cæma cruanatha firaille fororda friu, & ba samalta lęm re sneachta sithoilti ig snaighi[7]) uanfadhach na heachra[i]de & ba samalta lęm re healtada do dubcnaib na fodmaigi da ndeis. Ata fon carb*a*t sin each ceindfind crofind cælcosach sęng s*ir*cæl casmongach cæld*r*ond ndubdual*a*ch faforub*h* n-ard n-i*m*amnus sigbig*ec*[8]) cruanatha cain u*cht*glinde fo th*iag*aid na heich sin isin madhrod. & ata in aroile fon carb*a*t sin each luath liath luthm*ur* laig*ir* leimn*e*ch maign*e*ch tairrng*e*ch

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1) buriud *LL.* 2) = clodh.

3) cliabh aighi *MS.*

4) *Reading doubtful, might also be read* cet (*tall* e) *for* cenn (?).

5) *cf.* gaithi géri galbigi, *Tochm. Ferbe l. 89.*

6) ro *illegible MS. has probably the* ur *symbol over* c, *as there is no room for a letter between* c *and* i.

7) *cf. Wi. 5065.*

8) *MS. has* sigbig̃; *cf. YBL. 2560,* sithbe creda cruanatai, *which should no doubt be read.*

tresm*ur* sduaghmar fodm*ur* focharrsaigh foluth cechtair cruaigh .i. lu*cht* buadha fo rith gon sgar and. aibli tened tritamruaige[1]) co nglomraidind ina *cr*uas glomarcind.'

[43] Ata isin carb*at* sin læch folt find folt lębu*r* mear coimsech cumachtach líneach d*er*g dog*r*ata ane[2]) arrad air d*er*-glasad[3]) ɔ (?) bile tenęd[4]) an[5]) edarluaimnech uaso. Ata uime si*n* brat cain cruandatha corcarda & ata a bretnas[6]) tora*cht*aid[7]) treincind d*er*goir ar d*er*glasad isin brat osa bruinde[8]). & ata a sęcht cn(es)lei*n*te .xx. ciarta clarta comdlutha re grian a geilcneis don righmilidh sin, & a cathbarr[9]) ciarrach clardedaighthi suai-ghni sol*us*gemach fana cęn*n*. & ata a sgiath digrais dathalaind don*n*corcra & a da sleig dig*ra*c[h]a dir*ec*ra dru*cht*mara dath g..a.d[10]) don*n*corcra[11]) aga co..rad[12]) a corpa............d[13]) & ata a .....ais[14]) lethancruaid go curata go ri*n*daith mb.....g.........[15]) ..a cæmcnęs don trenfer sin. & atait *tri* fuilt f*or*sin oglach sin[16]) .i. folt don*n* f*r*ia tuin*n*[17]) a cind ⁊ folt (....)[18]) a m*ed*on[19]) ⁊ folt d*er*gbuide iar n-imeall ⁊ mind oir buidi cæ*m*. co[20]) . arda uas

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[1]) trit amruaige *MS.*, *for* trichemruaide; *cf.* uiblech tened trichemruaid tatnit a cróes glomarchind, *Fled Bricrend § 49, and LU 122 a 44.*

[2]) *End of line.* dograta *perhaps for* daigerda.

[3]) *Two letters indistinct, the first looks like an inverted* ɔ = con, *the second like* æ, *the* i *of* bile *is not clear; the passage seems obscure.*

[4]) *A letter illegible, looks like* .i. tenęd *indistinct.*

[5]) *or* aredar *MS.*

[6]) s *somewhat indistinct.*

[7]) *cf.* bretnas torrach trencind isin brutt osa bruinni, *Wi. 205.*

[8]) & *to* cn(es) *barely legible, only the faintest traces remain,* es *is illegible; cf. Wi. 1707, 2557.*

[9]) cath *barely legible.*

[10]) *Stain here.*

[11]) *Very faint.*

[12]) *End of line here, final* rad *is fairly certain, looks like* corcrad.

[13]) *MS. fractured here and effaced, about twenty letters illegible.*

[14]) *MS. effaced, only faint traces of* ata a; *read probably* manais.

[15]) *MS. fractured and effaced.*

[16]-[17]) .i. *to* tuinn *almost effaced, and only decipherable with the aid of YBL 2564 and Wi. 2714.*

[18]) *Rent in MS., about four letters lost, no doubt* croderg (*YBL 2564*), *cf. also Fled Br. § 45* croderg a medon, *and Wi. 2714.*

[19]) *MS. has* m⁊-on, *with suprascript stroke;* medon *is no doubt intended, but the last letter is more like* r.

[20]) co *not clear, following letter looks like* r, arda *fairly certain.*

(.....)[1] ..d.(?) arta an folt sin 7 he fada findbuidi go cindęnd[2]) teora sreth(a) tar (.....)mna[3]) seall (?) sis (?)[4]) sę*cht*air. & atait .x. ruit*h*in fri(a)[5]) cea*cht*ar a da g*r*uad 7 *cethri*[6])(ti)bre ..[7]) cea(ch)tar a da g*r*uad .i. (t*ibre*)[8]) buide 7 t*ibre* gorm 7 t*ibre* uaine 7 t*ibre* de*r*g, 7 *secht* me*i*c imresai*n*[9]) na da rigrosg ro....[10]) & seacht meoir air g*a*ch laim do ar g*a*ch cois da f.....a[11]) ..irco.a dis g..... all (?) lat (?)[12]) sroill go clar dobui (?) da lig logma*ir* an*n* go *m*bę (?) ....re....da.. ....[12]) do ina laim 7 ...tug-[13]) rale (?) r̊ ....a..... for ....b..()[14]) leisin oglach cain cosgarach 7 ....g.ath (?) b........ ...... 'loi*m*.[15]) fola ad be(l), a gilla, is aicsidi in tuarasgb*ail* tug*uis* ar measgara[16]) ....naisi'[17]). 'Narab diumgaide t*us*a sin', ar in gilla, 'oir gid he a gilla sa*n* an tan atcifise..a ni ba tlaith do tuarasgb*ail* leisin. & in cluine culgaire carb*ait* in c*ur*aidh do*n* leirg dar n-i*n*dsa(igid)?' 'Ni cluinim..', air Fer D. 'Docluinimsi', b*ar* an gilla. 'Mor am in teist 7 in tuarasg[b]ail t*u*cais, a gilla', ar Fer D.

[44] '& is mithid dul a ndail comraig an f*ir* sin.' 'IS truagh an gnim ara cinde, a F*ir* D. .i. dul do comland a n-aigi*dh* do comalta cartanaid. is fe*r*gach 7 is feochair is an is at*h*lamh[18]) is t*r*en is trę̄s argai*n* is leoghman ar f*erg* is tarb ar treisi is

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[1]) uas *fairly certain, followed by a rent, in which about five letters are lost.*
[2]) cuirend *YBL 2566.*
[3]) *Rent here, read* a formna *and cf. Wi. 2178 and note.*
[4]) *Stain here, almost illegible. YBL has* siar sell.
[5]) *Very faint.*
[6]) ti *illegible.*
[7]) *Illegible, perhaps* fri, *looks like the* 7 *symbol preceded by a stroke; cf. Wi. 1374* cethri tibre dib cechtar.
[8]) *Illegible.*
[9]) *Barely legible, fracture before* r, *space for one letter,* ? arr.
[10]) *End of line, stain.*
[11]) *Almost effaced, first word looks like* fuil, *before* co *something like* coir; co *very indistinct, followed by fracture;* adis *clear, remainder uncertain.*
[12]) *Ends of line.*
[13]) *Natural hole here, remainder of line illegible.*
[14]) *Rent at end of line.*
[15]) *Very faint, a letter or two illegible, read* cro 7 *with F and cf. Mesca Ulad p. 20, 11, cit. Wi.*
[16]) *Not very legible,* = m'escara (?).
[17]) *Read probably,* am fiadnaisi.
[18]) at*h* *barely legible.*

nathair ar neimnigi is mathamain ar glond & is carrag fria fosug is doig fria tęsargain is teine ar loisgadh is brisid cnama is doga is losgad is breo is agh is acais fula*ng* fergi an f*ir* ud', ar in gilla, '7 a n[d]eachaigh df*er*aib Er*enn* ina dail ni terna[1]) f*er* co*m*aiti gnima na indisi sgel dib ar cul uadha'.

[45] 'Leig as, a gilla', air Fer Diad, 'is mor an molad dob*eir*i ar mo bidb*aid* a fiana(i)si, & is b*r*iat[h]ar damsa dam*ad* bes dam gilla no aradh no eachlach do marb*ad* is cian o do gebtasa bas lęm'.

[47] IS an*n* tainig C. C. go hoirear an atha.

[49] 7 do *co*naic Fer D*iadh* & adubairt ris, 'Ca rabais, a cua?' oir cua ainm na claine asin tsęngæilig .i. sęcht m*ei*c imrisin do ba i ngach suil do 7 da m*a*c imrisin dib air clæna, 7 ni ba mo a domaisi do sin na somaisi, 7 da mb*eth* ni bud mo do ainęm air do tuboc*us*an fris re headh na huaire sin.

[51] 'Can as ticcisi, a tsirridi tsiabarta?' ar C. C., 'Doig is cora tusa dfiarf*aige*d an*n*so, uair as tu n*e*ch bid an*n* gach læ, 7 ni denta ingnad dom aisginsi an*n*so', ar F*er* D. 'uair atamaidne ag dog*adh* & ag losg*ad* 7 ag argain Uladh 7 Cuailgni 7 C*r*uitne & cearm*a*d on luan re samain go hais na huaire seo. & t*u*csam*ur* lin*n* ar mb*r*oit 7 ar (*fol. 1 v*) mbuar & ar mbotainti air seoit & air s*ir*maine & ar seanindm*usa*, 7 do lęgsum a tulcha ar ar n-eis isna fantaib go rabad*ur* coimisill risna faithibh. 'As tusa in creach deisi & misi in toir, 7 ní denta ingn*a*d dom aisgin si an*n*so. da mb*eth* do n*er*t no do níagh ba du duit b*eith* a nded*h*aigh[2]) do c*r*uibh 7 do c*r*eithi, acht ata ní cęna, nír t*iag*ta[3]) duit do*n* comrug do*m* indsaighi si & *cethri* holl*coic*idh Er*enn* am aig*id* si am ænar, & gi*n* go gabtha lium nir gabtha duit orum arab7[4]) ad cara 7 ad coigli 7 ad comalta[5]) cartan*ach* damsa'. 'Cidh sin', ar Fer D., 'is *éc*in damsa comlan*n* 7 comrug riutsa no re seis*ir* læch is f*err* df*er*aib Er*enn* a*r*marach'. 'As b*eth* et*ir* da t[h]*r*om duitsi sin am', bar C. C., 'oir gid risin seiser dodenta comrug dó tuitfidea leo 7 tuitfir liumsa da comrigum, & dob*er*aindsi comairli maith duitsi ar fostogh ar cadaigh 7 ar caradraig. tab*air* f*er* *gach* læ damsa dibh, oir is *us*a leamsa sin 'na comrag riutsa at ænar. An e se*n*a in cadaigh 7 in caradraigh

1) terni *MS. a similar abbreviation is used for* eirig.
2) = degaid.
3) tħta *MS.*, *Nettlau* deinta.
4) = arabu; arbithin on *H.*
5) comaltħa *MS.*

rob aill?' 'Nochan e id*ir*', air Fer D., 'acht is *é*cin damsa comrag riutsu'. 'IS t*r*uag in gnim sin ara cinde, a F*ir* D., doig bud tęsargain darach do dornaib duitsiu sin, ⁊ budh gad um gaineamh ⁊ bud teine saighnein ⁊ bu beim cind f*ur*aill ⁊ bud buarach bais duitsiu in comairle sin.' 'A Cugugain', air Fer D., 'atacualam*ur*ne nar comcalma c*ur*aid na cathmilidh riutsa o tangais ar sluaigh*edh* tana bo Cuailgni go hais na huaire seo'. 'Luigimsi fona deibh da n-adhraim', ar C. C. 'n*ach* doc*ra* liumsa do comrug sa do dingab*ail* nas gac*h* æn dotorc*air* am aig*id* gus drasta'. 'Findamaid sin anosa', ar Fer D.

[55] 'Ca gaisgi ara *ri*cum aniugh, a F*ir* D?' ar C. C. 'An cumain lętsa na cleasa gaile & gaisgid noch donímais ag Uathaigh ⁊ ag Sgath*aig* ⁊ ag M*ur* .g.[1]) Manan*n* ⁊ ag Ablaigh Aran*n* ⁊ ag Abrad*r*ag ⁊ ag righ Tiri in tSneachtaigh ⁊ ag Eisi Aencind ⁊ ag Crochthan i*n* Monaigh ⁊ ag Sen*ac*[h] t[s]iubra ⁊ ag Cab Gli*n*de ⁊ ag Cuar[2]) a[g] Aidh ⁊ ag Aifi ingen Ardge*n*m*us*[3]) do G*r*egaibh.' 'As cumain', ar Fer D. 'Tiagam orta sin', ar C. C. ⁊ do cuadarsu*n* ara clęsaibh gaile[4]) ⁊ gaisg*id* .i. sęcht noca*ir*cleasa ⁊ *seacht* bæncleasa ⁊ *seacht* corpclęsa ⁊ *seacht* fæbhairclęsa ag tęcht uatha ⁊ *cucu* mar do b*eid*is[5]) beith b*e*ca bithaile ag tęcht asa n-adaibh (*sic*)[6]) a lo alai*n*d fogm*uir* gan gaith ⁊ ni teilgidis nac*h* aimsidis ⁊ ni (aimsi)dis[7]) nac*h* athaimsidis dorisi. Gerb athlomh a n-imgoin do bi d[f]eab*us* na hi*m*gabla nar f(   )ar[8]) dib. & do bad*ur* m*ur* sin ara clęsaib gaile ⁊ gaisg*idh* o borbsoillsi na maidni[9]) go m(   )[10]) do lo ⁊ do lansoillsi. 'As mit[h]id sgur dona clęsaib so', ar C. C 'An trath b*us* ail l*et*sa on', [ar] Fer D*iadh*[11]). IS an*n*sin doc*uiredh*ar[12]) a clęsa gaile ⁊ gaisg*idh* a lamaibh a ngilla ⁊ ro gab*us*tar da sgiath aille iarnaidhi urd*er*ga,

1) Mureighil *F*.

2) Cuara *MS. He was a son of Scáthach, and was slain by Cu Chulinn, RC XXIX 131.*

3) Airdghine *F*, Airdgeme *Ériu I 141.*

4) gaile *bis.*

5) beidis, *MS. has the* ⁊ *symbol with dot over it.*

6) *for* adbaib.

7) *Rent in MS., read as above with I.*

8) *Rent in MS., read* fuilig (*LL F*) ceachtar (nech *LL F*).

9) *MS. has* maīdni, *here and elsewhere.*

10) *Rent in MS.*

11) *Fracture here, but portion of the* ⁊ *symbol traceable.*

12) docuir⁊dar *MS. with dot over* ⁊.

⁊ ro gabad*ur* a slega aible arda agglasa snaithslęmain c*r*uaidhe go suaighnędaibh (?) [1]) lancadaith a lamhaib leo. & ro gabad*ur* a da cloigme dirgi dilgiæ c*r*uaidh(i) beimnecha .i. fudbas ⁊ rudbas[2]) & gonas gac*h* f*er* dib a ceile. (&) gerb athlamh a n-i*m*deagail do b(u)i d[f]eab*us* na himgona go rangad*ur* .x. p*r*imgona .xx. (.)[3]) gach n-æn dib go tainig i*n* buidi tar in g*r*éin. 'An ail l*et* osad do gab*ail*, a Cugugain?' air Fer D. 'As ail on', [ar] C. C, 'oir an ti gab*us* lamh ara gaisg*edh* as e dli*ges* sgur'. IS an*n*sin doc*uir*ead*ur* a n-airm uatha a lamaibh a ngilla ⁊ indsaigh*es* gac*h* f*er* dib a ceile ar lar medoin an atha, ⁊ toirb*erus* gac*h* f*er* d*ib* teora pog da ceile a cuimniug*ud* a comaind ⁊ a caradraig. & docuadar na haraid co hæninadh ⁊ a n-eich ar ænsgur ⁊ iadfein go hænpubaill go failid fric*hn*umęch[4]). IS an*n*sin do coirigh*edh* a foith*raicedh* criadh dona c*ur*adhaibh ⁊ a lępac*ha* urluac*hr*a doib go frithadhartaib f*er* gona. Na biadha ⁊ na deocha soblasta do b*er*idis f*ir* Eir*enn* dF*ior* D. do b*er*ędhsu*n* a coibeis reis fein do C. C. dib. & na l*us*a ⁊ na luibe ici ⁊ le*gis* do b*er*tai a sigb*r*ugaibh Er*enn* do C. C. do b*eredh* oired ris fein dF*ior* D. dib sin da cuir an[5]) cnędaibh ⁊ ina crolin*n*tib. & do b*er*idis in c*et* t*r*ian don aidhci re huchb*ad* ⁊ re *eg*aine ⁊ in trian tan*uis*i re comr*ad* ⁊ re comairli a comraig ⁊ in trian deiginach di re suan ⁊ re sarcoll*ad*.

[56] IS an*n*sin c*uir*is Fer D. ⁊ fęsa ⁊ tęchta go hOi*l*ill ⁊ go M. 'Dar*a*dadh sin in gnim do geall*us* doib, a n-egm*ais* mu cuind ⁊ mo ceille ⁊ mo comairle do geall*us*a he, oir ní fuil ar b*ith* uile ænlæch dam*ad* indraithi go toitf*edh* C. C leis, acht ata ní cęna *no*ca ria ag na eisli*n*ig o C. C da b*ar* n-indsaighi in f*eadh* bes F*er* D. agu*n* comrug. ⁊ gluaisid f*ir* Er*enn* da tighibh ⁊ b*er*id a tairb ⁊ a tain leo'. ⁊ teid gilla F*ir* D. leisin tęchtairacht *go* hairm a raibe Oi*l*ill ⁊ M. ⁊ F*er*ghus ⁊ maithi f*er* nEr*enn*, ⁊ ro ind*is* an gilla a ndub*air*t F*er* D. ris. Is an*n*sin [tucusdair][6]) Oi*l*ill a righi ⁊ a rotaisigh ⁊ a [f]latha f*er*aind cuigi ⁊ do indis sin doib. & is *e*d adubrad*ur* uile, 'da tuiti cach re f*er* a*cu* ní fuicfimaid comr*ag* na deisi dęghlæch ut gan b*eith* aga fechain[7]) ⁊

1) *The initial* s *has perforated the vellum.*

2) fud bas ⁊ rud bas *MS.*

3) *Rent here, beginning of line, space for one letter.*

4) fric*h*umnęch *MS. with attempt to correct.*

5) *Sic MS. read* ina.

6) sIaoiłł *MS. read (with F)* tucusduir.

7) *Erased space here.*

do comairlidhar a ngillada do *chur* le tairb ⁊ le tain rompo go C*r*uachain[1]) ⁊ iadfein do anmain re fechain an comraig ⁊ re f*or*-coimed fos. (*fol. 2r*) Adub*air*t F*er*gus mac R (*sic*)[2]) nac*h* rachadis le duine airb*ith* an*n* acht mona dęchadais *cethri* holl*coic*idh Er*enn* uile an*n*, 'uair is deimin leam nac*h* bia do n*ior*t na do niachus a n-æn duine ar doman fostog*ud* C. C. acht go cluine a tairbh ⁊ a tain do breith uada'.

[57] IMtusa C. C.[3]) do eirigh go moch in la sin uair ba leis eirgi ar dus d'indsaigi in comraig in la sin. & nir eirigh Fer[1]) D. go moch in la sin, ⁊ do bid C. C. aga rad re Lægh, 'Is fada ata Fer D. a n-*eg*mais in comlaind ⁊ in comraig'. 'Narab fada l*et*sa e', air Læg, 'oir ní fada bias at egm*ais*. & ata se cugad Fer D. ⁊ tabair l*et* duind a toitim ⁊ a tuarasgb*ail* ⁊ tuc a tuar*us*[g]b*ail*. do b*er*imsi a haithne an*n*'. 'F*ir* sin', ar C. C. '.i. is lond leogmuin le hag urlamh dind Domnan*n*, daigh fęr falc fa fala Fer D. dithmil*idh* mac Damain dreach d*er*g do Gamanraigh Irr*uis* Domnaill. & is mairg teid a ndail in læich sin ⁊ m*et* a męnman ⁊ luas a lam c*r*uas a c*r*aidi bailci a[4]) buille'.

[58] IS an*n*sin adub*air*t C. C. re F*ior* D., 'Nír coir duitsi teacht isin comland so air do b⁊ ad cara ⁊ ad coigli ⁊ ad comalta bagac*h* cartanac*h* da ceile ⁊ is a n-ænlęb*aid* donimais suan ⁊ coll*ad* ⁊ f*or*cedul[5]) ag Sgath*aig* ⁊ ag Uath*aig*'. 'Leig as ale a Cugugain', air F*er* D., 'ní hurusa damsa gan cosnam[6]) lem cairdib ⁊ na cuimnigh coman*n* na carad*r*ag na comtanus damh fęsta, oir ce cuimnighi ní coib*er*a tu'. 'Do ędarm*ur*ne aní dob*eir* ortsa sin', ar C. C., 'grad Findabhrac*h* ⁊ brega M*edba*, ⁊ bud n*em*tsomaineach duitsi sin, ⁊ ní coir duit teacht isin comrug so'. 'Is fir sin', air Fer D., 'nara coir damsa comlan*n* na comrag rem gilla fein na rem araidh, oir in tan do bamarne ag ænfoghlaim gaisg*idh* is tusa fa harad carb*aid* damsa and'. 'IS cora damsa', ar Cu C., 'uair is romatsa atait ar mic ⁊ ar mna, ar n-eich ⁊ air n-*e*chradh, ar seoid ⁊ ar sarmaine ⁊ ar sęnindmusa, ⁊ is tusa tainig a crich craun*n*car a cein dar n-indsaighi, ⁊ na bid dogra na domenma agutsa rium a F*ir* D', ar C. C., 'oir ní ci*n*dt*ech* me riut'.

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1) in *margin, with erased space in text.*
2) *Read* (*with F*) Mac Roth.
3) *Erased space here.*
4) a *bis.*
5) furcdul *MS. with* ur *symbol.*
6) comnam *MS.*

[59] '& ca [ga]isgid ara racham aniugh a Fir D.?' ar C. C. 'Letsa do rogha gaisgid', ar Fer D., 'oir is misi do rug roga ane'.

[60] Cid tra 'cht tiaghaid ara clęsaibh *gaile* 7 *gaisgid*, 7 do badur oro sin o borbtsoillsi na maidhne muichi go tainig mędon læ 7 lansoillsi conarba leir dferaib Erenn fos gnuis eich na gilla na cura[id][1]) na *cath*milidh dib reisin re sin le hiumad na clęs uathu &[2]) cuca 7 acu. 'Ni fuilęch an gaisgi so a Fir D.' air C. C., '7 an ail lęt sgur de so?' 'As ail an trath bus ail letsa', ar Fer D. IS andsin do chuireadur a cleasa *gaile* 7 *gaisgid* uat[h]a a lamhaib a ngilla.

[61] 7 do gabadar da sgiath aille ængeala 7 da cloigeim orduirn indtlais 7 a mainisi mora muirnecha lethanglasa ana lamaibh leo, 7 doronsad ænach cind righęd dibh go tangadur na haibne fola fordergi a hinadhaibh na slęg fada fæburglas gurab urderg in t-ath sin tara n-eis. & do cuireadar a lama gasda gelmeracha da cloigimib coindealltacha cruaidgera, & ro bean gach fer dib urunda fędma fir do cæbaibh fola 7 feola dib, & do badur mar sin re head in cæm læ go tainig deredh in lai da n-indsaighi. IS andsin do cuireadur na gilla go hæninad 7 na heich go hænsgur 7 iadfein go hænpubul co failid frichnumach go foithraicib cria 7 go lębaid urluac[h]ra 7 go losaib ici 7 legis o gach fer dib da ceile.

[62] IS annsin atbert C. C., 'Ba ead argaire go mor duindne oific ele adraind, uair do tairrngair air mbuime gaisgid duind gomad le nech againd do tuitfedh a nech ele'. 'Leig as ale', ar Fer D., 'oir is fearr liumsa do cardib Oilill 7 M. na tusa 7 Sgathach & sgiatha corcrad dorinde ana faistine sin'. 'Egcoir duitsi sin do rad', ar C. C., 'oir is cæmdalta tusa do Sgathaig tu (*sic*), uair is aici do bidmís 'nar ndis 'nar tromcolladh a fochair a ceile, & ro teigmís ar findorudh[3]) fis 7 forceduil faræn re Sgathaigh a Cugain', air Fer D., 'na agum cainęd, oir ni ba husuide duit nogo taisbenarsa do cęnn do M. 7 dOilill amail do geallus'. 'Bęndacht ort a deghlaich[4]) na bris cairdęs na caradrag na comand orumsa uair sochaid[5]) dar snaidme an ingęn ut, is lęmsa

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[1]) *cf.* § 67. [2]) & *bis*.

[3]) Nettlau findorund, *but the mark is over the* d. *cf. F.*, ar fiogh foirceadoil *and Wi. 3540*, fid forcetul.

[4]) d7laich *MS*. [5]) sochaid *MS*.

do torcradar uile, & na tarsa cugamsa tara n-eis, uair fuair .l. læch bas lęmsa dar snaidmęd an ingęn ut.'

[63] Rugsad as an aidc[h]i sin 7 ro eirigh Fer D. go moch in la sin, uair ba leis eirgi a ndail in comraig. 7 nir eirig C. C in la sin, nog*ur* duisidh a[1]) gilla. & ro eiri*g* C. C. a ndail in comraigh, & adub*airt* Fer D., 'Is meirt*ech* im[s]nimhach anmann atath*air* an*n* a drasta a Cugain', air Fer D. 'Ni hingnadh (*fol. 2v*) damsa sin', air C. C., 'searg an uilc & na fingala doden ar mo comalta as e ata air mo ts*ir*ig. & dar liumsa ni tici duitsi isin comrag so aniugh. ni h*ur*usa damsa gan tęcht ann muna treigind soladh baidh Ulud 7 iadfein isin cęs naidhin'.

[66] 'Ca gaisg*edh* ara rac*h*am?' air Fer D.

[67] 'Ar ar n-oirightibh g*aile* 7 g*aisgid*', ar C. C. Cid tra cht tiagaid ort[h]a in la sin, 7 do bad*ur* orro o borbsoillsi na maidne muici go tainig mędon læ conar leir df*er*aib Er*enn* gnuis eich na gilla na c*ur*aid dib le himad na clęs cuca 7 uatha 7 *acu*. 'An fuil ar sgur de so a Fi*r* D.' ar C. C. 'Ata on', air F*er* D., 'an tan bus ail [le]t'. IS an*n*sin do c*uir*ędar a clęsa g*aile* 7 g*aisgid* uatha a lamhaib a ngilla.

[68] & docuad*ur* ara claidi*m*ib troma tortbuillęcha, 7 cęngailt*er* na heich 7 cuirit*er* na carb*ait* & a f*er*t bacana iaraind arna cairbthe*ch*aibh na*ch* sgail*edh*. IS an*n*sin do gabad*ur* a da sgiath corc*r*a clithir mora orro in la sin & a cl*aidhmi* cruaidhi g*er*a caindlęcha comsoillsi comarthac*ha* ana lamhaib leo in la sin, 7 dorindędar comrag fritir f*er*gach forranach amn*as* adhm*ur* allata indsaightech, 7 ro bagmaid na hairsigha 7 do gab g*a*ch f*er* dib a[g] tuargaint a ceile.

[69] O do conncad*ur* lucht na fianaisi sin tainig emeltus mor menmean 7 m*er*tigi mor aicenta[2]) doibh sin re faicsin. 'Truagh an gnim donit*er* aniugh', ar siad '.i. æncoindle glanad Gædęl 7 lucht ænfogliuma 7 na fir aille a ndile 7 a meanma 7 a tairis*e* da ceile gos t*ra*sta 7 a mb*eith* 'na mbidbad bunaid da ceile oniugh amach go brath tre briat*hra*ib buid breg timgealtacha mna caime ceindfinde coimithi 7 tre comadhaib n*em*tsomainech don n*e*ch dar geall*ad* iad'.

[70] 7 do bad*ur*[3]) isin comrug sin re f*edh* in cæ*m*laithi sin go tainig der*edh* læ doib. IS an*n*sin adub*airt* Fer D., 'Is

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[1]) a *bis*. [2]) aīcta *MS*.

[3]) -d *with* ur *symbol corroded, but traceable.*

sgiathcch ar n-eich 7 is mertnęch ar ngillaidi 7 is *ed* mairis aga(inn)[1]) d'iarsma na boroime ar n-eich, 7 cidh duind an tan ba torrsech sind gan sgur?' & do *cuir*ędar a n-airm[2]) uatha a lamhaib a ngill*a* & do sgarad*ur* gan sith gan poig gan bęn*n*acht gan caradradh o ceile. & tainic sæghal a comaind re sgaradh na n-ęch 7 na gill*aidi* 7 na curadh o ceile, 7 ni tucadh losa ici na slainti o C. C. dF*ior* D. an aidhchi sin 7 ni tucad biadh na deoch o F*ior* D. dosun.

[71] & dobu imda lucht biatha Fir D. .i. *cethri* holl*coic*id Er*enn*, 7 ni raibhi ag biata C. C. acht Tuathad Breag amai*n*[3]) 7 ni ticidis sin cuigi acht a tosach no læ no tseachtmuine.

[72] IS ann tainig Fer D. a n-ucht a tsluaigh [7] a soich*aid*i tar an ath budh dęs 7 tainig M. *con*a mnaibh m*ur* a roibh Fer D. 7 tucsi aithchi ciuil cuigi d'urgairdiug*ud* a męnman 7 a aicenta[4]), 7 tucad fidcilla ana fianaisi do męsgadh 7 do miciall*ad* e do briathraibh s*er*ba suasboga, 7 dorinde do dimbrig 7 tarcaisne do gaisg*idh* C. C. a fianaisi F*ir* D. & n*ir* toirm*is*g Fer D. sin et*er* cemad coir do a denam. & nír codail a bec an aidhchi sin, 7 damad ail leis nír leigh*edh* do air co mairead aigi ar cind in comruig in miciall mor 7 in fich f*er*gi tuc leis asin comrug gomad he dob*er*ad aigi ar cind in (com)raig[5]) in la arnamairęch.

[73] C. C. ū. tainic roime tar an ath budh tuaighi 7 tuc a uill*enn* re fot coimn*ert* 7 doleig osnadh *eg*comlaind os aird. 'Cad sin a C. C.?' ar Læg. 'Fuil a moradb*ur*', ar C. C., 'mo gæthe cro 7 mo gona ag tęcht rium, 7 is mor in t-adb*ur* damh in læch bruthm*ur* mor borrfadach ut do tęcht rium amarach, uair ni seitreach s*ir*calma me ina aigi*d*, & imigsi romut le robad 7 le hoircisęcht dUll*taib con*ach rabaid air muighibh na ar morreigtęch[6]) na ar morcoitcindib na crichi *con*ach airgt*er* torumsa iad, oir ni tualaind me a[7]) ingabail feasda'. IS an*n*sin do crom Lægh a cęn*n* 7 ro caidh frasa dichra der 7 torrsi truagh m*em*elaigh 7 nir toirm*is*g C. C. sin do denam, uair do [f]id*er* fatha in morim[s]nim fod*era*. IS an*n*sin do measg Lægh a mera seada sithgeala a cnędaibh 7 a crolinntib C. C. 7 do *cuir* losa ici 7 le*gis* in*n*ta asa haithle 7

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1) agoinn *F*. 2) airm. a (*sic*) *MS*.
3) *In margin, erased space in text.*
4) aīcta *MS*. 5) com *effaced, end of line.*
6) moirreidhiph *F*, *which read.*
7) a *bis*.

do coirid a cæmleab*aid* cain ndeirighthi C. C., 7 fa leir dosun cach aisti 7 trithi 7 tairrsi, 7 nír leir do n*e*ch df*er*aibh Er*enn* esin in*n*ti, 7 do bisun go dubhach acainthech in ti sin go tainig an c*ed* trian daithi[1]) 7 do bad*ur* an*n*sin beoil na cnędh 7 na crecht ag laigi ara ceile 7 na luibhe ici 7 le*gis* a[g] gab*ail* na c*r*echt nua n-urda n-anabaid. & do codail C. C. in aidhchi sin iar sin.

[74] Imtusa F*ir* D. .ú. do eirigh se seal bec re la & tuc a trealamh *gaile* 7 *gaisgidh* leis go hoirear in atha & do bid aga fiarf*aige*, 'an fuil a n*e*ch ane ar an ath so aniugh?' & ni fuair n*e*ch n-æn da freagrad an*n*. o n*a*ch fuair ...

REMAINDER MISSING.

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[1]) trian deigenoch na hoidhchi *F*.

Dublin. R. I. Best.

IRLANDAIS *NÓIB* — *NÍAB.*

On a depuis longtemps rapproché v.-irl. ***nóib*** „saint“ de v.-perse ***naiba*** „beau, bon“, persan ***nēw*** „fort, énergique“, ***nēk*** „beau, bon“ (de ***naibaka-*). Ces deux mots sont isolés dans tout l'indo-européen; car le groupement avec lat. ***niteō***, v.-irl. ***níam*** „éclat“, que propose M. Lidén, *Stud. z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgeschichte*, p. 59 et suiv., est bien lointain. Osthoff avait rattaché à ce dernier groupe de mots gall. ***nwyf*** „vigor, vivacitas, lascivia“ (I. F., V 302), et M. Lidén acceptait ce rapprochement. Mais on sait aujourd'hui, par M. Kuno Meyer, *Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Preuss. Akademie* 1912, II, p. 794 et suiv., que l'irlandais a eu un mot ***níab***, correspondant à gall. *nwyf* pour la forme et pour le sens. Dès lors, sans insister sur la possibilité d'un rapport lointain avec v.-irl. ***níam*** „éclat“ etc., il semble naturel de grouper ensemble v.-irl. ***níab*** „vigueur, excitation“, et ***nóib*** „saint“ qui diffèrent seulement par le vocalisme radical et qui offrent l'alternance classique de **neibo-* : **noibo-*: l'idée de „sainteté“ est naturellement liée à celle d'une force agissante. On a un beau parallèle si l'on admet que gr. *ἱερός* „fort, puissant“ est le même mot que *ἱερός* (*ἱαρός*) „saint“ et que ce mot est à rapprocher de skr. *iṣiraḥ* „fort, frais, florissant“. Sans doute, ce fait a été contesté par M. W. Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae* 207 et suiv., qui sauf par G. Meyer, a été suivi depuis (v. Boisacq, *Dict. étym. de la langue gr.* p. 368). Mais la facilité avec laquelle *ἱερός* reçoit, au sens de „fort“, un allongement de l'*ι* tient sans doute tout uniment à l'influence du mot de sens voisin *ϝῑερός* et ne donne pas de raison de séparer deux *ἱερός*. Le rapprochement de *ἱερός* „saint“ avec osq. *aisusis* „sacrificiis“ etc. est peu satisfaisant parce que, dans les langues européennes où elle apparaît à coup sûr, la racine **ais-* „honorer, adorer“ a un *ai-* initial; la forme grecque serait isolée. Le rapprochement saisissant de v.-irl. ***nóib*** et ***níab*** apporte une raison nouvelle de ne pas chercher dans le gr. *ἱερός* deux mots d'origines distinctes.

Paris. A. Meillet.

ENTGEGNUNG.

In seiner Besprechung meines „Gral in Irland“ (Rev. Celt. 33, 497 ff.) meint Vendryes, dafs die Zahl 3 mit ihren Vielfachen 9 und 27, deren Bedeutung ich für die Interpretation der Sage als Mondmythos besonders betont habe, in unserem Fall deshalb bedeutungslos sei, da diese Zahl ja auch bei andern Mythenhelden eine Rolle spielte. Ferner sollen seiner Ansicht nach weder die Zahl 30, noch die Zahlen 3, 9 und 27 den Einteilungen des Mondmonats entsprechen. Hätte V. einen Blick auf Bd. 25, 136—137 seiner Zeitschrift geworfen, so wäre ihm vielleicht die Richtigkeit meiner Behauptungen aufgegangen.

Die tatsächlichen Verhältnisse sind ja längst klargestellt. Der Monat (lat. *mēnsis*, gr. *μήν*, ai. *mās* usw.) ist bekanntlich nach dem Mond benannt (O. Schrader, Die Indogermanen, S. 68) und es steht fest, dafs die Indogermanen ursprünglich nach reinen Mondmonaten rechneten (op. cit. S. 70).

Nun beträgt die Dauer des (siderischen) Lichtmonats genau $27^1/_3$, also rund 27 Tage (op. cit. S. 68; Rev. Celt. 25, p. 135), besser gesagt 27 Nächte. Dieser Monat von 27 Nächten zerfiel nun in drei neunnächtige Wochen (Rev. Celt. 25, p. 136). Dafs diese neun Nächte der Woche nicht durch Vervielfachung von drei Nächten entstanden sind, hat Loth a. a. O. ebenfalls hinlänglich bewiesen. Ebenso klar gehört die Dreizahl in den Mondkalender. Drei Nächte lang bleibt der Mond unsichtbar, daher haben wir im attischen Monat die drei *ἀποφράδες*, die den Unterirdischen heilig waren (Rhode, Psyche [2] I 235 und 269, Anm.), in Indien die *trikadruka* usw.

In etwas jüngerer Zeit rechnete man dann die drei dunklen Nächte dem Lichtmonat zu, wodurch man einen 30 nächtigen Mondmonat, synodischer Monat genannt, erhielt (Schrader S. 68,

Rev. Celt. 25, 135). Für die Festlandskelten ist übrigens bei Palchos (Roscher, Die Hebdomadenlehren, S. 200) ein Monat von 27 Nächten ausdrücklich bezeugt.

Man sieht also, daſs Vendryes' Behauptung, die Zahlen 3, 9, 27, 30 hätten mit der Einteilung des Mondmonats nichts zu tun, den Tatsachen direkt hohnspricht.

Seine Behauptung, daſs die Zahl 3 auch bei anderen Sagenhelden oft vorkomme, ist doch kein Gegenbeweis. Die erwähnten Zahlen muſsten sich natürlich allgemein verbreiten. Es handelt sich ja nicht darum, daſs in der Sage von Cúchulainn einzelne Mondmotive vorkommen. Diese würden gar nichts beweisen. Es handelt sich darum, daſs sich eine ganze Reihe von Motiven in logischer Verknüpfung vorfindet. Ebenso verhält es sich mit dem Kampfe zwischen Vater und Sohn. Wenn das der einzige Zug wäre, den Gawain mit Cúchulainn teilte, so wäre er natürlich bedeutungslos.

Vendryes tadelt mich ferner, daſs ich meine Augen den zahlreichen Liebesabenteuern Cúchulinns verschlieſse, um in seinem schamhaften Verhalten nackten Frauen gegenüber ein Rudiment jener Keuschheit zu sehen, die den Gewinner des himmlischen Unsterblichkeitstrankes (Gral) auszeichnet. Auch hier ist er im Unrecht. Es ist von vornherein klar, daſs ein Mythenheld immer die Züge jener Zeit, aus der wir von ihm Überlieferungen besitzen, an sich tragen muſs. Wir wissen, daſs die Zeit, aus der Cúchulinns Auftreten überliefert wird, eine Zeit unbändiger sexueller Freiheit war, in der Liebesabenteuer bei jedem Helden eine Hauptrolle spielten. Wenn wir nun hören, daſs einer dieser Helden auf einmal eine Schamhaftigkeit zeigt, die nicht nur mit dem allgemeinen Kulturzustand, sondern auch mit den übrigen Taten des Helden selbst in Widerspruch steht werden wir da annehmen, daſs die Schamhaftigkeit sekundär eingeführt worden sei (christlicher Einfluſs ist hier noch bestimmt ausgeschlossen), oder daſs sie ein Rudiment einer älteren Überlieferung bilde? Selbstverständlich das letztere, wie ja auch in der Sprachwissenschaft isolierte Formen, die sich in das gegenwärtige System nicht fügen, stets als wertvolle Rudimente eines älteren Zustandes angesehen werden.

Der Haupteinwand, den V. gegen meine Arbeit erhebt, ist der, daſs ich aus der groſsen Masse der Tradition nur das hervorgehoben habe, was für meine These nützlich sei, das übrige aber

vernachlässigt habe; warum sollte eine Mythe nicht ein „pêle-mêle“ von Sonnen-, Mond-, Gewittermythen und historischen Bestandteilen enthalten? Aber ich sage ja selbst auf S. 13: „Zweifellos haben auch die historische Gestalt eines Helden und zahlreiche andere Faktoren bei der Entstehung der Sage mitgespielt“ und auf S. 15 habe ich ausdrücklich ausgeführt, dafs wir bei Cúchulinn auch Züge, die auf einen Vegetationsmythos, einen Sonnenmythos hinweisen und andere, auch historische Elemente finden. In der erwähnten Arbeit habe ich mich eben, wie schon der Titel sagt, nur mit jenen Sagenelementen beschäftigt, die sich auf den Gral, d. h. das himmlische, mit Unsterblichkeitstrank gefüllte Gefäfs beziehen. Da dies Gefäfs nach Hillebrands und Schroeders Ausführungen zweifellos der Mond ist — das wird wohl niemand widerlegen können —, so habe ich mich natürlich mit den lunaren Elementen der Sage beschäftigt.

Was V. dann ferner über die vergleichende Mythologie im allgemeinen sagt, ist nichts als eine schönklingende Phrase, und pafst wohl auf die veralteten Schriften von Max Müller u. a., keineswegs aber auf die neue mythologische Schule, die mit Motiven ebenso exakt arbeitet, wie die Philologie mit Lauten. Im Motiv und in der Motivreihe haben wir ein ebenso zuverlässiges Element, wie in den Lauten und Lautverbindungen. V. verurteilt offenbar eine ganze Wissenschaft, ohne sie zu kennen. Ich verweise ihn auf so wichtige Arbeiten wie J. G. von Hahn: Sagwissenschaftliche Studien (S. 1—140); H. Lefsmann: Aufgaben und Ziele der vergleichenden Mythenforschung (Mythol. Bibliothek I); Stucken: Beiträge zur orientalischen Mythologie (in den Mitteilungen der Vorderasiat. Gesellschaft 1906); derselbe: Moses; Wolfgang Schultz: Die Anschauung vom Monde und seinen Gestalten (Berlin-Treptow, Sternwarte 1912); Ernst Siecke: Mythologische Briefe; derselbe: Liebesgeschichte des Himmels; Georg Hüsing: Taršiš und die Jonalegende (in Memnon, Bd. I); derselbe: Die iranische Überlieferung und das arische System.

Ich wende mich nun zur Kritik Kuno Meyers (ZCP IX S. 180f.). Er meint, ich habe irrtümlich den Kessel des Cúroí von den 30 Kühen anfüllen lassen, während es in Wirklichkeit nur heifse, dafs die Milch von 30 Kühen im Kessel Platz habe, dafs aber die drei Kühe (die ich den drei Epagomenen gleichgesetzt habe) den Kessel täglich mit ihrer Milch anfüllen. Wenn

er auch damit Recht hätte, so würde das doch nichts gegen meine Theorie beweisen. Es handelt sich ja nur im wesentlichen darum: Ein Kessel, der das „Kalb der drei Kühe“ genannt wird, faſst die Milch von 30 Kühen. Wer ihn wirklich füllt, ist hier gleichgültig. Der Kessel, in dem die Milch von 30 Kühen Platz hat, muſs mythologisch ebenso auf den Mond, der in 30 Tagen voll wird, bezogen werden, wie wenn es hieſse, daſs die 30 Kühe, eine nach der andern, ihn täglich füllen. Daſs ich übrigens mit meiner Erklärung des „Kalbes der drei Kühe“ recht gehabt habe, hat unterdessen Karl von Spieſs (Die Behälter des Unsterblichkeitstrankes, Mitteilungen der Anthropolog. Gesellschaft Wien 1914, S. 17—44) an der Hand wertvollen archäologischen und literarischen Materials unzweideutig festgestellt.

Meine Übersetzung von *tír scaith* (Anecd. III 54, 20) „Land des Schattens“ ist von Thurneysen (ZCP IX 234) seither als richtig nachgewiesen worden.

Die Einwände, daſs die Zahlen 3, 9, 27 nach anderweitig vorkommen, beweisen, wie ich schon oben ausgeführt habe, auch nichts gegen meine Auffassung; daſs man beim Mond vor allem die Zahl 28 erwarten würde, ist eine durch nichts zu rechtfertigende Behauptung, die offenbar als lapsus pennae aufzufassen ist.

Zum Schluſs noch eine allgemeine Bemerkung: Einzelne Motive, die natürlich allgemein verbreitet sein können, beweisen gar nichts für die Deutung der Sage oder die Identität zweier Sagenhelden, sondern es handelt sich darum, daſs eine ganze Reihe von Motiven zusammen vorkommt. Dies ist bei den von mir bearbeiteten Sagen der Fall. Übrigens sind in den erwähnten Rezensionen immer nur Einzelheiten getadelt, während die wichtigsten Beweisgründe, die ich vorgebracht habe, nicht widerlegt wurden. Wie will man es erklären, daſs Cúchulinn drei Tage und drei Nächte schläft, daſs er in der Wut bald zu einem purpurnen runden Ball, bald zu einem Bogen wird, daſs er einäugig wird wie der Mond, der beim Phasenwechsel die eine Gesichtshälfte verliert.

Einem Miſsverständnis möchte ich noch vorbeugen: Ich meine natürlich nicht, daſs die alten Irländer zur Zeit, als sie die Sagen von Cúroi und Cúchulinn niederschrieben, sich noch der Tatsache bewuſst waren, daſs es sich um Mondmythen

handelte. Der Gedanke liegt mir gänzlich fern. Ich behaupte nur, daſs in ferner Vorzeit die seltsamen Veränderungen des Mondes, der als regenspendende Vegetationsmacht verehrt wurde, zu zahllosen wunderbaren Erzählungen Anlaſs gaben. Der eine sah in ihm den unerschöpflichen Kessel, der von den 27 unsichtbaren himmlischen Kühen mit Milch gefüllt wurde, der andere einen Gott, der von 27 Feinden (27 Tagen) vernichtet wurde, oder 27 Tage lang lebte — an Stelle der 27 konnte auch durch Hinzurechnen der drei dunklen Nächte eine 30 treten usw. In späterer Zeit war der ursprüngliche Sinn dieser Erzählungen nicht mehr vollkommen verständlich. So konnten sie zusammenflieſsen oder an historische Persönlichkeiten geknüpft werden. Und wenn ich den Cúchulinn als Mondhelden betrachte, so meine ich damit nur, daſs sich an seine Gestalt Traditionen heften, die in grauer Vorzeit durch Beobachtung der Mondphasen entstanden waren, und daſs sie hier in seltener Deutlichkeit und Vollständigkeit bewahrt erscheinen, ohne daſs sich die Kelten in historischer Zeit ihrer wahren Bedeutung noch bewuſst gewesen wären.

Wien. JULIUS POKORNY.

BEITRÄGE ZUR ALTIRISCHEN GRAMMATIK.

Julius Pokorny. A concise Old Irish Grammar and Reader. Part I: Grammar. Halle a. S., Max Niemeyer; Dublin, Hodges, Figgis and Co., Ltd. 1914. 124 pp. 8°.

Eine grofse Lücke in der Sprachlehre des Altirischen auszufüllen, nämlich Thurneysens, Vendryes' und Pedersens ausführlichen Darstellungen eine kurze, für den Anfänger berechnete Einführung in die altirische Sprache an die Seite zu stellen, ist eine verdienstvolle Aufgabe, deren nunmehrige Erfüllung wir Pokorny zu verdanken haben. Es liegt auf der Hand, dafs gegenüber den ausgezeichneten Leistungen der oben genannten Gelehrten und ihrer Mitforscher die Selbständigkeit der Arbeit an einem derartigen Abrifs sich weniger auf eigene neue Forschungen erstreckt, als in der Aufgabe besteht, den in den vorliegenden Grammatiken aufgehäuften Stoff knapper, doch darum nicht weniger klar, übersichtlich und erschöpfend zur Darstellung zu bringen. Und das ist dem Verfasser offenbar in verschiedenen Teilen seiner Grammatik, deren starke Abhängigkeit von der Thurneysenschen für den flüchtigen Betrachter dadurch etwas verdunkelt wird, dafs in Bezug auf die Anordnung des Stoffes eigene Wege betreten werden, aufs beste gelungen: ich erwähne in dieser Hinsicht, um von kleineren Einzelheiten ganz abzusehen, nur die ganze sehr praktisch und präzis angelegte Formenlehre, sowie die Darstellung der genealogischen Entwicklung der indogermanischen Laute, in der mancherlei sprachliche Erscheinungen, wie die Umfärbungen haupttoniger Vokale, die Entstehung von Doppelkonsonanten, die Reduktion von Konsonantengruppen (vgl. aber auch Pokorny S. 10 Anm.) in geschickter Weise mit untergebracht sind. Unterbrochen wird sie leider durch das Kapitel über den dissimilatorischen Konsonantenschwund (§ 110), das vielleicht besser an anderem Orte, etwa im Zusammenhang mit

der Vokalkontraktion (§ 125—126), eingereiht worden wäre, aufserdem durch den § 109 über die unter bestimmten Voraussetzungen eintretende Ersatzdehnung von Vokalen, die zwar zu den in den beiden vorhergehenden Kapiteln berührten Erscheinungen in Beziehung steht, aus dem Rahmen des Ganzen hier aber herausfällt und passender bei der Lenierung der Verschlufslaute hätte untergebracht werden können.

Auch dem gerechtfertigten Anspruch auf möglichste Kürze ist, wie der geringe Umfang des Buches zeigt, vollkommen Genüge getan, und es ist sehr zu begrüfsen, dafs sich der Verfasser trotz der ihm auferlegten Beschränkung nicht mit einer dem Sprachwissenschaftler wenig dienlichen rein deskriptiven Behandlung des Stoffes begnügt hat, sondern durch die Darstellung der historischen Entwicklung den Zusammenhang mit den anderen indogermanischen Sprachen aufrecht zu erhalten bemüht war. Allerdings machen Laut- und Formenlehre, mit denen der Inhalt des Buches leider auch erschöpft ist, allein eine historische Grammatik nicht aus, und speziell das Irische bietet so manche anderen Sprachen unbekannte Eigenheiten, die dem Lernenden nicht hätten vorenthalten werden dürfen. Obwohl nun auch der demnächst zu erwartende zweite, die Lesestücke enthaltende Teil des Buches in dieser Hinsicht mancherlei Lücken auszufüllen bestimmt sein wird, so scheint mir doch, da dieser, selber nur eine Auswahl von Texten, auch wohl nur zu einer Auswahl von Ergänzungen Gelegenheit geben wird, jenes keine genügende Rechtfertigung aller im Buche sich findenden Lücken. Ist es schon bedenklich, dafs über die Erklärung mancher dem Anfänger besonders fremdartiger Erscheinungen der altirischen Grammatik, wie der Bedeutung und Verwendung von Pronomina und Verstärkungspartikeln, von Relativsätzen usw., so leicht hinweggeschritten wird, so erfahren wir vollends garnichts von nicht minder wichtigen Problemen der Sprache, wie dem Gebrauch der Adjektive, dem der Kasus und Tempora, der Negationen und Konjunktionen, der Bildung von Kollektiven, Deminutiven und namentlich Verbalabstrakten, der Stammbildung der Adjektive, der denominativen Verba u. a. m. Alles das aber ist in einer auf praktische Brauchbarkeit Anspruch erhebenden Grammatik um so weniger zu entbehren, als nur mit toten Lautregeln und isolierten Wortformen der lebendige Geist der Sprache dem Lernenden nicht erschlossen wird. Diesem Mangel der Voll-

ständigkeit abzuhelfen, ohne das Gebot der Kürze übertreten zu müssen, hätte aber die Zugabe einiger weniger Textseiten, im Verein mit teilweiser Kürzung einiger über Gebühr ausgedehnter Abschnitte wohl ermöglicht; denn der Verfasser hat offenbar das Wichtige vom Entbehrlichen nicht immer scharf genug zu scheiden gewufst, wofür ich, um Kleinigkeiten ganz aufser Spiel zu lassen, die von Pokorny offensichtlich mit speziellem Interesse behandelten Abschnitte über die Behandlung des intervokalischen *u̯* (§ 112, 3) und über die Vokalkontraktion (§ 125—126) anführen möchte, in denen, mit Rücksicht auf die Unsicherheit der zugrunde liegenden Erscheinungen, gröfstmögliche Beschränkung auf das Notwendigste den Bedürfnissen besser entsprochen hätte. Die Erwähnung anderer zweifelhafter Probleme, wie der dem Stokes-Zupitzaschen Gesetz (vergl. Thurn. Handb. § 147, Ped. Gr. I § 97, Gött. gel. Anz. 174. 45) unterliegenden Vorgänge in §§ 92 ff., ist von anfechtbarem Werte, und vollständig entbehrlich sind endlich die gesamten Kapitel über die Vokalabstufung (§§ 127—131), die nur ganz unwesentlich zur Erläuterung der in der Grammatik behandelten Dinge beitragen.

Andererseits wäre eine weniger grofse Sparsamkeit mit dem verfügbaren Raum überall da am Platze gewesen, wo es die zuweilen ganz einzigartigen Lautgesetze und Formenregeln der altirischen Sprache durch Beispiele zu veranschaulichen galt. Diese in der Grammatik oft sich äufsernde Spärlichkeit der Erläuterung ist ein in keiner Weise abzuleugnender Grundfehler der Pokornyschen Arbeit, verursacht sie doch, dafs oft die an sich schwierigen Laut- und Formenregeln, die bisweilen schon durch ihre Knappheit gegenüber Thurneysens ausführlicheren Fassungen an Klarheit einbüfsen, jeder Stütze und damit der Möglichkeit entbehren, sich dem Sprachbewufstsein einzuprägen. Besonders mifslich tritt dieser Umstand in dem komplizierten Kapitel über die infigierten Pronomina zu Tage, vollends in demjenigen über die Präpositionen, das, ein Auszug aus Thurneysens und Pedersens entsprechenden Abschnitten, in einer seitenlangen Aneinanderreihung von Wortfragmenten besteht und auf uns etwa wirken mag wie eine Logarithmentafel, deren Zahlengewimmel zum Nachdenken keine Anregung und keinen Anhalt bietet. Als einzelne Fälle andersgearteter Unklarheit seien hier noch der Abschnitt über die Konsonantenverdoppelungen (§ 34), dem jedes Rückgrat fehlt, sowie der die *u*-Färbung behandelnde § 49 er-

wähnt, in dem, nicht zum Nutzen der Klarheit, das Auftreten der Erscheinung in betonter mit dem in unbetonter Stellung zusammengeworfen ist.

Im Kapitel über die „Aspiration“ (§§ 5—19) sind zwar die Vorgänge der im Innern eines Wortes eintretenden Lenierung mit denen der syntaktischen Lenierung (auch in Relativsätzen), woran sich dann Nasalierung und Geminierung ungezwungen anschliefsen, in einwandfreier Weise zusammengefafst, getrennt aber, in durch nichts zu rechtfertigender Abweichung von Thurneysens Anordnung, sind davon verschiedene hiehergehörige Erscheinungen, mit dem zweifelhaften Erfolge, dafs sie hier vermifst werden, an der ihnen angewiesenen Stelle aber den Zusammenhang des Ganzen zerreifsen. Dahin gehören das Stimmlos- oder Stimmbarwerden (auch in unbetonter Stellung) und die Entspirantisierung von Konsonanten, die Entwicklung der aspirierten Verschlufslaute vor *l*, *r* und *n* (s. o.) usw. in den §§ 72—75, 84—89, 109; dies aber, zusammen mit dem Umstand, dafs auch in Einzelheiten der Anordnung der Verfasser seine eigenen Wege gehen zu sollen glaubt, nötigt ihn bisweilen, engverwandte Vorgänge bald von einander zu trennen, bald an mehreren Stellen zu wiederholen, wofür ich als Beispiele die Deaspiration (besser: Nichtlenierung) von *t* und *d* hinter *l*, *n*, *s* und vor *s*, die in §§ 19a, 84b und 86b behandelt ist, die Vertretung lenierter „Geminaten“ (§§ 19b, 84a, 86a, 87a) und endlich die in den §§ 85 und 86c berührten Ausgleichungen von Spiranten anführen möchte.

Noch weniger vorteilhaft, obwohl besonderer Sorgfalt bedürftig, ist die Behandlung der äufserst komplizierten Konsonantenfärbungen ausgefallen. Obgleich, wie mich ein eigener praktischer Versuch lehrte, gerade hier gegenüber Thurneysens Darstellung ein Fortschritt, bestehend in knapperer, übersichtlicherer Verteilung des Stoffes, erzielbar gewesen wäre, scheint der Verfasser diesen offenbar im Geiste nicht hinreichend verarbeitet zu haben, um, im Bestreben, selbständig vorzugehen, Praktischeres als Thurneysen zu schaffen. Vielmehr hat er auch naheliegende Möglichkeiten der Kürzung und Vereinfachung aufser acht gelassen, wie in den Kapiteln über die Übergangsvokale und die Konsonantenfärbung durch geschwundene Vokale (§§ 36—39, 47—49), die, als engverwandte Erscheinungen, auch in engeren Zusammenhang hätten gebracht werden können; dafs, wenn auch

nicht grölsere Klarheit, so doch eine knappere Fassung auch im § 57 über die Qualität der schwachbetonten Vokale im Wortinnern erreichbar gewesen wäre, sei nur beiläufig erwähnt: Thurneysens §§ 98 f. sind hier sehr getreulich kopiert. Zu diesem Übelstand tritt der bei weitem störendere, dals gerade dieses Kapitel durch wiederholte Einschiebung von wenig oder doch nicht unmittelbar mit ihm zusammengehörigen Erscheinungen aus der altirischen Lautlehre in seinem klaren Zusammenhang zum Teil gänzlich zerrifsen ist. Freilich wäre es wünschenswert, mitunter Vorgänge der Lautentwicklung, die der Erklärung anderer zur Voraussetzung dienen (wie hier die Lehre von den Endsilben und den Gleitvokalen, von der Synkope und den Färbungsausgleichungen), mit diesen auch äufserlich zusammenzubringen, doch ist dies, da doch das Netz solcher Beziehungen verworren über die ganze Grammatik sich ausbreitet, stets nur in unvollkommenstem Mafse möglich, und müssen da, wo diese hier von Pokorny leider angewandte Methode die Übersichtlichkeit als Opfer fordert, hinlängliche Verweisungen als ausreichende Bindungsmittel angesehen werden. In Betracht kommen in jener Hinsicht hier die Abschnitte über die Behandlung der alten Endsilbenlaute (§§ 42—46), über die Entwicklung epenthetischer Vokale (§§ 50, 59), die Betonung und Synkope (§§ 51—53 und 55 I), die Quantitätsänderungen unbetonter bezw. betonter Vokale (§§ 54, 56), die, etwa bei folgender Anordnung der Lautlehre, viel besser zur Geltung hätten kommen können:

I. a) §§ 1—4.
   b) §§ 5—19, vereinigt mit §§ 72—76, 84—89, 109.
   c) §§ 20—34.
II. Betonung (§§ 51—53).
III. Quantität der Vokale (§§ 54, 56).
IV. Vokale und Konsonanten in alten Endsilben (§§ 42—46).
V. Synkope (§ 55 I).
VI. Entwicklung epenthetischer Vokale (§§ 50, 59).
VII. Übergangsvokale und Konsonantenfärbungen (§§ 35—41, 47—49, 55 II, 57, 58, 60—71).
VIII. Lautentwicklung in proklitischen Wörtern (§§ 77—83).
IX. Genealogische Entwicklung der indogermanischen Laute (§§ 91—108, 111—124).

X. Dissimilatorischer Konsonantenschwund (§ 110).
XI. Vokalkontraktion (§§ 125, 126) und Ablaut (§§ 127—131).

Vervollständigt endlich wird das Maſs der in diesem Teile der Grammatik zu rügenden Mängel durch die schon oben genannte, hier aber besonders schwerwiegende Kargheit mit Beispielen, welche die Regeln, die ohnehin gerade hier — freilich in Übereinstimmung mit den sich oft widersprechenden lautlichen Erscheinungen — sich mehrere Male kreuzen, oft nicht zu der ihnen gebührenden Geltung kommen läſst; wir werden hier manchmal, um Klarheit zu gewinnen, nicht umhin können, in Thurneysens oder Pedersens Grammatiken die Lösung der von Pokorny uns aufgegebenen Rätsel zu suchen.

Dies die hauptsächlichsten Vorzüge und Nachteile der neuen Grammatik; leider scheinen mir jene den letzteren nicht ganz das Gleichgewicht zu halten, und es steht zu befürchten, daſs diese in ihrer Gesamtheit genügen werden, der praktischen Brauchbarkeit des Buches als eines ersten Hilfsmittels zur Erlernung der altirischen Sprache erheblichen Eintrag zu tun. Hoffentlich wird der vom Verfasser schon öfters genannte Reader, den in ihn gesetzten Erwartungen entsprechend, diese meine Ansicht wesentlich zu modifizieren geeignet sein.

Es sei mir im Anschluſs hieran zu verschiedenen einzelnen Bemerkungen und Ausführungen über mir aufgefallene Unsicherheiten, Druckfehler und sonstige Versehen Gelegenheit gegeben.

§ 1, 1. Hier wäre vielleicht auf § 90 Note (S. 33) zu verweisen.

§ 16c. *airchenn* wird durch die ihm substituierte Form **pre-k̯engnom* weniger gut erklärt als durch das näherliegende **air-*, **are-cenn*. Dieser und ähnliche Fälle werden in Vendryes' in der Revue celtique erschienenen Kritik der Grammatik ausführlich erörtert.

§ 19 Note 2. Der Fall von *tíagussa* (aus *tíagu-sa*), dessen *ss* seine Entstehung aus *s* nicht etwa einer regelrechten „Geminierung“, sondern nur der bei Thurn. Hdb. § 133, Ped. Gr. I, § 326, 1 S. 479 oben besprochenen spontanen Verdoppelung unlenierter Konsonanten verdankt (vgl. auch Ped. Gött. gel. Anz. 174, 23), eignet sich nicht als Beispiel für die Nichtlenierbarkeit der Verstärkungspartikeln, da doch für die betreffende Verbalform eine lenierende Wirkung

auch sonst nicht anzunehmen wäre, und ist ebensowenig angebracht im § 34 über die Geminierung nach vortonigen Wörtern, wo er ganz unverständlich den Fällen *bacalar* (aus *ba galar*) und *colláa* (aus *co láa*) gleichgestellt wird.

§ 32. Über die Auffassung von *cechtar n-athar* (und *cechtar n-ár*) 'jeder von uns beiden' sowie dem Possessivpronomen *athar, ár* der 1. pl. in § 161 vgl. Thurn. Idg. Anz. 33, 27 zu Ped. Gr. II, S. 169.

§ 34. „In the genitive of the article" ist korrekter und erschöpfender auszudrücken: „in the gen. sg. fem., acc. pl. masc. and the nom. acc. pl. fem. neutr. of the article".

§ 44 exception. Die hier und in der Anmerkung gegebene Erklärung von *fíada, fíado* „Herr" entspricht derjenigen in Ped. Gr. II, § 448, 1, während Thurn. Hdb. § 325 der Unsicherheit der Lautentwicklung in diesem Worte mehr Gewicht beigelegt wird. Vgl. Thurneysen, Idg. Anz. 27 S. 17.

§ 46. Zur Entwicklung von nichtauslautendem *i̯ā* in Endsilben, die auch im gen. sg. der *ā*-Stämme (Pok. § 135), in der 3. sg. subj. praes. konjunkter Flexion der *i*-Verben (Pok. § 176, 2 Note 1) und bei der Erklärung der Futurform *·lili* (angeblich statt **·lile*) zu *len(a)id* (Pok. § 177, 3 Note) eine Rolle spielt, vgl. Thurn. Hdb. §§ 90, 295, 303 (anders, entsprechend Pok., Ped. Gr. II, § 431), Pokorny K. Z. 46, 281 ff.

§ 55 I note b. *foéssama* ist als Beispiel für analogische Restitution einer eigentlich der Synkope unterworfenen Silbe ungeeignet, da es vielmehr die lautgesetzliche Form darstellt und im Gegenteil *foésma* auf falscher analogischer Synkopierung beruht. Vorausgesetzt nämlich, dafs die von Ped. (Gr. I, § 210, II, § 824, 2) versuchte Herleitung aus **fo-sessam* das Richtige trifft, glaube ich ZCP IX 28 nachgewiesen zu haben, dafs in diesem Wort die nach der bekannten Regel stets die zweite Silbe treffende Synkope sich in der zum Diphthongen *oí, oé* (später *aí, uí*) führenden Kontraktion der beiden Hiatusvokale *o* und *e* äufsert, sodafs also *foésma, foésmim* „I confess" (vgl. Atk., Pass. and Hom. 712 b) eine nochmalige, die ursprünglich dritte Silbe betreffende Synkopierung zeigen, die als Analogiebildung nach anderen Wortparadigmen sich leicht erklärt. Zu *foéssama* stehen die doppelt gekürzten Formen im gleichen Verhältnis, wie

die später belegten *taisce, tusca* (= *túsca*) „sooner, earlier, rather; more important", Komparative von *toísech* „first, principal; chief, leader" (aus **to-uissako-*) zu den älteren, regelrechten *toisigiu, toisechu* (später *tuisechu, tuisecha*) usw. Vgl. dazu Asc. Gl. S. 318 sub *toissech*, Anc. Laws Gl. S. 764 sub *tusca*, Atk. Pass. S. 909 a (*taisce*) und 943 b (*tusca*).

§ 55 II Anm. 1 (S. 19). Die Form *intamail* „Nachahmen, Heucheln" (aus „**indeśamail*") ist nicht beweiskräftig genug, um auf ihr ein Lautgesetz aufzubauen, nach dem leniertes nichtpalatales *s* (= *h*) beim Zusammenstofs mit vorausgehenden palatalen Konsonanten deren Depalatalisierung veranlafst. Denn abgesehen davon, dafs bei obiger Grundform die Gestalt *intamail* (statt **intem(u)il*) auf blofser analogischer Restitution der Stammsilbe nach *samail, in·samlathar, écsamail* usw. beruhen kann, wie auch die etymologisierenden Schreibweisen *in(t)samail, indsamuil* bei Asc. Gl. 230 ff. nahelegen, scheinen gewisse Umstände darauf hinzuweisen, dafs in einigen Fällen die dem gallischen *ande-* gleichzusetzende Form *ind-*[1]) schon frühzeitig den palatalen Vokal ihrer zweiten Silbe, vermutlich im Anschlufs an den normalen Kompositionsvokal *o*, durch einen dunklen ersetzt hat. Auf diese Weise wenigstens, also durch Ansetzung von **indo-neth-*, läfst sich das altirische *indn(a)ide* „Erwarten" (Belege Asc. Gl. S. 358) am einfachsten erklären, ebenso, neben *cuimrech* „Fessel" und *fuirech* „Aufhalten, Verweilen" aus **com-*, **fo-rigo-*, die dunkle Form *indrach*, neuir. *ionnrach* (**indo-rigo-*) „a tent or plug used to keep wounds open" (Ped. Gr. I, S. 100, II, § 794 Anm. 3, Anc. Laws Gl. s. v. *indindrach*), die bei ihrer isolierten Stellung und Bedeutung analogischen Einflüssen weniger ausgesetzt war als z. B. das später in dieser Gestalt belegte, in der Lautentwicklung sehr ähnliche *indrad, ionnradh* „Einfall, Angriff" aus **indo-reton* (vgl. Anc. Laws Gl. 505, Atk. Pass. s. v. *indrith*), dessen ältere (altirische) Formen *indreth, indred* (s. Asc. Gl. 206) sich im Vokalismus an *rethid, in·reith* und das bedeutungsverwandte *tairred* „Einfall" (Ped. Gr. II, § 797, 2) angeschlossen haben. Ebenso ist für das

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1) Aus **n̥de* entstand gallisch *ande*, ir. **inde*, das darauf zu **indo-* wurde. Wegen der scheinbar durch *and* „dort, in ihm" verursachten Schwierigkeit (Thurn. Hdb. S. 473) vgl. Ped. Gr. I, S. 114 f., 247. II, § 502 Anm. 2.

demnach zu erwartende **tindram* „Erörterung“, aus **to-indo-rím, tindrem* (Ped. Gr. II, § 800) im Anschlufs an *tuirem* (aus **to-rím*) eingetreten. Die Ansetzung einer Form **indo-* erklärt noch andere Sonderbarkeiten der Konsonantenfärbungen im Altirischen; in welchem Umfang aber jener Kompositionsvokal sich eingeschlichen haben mag, möchte ich an dieser Stelle nicht zu bestimmen suchen.

§ 57 b 4. Aus den bei Thurn. Hdb. § 99, 5 angeführten *forgare* „Befehl“ = sonstigem *forgaire, mórate* „die grofs machen“ = *móraite* auch ein *scélage* statt *scélaige, scélige* „Erzähler“ zu konstruieren, geht nicht an; in dieser Form ist das Suffix, wie mir Herr Prof. Thurneysen mitzuteilen die Güte hatte, schwerlich belegt.

§ 60. Die Erklärung des gen. sg. *arathair* entspricht derjenigen in Ped. Gr. I, § 242 Anm. 2; doch vergleiche auch Thurn. Hdb. § 158, Bergin, Contributions §§ 77, 148. — Übrigens sollte hier auf *anacol* „protection“ § 63 verwiesen werden, das ebenfalls einen epenthetischen Vokal enthält, vgl. Ped. Gr. II, § 372, 1.

§ 62. Sofern man nicht überhaupt vorzieht, die Erscheinungen der Depalatalisierung und der *u*-Färbung von Labialen und Gutturalen unter den in §§ 62 und 65, 2 (mit Note 1, 2) gegebenen Bedingungen, wie es bei Thurn. Hdb. §§ 165—168 geschieht, in engeren Konnex miteinander treten zu lassen, ist hier, im Kapitel über die Rundung, der Abschnitt auf S. 23 über die Depalatalisierung unangebracht und geeignet, den Leser zu verwirren, zumal in dem kurz vorher angeführten *dorus* ein Beispiel für die Depalatalisierung auch anderer Konsonanten vorliegt. Jener ist also mit § 65, 2 Note 2 zu verschmelzen, auf den ja auch ebenda verwiesen ist.

§ 63. Statt **mḷgono-, *mḷgonōi* lies: **mḷǵono-, *mḷǵonōi* (corr. Pokorny).

§ 63 mit Nachtrag (in den Corrigenda) zeichnet sich durch ziemliche Unklarheit aus. Die hier getroffene Scheidung einer *u-* von einer *o*-Färbung, von denen die erstere regelrecht dem dat. sg. *mlegun*, die letztere dagegen dem nom. *mlegon* zukommen soll, hat wenig Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich, vielmehr sind die beiden eher nur als blofse Varianten eines und desselben Timbres zu betrachten. Vgl. Thurn.

Hdb. § 98, 8 und § 171, anders — im Sinne Pokornys — Ped. Gött. gel. Anz. 174, S. 36f. mit Anm. Die gleiche „*o*-Färbung" ist auch schon in § 57c2 berührt, wo sie, aufser dem auch in § 63 behandelten *anacol*, zugleich der Form *feronn* „Land" aus **u̯erono-* zur Erklärung dient, deren doppeltes *n* nach Mac Neill, Proc. of the R. Ir. Ac. 25 C. no. 15, Ped. Gr. II, § 454, Pok. § 76 aus einfachem *n* regelrecht entwickelt ist. Die Lautgestalt *feronn*, als archaisch durch ihr alleiniges Vorkommen in den Annals of Ulster gekennzeichnet, ist doch aber von dem später ausnahmslos auftretenden *ferann*, *ferand* zeitlich verschieden, daher mit diesen Formen nicht als gleichberechtigt anzusehen, während die Formen des altirischen Wortes für „Nässe, Regen", *flechod*, *fleuchud*, *fliuchad* (vgl. Asc. Gl. 344 f., *fliuch* Ped. Gr. I, S. 60, 367, *fliuchad* Anc. Laws Gl. 370), dessen Grundform **vlik'o-tom* (Pok. S. 23 Anm. 1) eher *flechad*, wie später belegt, erwarten liefse, von zu wechselnder Gestalt und analogischer Beeinflussung, teils durch das Adjektiv *fliuch*, teils durch die cas. obl. (*flechuid*), zu sehr ausgesetzt sind, um als sichere Stütze eines Lautgesetzes zu dienen. — Übrigens erklärt sich die Pok. § 145, 4 aus **menmen-os* hergeleitete Form des gen. sg. pl. *menman* nach der von Thurn. Hdb. § 171 gegebenen, von Pokorny übergangenen Regel über das der *u*-Färbung nicht zugängliche unlenierte *m*, mit der sich das scheinbar widersprechende *immun* aus lat. hymnus (Pok. § 60, Ped. Gött. gel. Anz. 174, 37) durch die Annahme vereinigen läfst, dafs nur vor erhaltenen ursprünglichen Vokalen *m* dunkel bleibt, vor epenthetischen dagegen der Rundung zugänglich ist.

S. 24 Anm. 1. Hier ist auf § 66 zu verweisen.

§ 81. Ob für *ind*, den dat. sg. des Artikels, aus **sin·dū*, das von Pokorny angesetzte **iund* zu erwarten wäre, ist wegen *rind* „Stirn", *mind* „Diadem", *lind* „Flüssigkeit" (neutr. *u*-Stämme) zweifelhaft.

Zu § 83 und S. 60 Fufsnote (über die Endung des nom. acc. dual. der *o*-Stämme) vgl. Thurn. Hdb. § 286, Ped. Gr. II, § 426.

§ 84 d note. Die Erklärung von *do·adbat* nach Ped. Gr. I, § 242 Anm. 1, § 289, 4; doch vgl. Thurn. Hdb. § 589. Pok. § 112, 4 und § 210 (*ad·fét*) kommen darauf zurück.

§ 94, Zeile 7. Statt: § 98, p. 3 F lies: § 98 p. 37.

§ 97, Zeile 7 von unten. Statt: *kst* appears as *st* lies: *ksk* appears as *sc.*

§ 101. Statt: also *lpn* § 98 a lies: also *lpn,* see *sellaim* § 98.

§ 104. Statt: T. I. lies: I. E.

§ 106. Statt: Cf. *céimm* § 145 lies: Cf. *céimm* § 146.

Die Entwicklung einer Grundform **ghr̥ndhā* zu *grend* „Bart“ wird von Ped. Gr. I, § 31, 1 b zu verteidigen gesucht, während man nach den Regeln eb. § 29, 1, Thurn. Hdb. § 69, Pok. § 115, 2 — so ist nämlich in Zeile 6 statt „§ 113“ zu verbessern — wegen des dem Vokal folgenden, den Umlaut von *i* zu *e* sonst hindernden *nd* entweder bei obiger Grundform **grind* erwarten oder statt dieser das normalstufige **ghrendhā* ansetzen möchte. Bei der Unsicherheit dieser Verhältnisse wäre das Beispiel besser durch ein anderes ersetzt.

§ 109. Zu *nél* „Wolke“ („**nebhlos*“) vgl. Ped. Gr. I, § 72 S. 117 mit dem Zusatz S. 538, aber auch Thurn. Hdb. § 122. Mit Unsicherheiten wie *cretar, cretair* „Reliquie“ aus **kredhrā* (?), neben dem *áram* aus **ad-rīmā* mir eher die regelrechte Bildung zu repräsentieren scheint, eine kurzgefafste Grammatik zu belasten, kommt mir bedenklich vor. Vgl. übrigens Ped. Gr. I, § 68, wegen des hier behandelten *·fitir* „er weifs“ auch Thurn. Hdb. § 700, S. 402, aufserdem eb. § 160.

§ 110, Zeile 3. Statt: the last consonant lies: the lost consonant.

§ 112, 3 h (δ und ε). Als Vertreter des auf ursprünglichem *ou̯* beruhenden *o* im Hiatus vor Vokalen sind kurze *o* und *u*, nicht, wie Pokorny ansetzt [vgl. ebenso in *drúäd,* richtiger *dru-ad,* § 112, 3 i (δ)], deren Längen zu betrachten, die vielmehr erst aus der in der altirischen Sprachperiode eintretenden sekundären Dehnung betonter Hiatusvokale hervorgegangen sind. Dafs die Umfärbung eines *o* zu *u* aufser vor *i* und *u* auch im Hiatus vor folgendem *e,* für das Pokorny die infizierende Kraft in Abrede stellt, als normal zu betrachten sei, glaube ich ZCP IX 65 f. an Hand von *fuar* „Bewirkung“ gezeigt zu haben[1]); denn obgleich scheinbar die Entwicklung

[1]) Wenn auch der von Ped. Gr. II, S. 664 gegen meine Erklärung von *tuus* erhobene Einwand, dafs die zweite Silbe dieses Wortes ursprüngliches *i,*

eines Diphthongen *úa* (aus *ó*) im Präteritum *·fúair, ·fúar* „er, ich fand“ aus **·u̯e-u̯r-* > **·u̯o-u̯r-* > **·u̯our-* zu *·fríth* „wurde gefunden“ (vgl. Thurn. Hdb. §§ 687, 689, Ped. Gr. II, S. 369) der von Pokorny versuchten Herleitung des Wortes (*fúar* mit Diphthong!) aus **upo-u̯r-om, *fou̯rom* stützend zur Seite steht, sprechen gegen die Annahme des diphthongischen *úa* doch die von Ped. Gr. II, S. 676, Zusatz zu S. 518, bezeugten und bei Atk., Pass. 732 s. v. *fúr* „watching for, awaiting“ (lies: preparing) und Anc. Laws Gl. 434 s. v. *fur* belegten monophthongischen Formen dieses Wortes mit langem *ú*, das, wie man Pedersens Bemerkungen (Gr. I, S. 318) über neuir. *lūn, mū, kūš* usw. entnehmen kann, nicht aus zu *úa* diphthongiertem *ó* hervorgegangen sein kann, sondern vermutlich im durchaus regelrechten Dativ *fu-ur* durch Kontraktion der beiden Vokale entstanden ist: mit dem dat. sg. haben wir es an jenen Belegstellen gröſstenteils auch zu tun. Dazu kommt, daſs, auch jene Grundform zugegeben, dann immer noch die doch sicher die vollstufige Wurzel *-fer-* enthaltenden Verbalformen *fo·ruar, fod·ruar* der Erklärung harrten. Anderseits ist bei dem von Pokorny als beweisend betrachteten *oac* (*óac*) „jung“ aus **i̯ou̯enko-, *i̯ou̯n̥ko-* (vgl. Ped. Gr. I, S. 61), wenn nicht sogar an den Einfluſs des ursprünglich anlautenden *i̯*, dann doch an analogische Erhaltung des Vokals im Anschluſs an das bedeutungsverwandte *óg* „unversehrt, jung; Jüngling, Jungfrau“ (auch *úag*) zu denken, dessen Formen namentlich in späterer Zeit mit denen jenes Wortes oft in naher Berührung stehen. Eine Stütze dürfte der unumgelautete Vokal wohl auch an den nach der Lautregel über *toísech* (mit *e* oder *i*; vgl. ZCP IX 27 ff.) als ursprünglich anzusehenden Formen dat. pl. **oícib*, acc. pl. **oíciu* (vgl. *óice* — besser *oíce* — „Jungsein“! Wi. Táin 3402, Atk., Pass. 3947) gefunden haben; belegt sind

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nicht *e*, enthalte, berechtigt ist, so verliert dasselbe doch nicht an Bedeutsamkeit, da dann das Nebeneinander von *toísech*:*tuus* nur nicht bei der Behandlung von *ou̯e*, sondern bei der von *ou̯i* heranzuziehen ist. — Die von Vendryes R. C. 33, 463 ff. auf Grund von *duma, dua(e), dóe* „Wall“ gegen diese Regel gemachten Einwendungen bin ich an diesem Orte leider nicht weiter zu verfolgen imstande, glaube nur, daſs man, bei der bekannten Inkonsequenz der mittelirischen Orthographie, aus diesen Schreibungen die exakte Lautgestalt der betreffenden Wörter nicht zuverlässig genug erschlieſsen kann.

allerdings nur die Formen *ócaib, ócu* (wie in der Komposition — statt *oic-* — *ócmil, ócthigernd* usw.), zu dem nunmehr fertig entwickelten Grundwort *oac* (*óac*) mit Hilfe der gleichen, sekundären Vokalkontraktion gebildet, die auch die Formen *lóthor* „Becken“, *erchót* „Schaden“, *estósc* „Auspressen“ aus älteren *loathar, erchoat* und *estoasc* (s. u. zu § 126, 1 note 2) entstehen liefs. Vgl. darüber Thurn. Hdb. § 110, Ped. Gr. I, §§ 168, 201, 3, auch § 171, 1 S. 266. Auf *-oui-* übrigens geht vielleicht auch zurück *uan* „Schaum“, zu dem Ped. Gr. I, S. 61 zu vergleichen ist.

Da, wie ich als sicher annehme (siehe auch unten zu § 114, 1 c), betontes *e* genau den gleichen Gesetzen der Umfärbung wie *o* unterworfen ist, müssen wir auch für jenes in Hiatusstellung nicht nur vor *i* und *u*, sondern auch vor *e* den Umlaut zu *i* erwarten; *eue* ist nun freilich mit *oue* zusammengefallen, so dafs in den in Betracht kommenden Fällen ein auf andere Weise entstandener Hiatus vorliegen mufs. Obgleich ich aber einen solchen bei *o* leider nicht finden konnte, stehe ich doch nicht an, auch für *o-e, ope, ose* die gleiche Entwicklung zu *uä* wie für *oue* vorauszusetzen, worauf ich mit dem letzteren ein *e-e, epe* oder *ese* unbedenklich in Parallele stellen kann. Ein in dieser Stellung unumgelautetes haupttoniges *e* finden wir nun, vgl. Thurn. Hdb. § 75, Vendryes Idg. Anz. 27, 19, Ped. Gr. I, S. 92 unten und § 28, 4, in *teë* (später *té*) „heifs“ aus **tepent-*, dessen Lautentwicklung zufolge vermutlich Pokorny § 114, 3 a die Erhaltung des Hiatus-*e* vor folgendem *e* als gesetzlich betrachtet; aber *tee* „heifs“ kann sich im Vokalismus sehr wohl an *tess* „Hitze“, *tene* „Feuer“ angeschlossen haben, und das weiterhin hier verwertbare *deïd* „träge“, acc. *déed*, gen. *deeid* (vgl. Thurn. Hdb. § 360, Ped. Gr. I, S. 310) und *déess* „Untätigkeit“ (Wb. 25 b 9), nach Ped. Gr. II, § 383, 1 S. 35, § 459, 6 aus **de-sed-* entsprechend lat. deses „müfsig, träge“ entstanden, zeigen *e* statt *i* wohl im Anschlufs an die zwar analogisch als *deedi, déedib, déesse* (Thurn. Hdb. § 260, 4) erscheinenden, aber eigentlich, mit der zu erwartenden Kontraktion der Mittelsilbe mit der ersten, als **déidi, *déidib, *déisse* (*dédi, dédib, désse*) anzusetzenden Formen. Gegenseitigen Beeinflussungen sind die Formen dieses Paradigmas besonders ausgesetzt, wie auch die vermutlich einsilbigen dat. und

acc. sg. *deis, des,* Contrib. 601, gegenüber älterem *deeis* (Ml. 35c 10) beweisen. Zu *ré* „Zeit, Zwischenraum“, gen. *réhe, rée* vgl. Thurn. Hdb. § 294, Ped. Gr. I, § 159, 2. Diesen Fällen gegenüber würde als regelrechte Form *di-all* „Deklination“ zu *do·ella* (*·*pelnāt,* vgl. lat. ap-pellere) zu betrachten sein, vorausgesetzt, dafs die zum Paradigma gehörigen Formen (s. Asc. Gl. S. 56 f.) *nad-n·díllem, dílledach, dílledche* (mit kurzem *i* geschrieben, aber schwerlich nach Ped. Gr. II, § 711, 3 auf Assoziierung mit *fillid* zurückführbar) nicht vielmehr auf **dí-ell-,* entsprechend *·dímea, dítiu* zu *do·em, ·díg* zu *do·feich, ·fich* weisen, sondern die im gallischen *βρατου-δε,* im alten *de* „davon, von ihm“, in *dénum* (aus **dĕ-gním*) und sonst noch (vgl. Thurn. Hdb. § 824) erscheinende Form der Präposition „von“ auch hier vorliegt und seine Umfärbung dem folgenden *e* (wie die in *diummus, diupart, diucrae,* vgl. Ped. Gr. I, S. 311 oben, vermutlich dem folgenden *u*) verdankt.

Dafs statt *do·cótar* „sie gingen“, wie Pok. S. 44 schreibt, aus *·*coṷatar,* altir. vielmehr *do·cotar* (so Pok. S. 118 sub *téit*) zu lesen ist, scheint mir durch die altirische Schreibweise dieser Formen (nebst *do·commar,* vgl. Ped. Gr. I, § 210, II S. 642) geboten, und glaube ich ZCP IX S. 28 mit der auch von Pok. § 126, 1 über *fochaid* „Folter, Leiden“ aus **fo-saigid, *fo-saget-* gegebenen Regel begründet zu haben[1]). Auf einer später als die Synkope anzusetzenden Komposition, verbunden mit der schon bei *lóthor* usw. genannten Vokalkontraktion, würde demgegenüber wohl *cródae* „blutig“ aus **kroṷadi̯o-* beruhen, will man nicht die immerhin leichte Annahme bevorzugen, dafs in **crodae* (mit kurzem *o*) nach dem nom. gen. sg. *crú, cró* „Blut“ oder nach *bódae* (s. u.!)

[1]) Ein Beispiel genauer Entsprechung bei *e* ist *i n-degaid,* „hinter-her, nach“, wenn wir es, wie üblich, auf **de-saigid* zurückführen; daneben *i n-digaid* aus **di-saigid.* Die unterschiedliche Entwicklung der Lautgruppe *sg* in *fochaid* und *degaid* beruht auf der Differenz der dem *s* vorangehenden Vokale, *o* bezw. *e.* Regelrecht sind übrigens auch die zu *con·dieig, ·daig* gehörigen Formen *con·degem, ·degat, ·degar,* denen — mit *fo* — *indob·fochad* Wb. 25a 16, *iarmind·ochad* Ml. 58c 7 entsprechen, und bieten vielleicht einen Fingerzeig, wo im Paradigma *·saig* : *·segat* die Einführung des hier sicherlich nicht ursprünglichen Ablauts *a* : *e* ihren Ausgangspunkt genommen oder doch eine Stütze gefunden haben mag.



„vaccinus" zu *bó* (nom. u. gen.) „Kuh" die Länge des Vokals restituiert worden sei. Ursprünglich ist in diesem Worte zwar ein *u* (also **kruu̯-ade*), hat sich jedoch, durch den folgenden dunklen Vokal infiziert, einem *o* soweit genähert, dafs wir es einem solchen ohne Bedenken gleichsetzen können[1]).

Als Vertreter von *ou̯o* im Auslaut, das aber natürlich zu *ou̯a* geworden war, betrachtet Thurn. Hdb. § 204 und ebenso wohl auch Pok. § 112, 3 h (β) ein in anderer Stellung als im Auslaut zu *úa* diphthongierbares *ó*; doch möchte ich diese Entwicklung sehr bezweifeln, die regelrechte vielmehr, als deren einzelne Phasen ich die Lautformen **ou*[a] (arch. gen. sg. *bou*), *áu* (gen. pl. *báu* K. M. Contr. 231), *áo* (gen. pl. *bao* Sg. 22 b 11), *ó* betrachte (gen. sg. und pl. *bó*), aufser in den eben genannten Formen des gen. sg. und pl. von *bó* „Kuh" auch in *gáu, gáo, gó* „Lüge" erblicken, vorausgesetzt, dafs gegenüber Thurn.'s (§ 203) **gāu̯ā* und Pok.'s (§ 112, 3. α, β und ε) **g'hau̯ā* die von Pedersen Gr. I, § 37, 2, II, § 443 angenommene Grundform **gousos*, jünger **gou̯os*, endlich **gou̯as* das Richtige trifft[2]); vgl. dazu unten über die Kompositionsform *gú-*. In den Genetiven sg. *cráu, cráo, cróu, cró* (vergl. K. M. Contr. sub 2. *cró*) aus **kruu̯-as* (anders, nämlich als **krous*, von Ped. II, § 443, S. 97 angesetzt, wie ebenda *áu, ó* „Ohr" als **ous;* doch müfste **krous* direkt zu *ó* führen, und über *áu, ó* „Ohr" vergl. Thurn. Hdb. § 65 a) zu *crú* „Blut" und *cnó* (älter **cnáu, *cnáo*) zu *cnú* „Nufs" (zum Paradigma vgl. Thurn. Hdb. § 309, Idg. Anz. 27, 15, Ped. Gr. I, § 207, II, § 447, 1) liegt altes *u* vor, das wir jedoch, aus dem schon oben bei *cródae* angegebenen Grunde, altem *o* ohne Bedenken gleichsetzen können. Übrigens vermute ich, dafs im Paradigma von *bó* „Kuh", aufser vielleicht im acc. pl., der nach Ped. Gr. II, § 439, 2 und Pok. § 141

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[1]) *·fácaib* „er läfst zurück" aus **·fo-ad-gaib*, wozu Thurn. Hdb. § 829 A, Ped. Gr. II, § 585, 12 zu vergleichen sind, scheint mir eine Kontaminationsbildung einerseits aus **·facaib*, das entweder regelrecht *ar·f-ema* entspricht oder deuterotoniertem *fo·acaib* zur Seite trat, und anderseits aus **·fócaib*, das aus rekonstruiertem **·foacaib* durch Vokalkontraktion entstanden war. Von jener Form stammt die Qualität, von dieser die Quantität des Vokales in *·fácaib* her. Doch dürften auch die nach Thurn. Hdb. § 78, Ped. Gr. I, § 253, 2 sich erklärenden Formen zu *fo·gaib* „findet": *·fagaib, ·fágbaim, fagbáil* die Vokalqualität von *·fácaib, fácbáil* &c. beeinflufst haben.

[2]) Über *gáu* handelt auch Walde, Lat. et. Wb.[2] s. v. haud.



auf *g^uōns* oder *g^uōs* zurückgeht, aber auch nach Thurn. Hdb. § 340, 2 erklärbar wäre, frühzeitig die kurzdiphthongische Wurzelform durchgeführt worden ist, welche Annahme jedenfalls den niemals als **báu*, **báo* erscheinenden n. sg. *bó* (also aus **bous*, wie Thurn. Hdb. § 59. 2) am besten erklärt und bei der Rekonstruktion der Grundformen (Pok. § 141) zu beachten ist. — Als Kompositionsformen zu *crú* und *cnú* fungieren *cró-* und *cnó-*, offenbar in Anlehnung teils an die auch im Adjektivum *cródae* (s. o.) vorliegende Form, teils an das Verhältnis, das zwischen den Kompositionsformen *con-*, auch *condae* „caninus", zum gen. sg. *con* „Hund", *bó-* (in *bóchaill*, *búachaill*, *bóbaith* &c., aus altem **bou-* entsprechend gr. *βου-κόλος*, vgl. Thurn. Hdb. § 59, 2, Ped. Gr. II, § 356, 1), auch *bódae* „vaccinus", zum gen. sg. *bó* bestand. Anderseits wurde aus der Komposition der später auftretende nom. sg. *cró* „Blut" abstrahiert. Auf die weiteren, zahllosen analogischen Einflüssen zu verdankenden Unregelmäfsigkeiten in der Flexion dieser Wörter kann ich hier nicht weiter eingehen. Zu *gú-* vgl. unten.

Über alle hiehergehörigen Erscheinungen handelt Ped. Gr. I § 159. Der Entwicklung von auslautendem *o̯ua* entspricht übrigens genau die in **gnáu*, *gnó* (Pokorny § 112, 3 b [β]) „beautiful, active" aus **gnāu̯as* und in *náu* „Schiff" aus **nāu̯ā* vorliegende von *ău̯ă*, die wir auch — mit Thurneysens oder Pokornys Etymologie, s. o.! — in *gáu*, *gáo*, *gó* „Lüge" aus **gāu̯ā* bezw. **ǵhəu̯ā* erblicken dürften. — Wie Pedersen a. a. O. zeigt, ist der von Pokorny § 112, 3 β, γ gewählte Ausdruck unrichtig, dafs in den hier in Betracht kommenden Formen die Endsilbenvokale geschwunden seien; vielmehr sind sie mit dem vorhergehenden Vokal kontrahiert worden und mitunter als zweite Bestandteile der Kontraktionsprodukte erhalten geblieben.

In die weiterhin von Pokorny berührte scheinbare Unklarheit der Vertretung von betontem *o̯uo*, teils durch *ó* (*úa*), teils durch *ú*, ist, wie ich ZCP IX 32 bemerkte, vielleicht der Umstand Licht zu bringen geeignet, dafs in allen der ersteren Kategorie angehörigen Beispielen der erste Kontraktionsvokal der Präposition *to* angehört, die, wie ich weiter schlofs, für jene Fälle vielmehr als ursprüngliches **tā-* = vollbetontem idg. **tō* (vergl. Thurn. Hdb. S. 483) anzu-

setzen sein wird, wenn wir nicht die auch später noch fortlebende kurzvokalige Form *ta-* anzunehmen vorziehen wollen. Der gleiche Vokalismus dieser Präposition würde auch die prototonierte Form ·*táit* „er kommt" zu *do·tét* (also *·*ta-thet*; vergl. Pokorny § 210, Note 4) aufs einfachste erklären. Andererseits aber findet die Annahme einer Entwicklung von *au̯o* zu *ó* eine Stütze im Worte *nócha*, gen. *nóchat* „neunzig", wenn wir dieses entsprechend Thurn. Hdb. § 390 auf **nau̯okont-* (**nau̯ukont-* ?) zurückführen, nicht, mit Ped. Gr. II, § 474, auf **nou̯okont-*, dessen regelrechte Entwicklung (s. u.) zu **núcha* freilich durch das Grundwort *noí* „neun" gestört worden sein könnte. Die davon abgeleitete Form *nóichtech* „neunzig Jahre zählend" statt **nóchtach* dürfte dem Einfluſs des gleichlautenden *noíchtech* (mit Diphthong!) „neunundzwanzig Tage enthaltend" aus **noí-ficht-ech* unterlegen sein (vergl. aber Ped. Gr. I, S. 151; II, § 479 am Ende; Thurn. Hdb. § 390), und umgekehrt würden die als ursprünglich palatal anzusetzenden Formen **noímed* „der neunte" (in Wahrheit *nómad*), nach Ped. Gr. I, § 42; II, § 479 aus **nou̯emeto-*, und **noínber* (*nónbor, -bur*) „neun Mann", das, gegen Ped. Gr. II, § 479, 2 sicherlich auf einer (nicht bloſs volksetymologischen) Verbindung mit *fer* „Mann" beruht, demnach auf **novenferon* (vergl. das regelrechte *Noíndruimm* „die neun Bergrücken" [?] Thurn. Hdb. § 236) zurückzuführen ist, ihre dunkle Färbung (*nómad, nónbor*) dem Einfluſs von *ochtmad* „der achte" und *ochtar* „acht Mann" verdanken. Daſs aber auch das von Thurn. Hdb. § 396 für *nómad* konstruierte **nau̯ameto-* jene Form ergeben hätte — und zwar regelrecht — ist mir sehr wahrscheinlich. — Während also **tă-u̯o-* (**tă-fo-*) in *tóbe* „Abschnitt", *túachil* „schlau" etc. zu *tó-, túa-*, altes **tă-u̯or-* (**tă-for-*) in *tórmach* „Vermehrung", *tórtrommad* „Bedrückung" zu *tór-* sich entwickelt haben, wird, wie ich a. a. O. annahm und auch oben bei Anlaſs von **núcha* erwähnte, altes *ou̯o* nach der von Thurneysen aufgestellten Regel zu *ú* geworden sein, das in *dúlchinne, dúthracht* vorliegt und auch in *úgaire* „Schafhirt" von mir vermutet worden ist. Die sicher altertümliche Kompositionsform *gú-* zu *gáu, gáo, gó* „Lüge" würde hierher gehören und ihre einfachste Erklärung finden, wenn sich mit der von Pedersen (s. o.) gegebenen Etymologie ein **gou̯o-* aus **gouso-* als ihre

Grundform vereinigen liefse; über die Formen der ersten Bestandteile in Komposita vergl. Thurn. Hdb. § 236; Ped. Gr. II, § 356. Entschieden abzulehnen ist jedenfalls nach dem oben Gesagten, dafs, wie Pokorny § 112, 3 a (ε) annimmt, altes **-au̯o-* (**-əu̯o-*) sich in *gú-* zu *-ú-* entwickelt haben soll. Was übrigens die Diphthongierung in den oben erwähnten Fällen von *tóbae, tórmach* u. a. betrifft, so halte ich sie bei dem aus *-au̯o-* entwickelten *ó* für unursprünglich; eher mag sie von Anfang an zu Hause gewesen sein in den mit *to-* (das im Hiatus, wie ich annehme, früh aus *tó-* gekürzt worden war) und der Präposition **uss-*,[1]) über die Thurn. Hdb. I, § 59, 4; § 837 A; II, S. 99, Idg. Anz. 33. 29, aber anders Ped. Gr. II, S. 672 zu vergleichen ist, zusammengesetzten Wörtern wie *túasulcud* „Auflösung" (**to-uss-olg-*), *tócbál* „Erhebung" (**to-uss-gabál*) u. a., zu denen *fócrae* (*fúacra*) „Ankündigung" aus **fo-uss-gar-*, *fod·úacair* „welcher es ankündigt" (vergl. Ped. Gr. I, S. 316; II, S. 295, 12) eine genaue Parallele darstellen. Entsprechend dem Nebeneinander von *slóg — slúag, tróg — trúag* wurde dann aber infolge Identifikation der beiden auf verschiedene Weise entstandenen *tó-* die Diphthongierung auch in den Wörtern der ersteren Kategorie heimisch. Von den schwierigen Voraussetzungen dieser Erscheinung, auf die ich hier nicht weiter eingehen kann, handelt ausführlich Ped. Gr. I, S. 316 ff.

§ 112, 3 b (δ). Dafs hier, entsprechend *áue* „Grofssohn" (3a [δ]), *au* als Vorgänger von *ó* im arch. gen. sg. *naue* vorliegt, brauchte nicht übergangen zu werden.

§ 114, Zeile 2. Streiche: § 105.

1 c und 3 b ist gesagt, dafs die Lautgruppe *ng* nicht imstande sei, die Umfärbung eines *e* zu *i* vor folgendem *i* und *u* zu hindern. Auf welche Beispiele diese Annahme sich stützen soll, ist mir von geringerer Wichtigkeit, als festzustellen, dafs in § 116, 1 c und 3 a über die Umfärbung von *o* zu *u* jene Lautgruppe nicht unter den die Umfärbung vermittelnden angeführt ist, offenbar im Anschlufs an meine Ausführungen ZCP IX 39. Eine solche Zwiespältigkeit der

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[1]) Dafs ihr Vokal ursprünglich *u* gewesen sein mufs, geht aus *únach* = *folcadh* aus **uss-nig-* (Thurneysen, Idg. Anz. 33. 35) deutlich hervor.

Erscheinung ist aber aus dem Grunde zu verwerfen, weil, wie ich schon oben erwähnte, die beiden Umfärbungen, von *o* zu *u* und von *e* zu *i*, auf einem einzigen Lautgesetze beruhen (vgl. ZCP IX 77 a). Ähnliches ist der Fall in § 116, 1 c, wo für *ch*, das nach § 114, 1 c und 3 b die Umfärbung eines *e* zu *i* hindert, seine Wirkung auf vorhergehendes *o* offengelassen ist. Zu *eich* usw. stimmt nun aber die von mir ZCP IX 25 f. begründete Annahme, daſs auch *o* vor *ch* der Umfärbung unzugänglich ist, und diese wird auch nicht durch das von Pokorny angeführte mittelir. *scuchaid* (auch *scuichid*) „he departs" widerlegt, das, gegenüber seinen gut belegten altirischen Vertretern ohne Umfärbung (vergl. Asc. Gl. 292), sich leicht durch den analogischen Einfluſs des sinnverwandten *scuirid* „he takes off, dissolves, ceases", zusammen mit Depalatalisierung, erklärt. Vergl. über *scuichid* Ped. Gr. II, § 813. An beiden Orten sind demnach die Regeln miteinander in Einklang zu bringen.

§ 115, 5. Die Regel, wonach im nom. pl. *cuilíuin* zu *cuilén* „Tierjunges" (aus **koligno-*) *i* zu *íu*, *éo, éu* geworden sei, ist falsch, vielmehr wäre aus **koligni* eine Form **cuilín* als normal zu betrachten; *cuilíuin* wurde aber zum nom. sg. *cuilén* gestellt nach dem Muster der nom. pl. *níuil*, *éuin éoin éiuin, treúin tríuin,* zu *nél* „Wolke", *én* „Vogel", *trén* „stark", die altes *e* enthalten, welches, nach seiner Ersatzdehnung, nach der von Thurn. Hdb. § 53; Ped. Gr. I, § 201, 2; Pok. § 114, 4 gegebenen Regel diphthongiert worden war, auch, vermöge der Gleichheit des gen. sg. und nom. pl. bei den maskulinen *o*-Stämmen, nach gen. sg. wie *cenéuil cenéoil ceníuil* zu *cenél* „Geschlecht" usw. Übrigens ist *e* auch anzusetzen als Reduplikationsvokal in den Präteritalformen 3. sg. *·gíuil* zu *glenid, ·géuin* zu *·gnin, ara·rui chíuir* (Ped. a. a. O. und Thurn. Hdb. § 689) zu *ara·chrin* und *·cíuir* (zu *crenid* „er kauft"), das Pokorny § 178, 3 a unrichtig als **-k^{v}i-k^{v}r-e* (statt **·ke-kr-e*) ansetzt. Wenn in diesen Verbalformen *-íui-* gegenüber *-éui-* bevorzugt wird, so liegt das am Einfluſs des Vokalismus von *·lil, ·rir* zu *lenid, renid* usw.

§ 115, 5, Zeile 3. Statt § 111 lies § 109.

§ 116, 3 b. Die bei Thurn. Hdb. § 823 A a (S. 457); Ped. Gr. I, S. 171 gegebene Regel, wonach in *cuman* das lenierte *m* aus

mm entwickelt ist, findet sich nicht in Pokorny § 103, obwohl hier auf diesen verwiesen wird.

§ 125. Zu proklitischem *i* + *a* und *u* + *a* vergl. Pokorny § 81 exception 1.

§ 126, 1, note 2. Die Ml. 24d9 belegte Form *estosc* „Auspressung“, die Pokorny und ebenso vielleicht auch Ped. Gr. II, § 717 als aus **ess-to-fasc* regelrecht entwickelt ansehen, ist vielmehr *estósc* zu lesen; aus **ess-to-fasc* war vermutlich **estasc* geworden, dieses aber im Anschluſs an *as·toasci, as·toaiscea, as·toascther* u. ä. zu *estoasc* restituiert und dann, nach Thurn. Hdb. §§ 110, 205, zu *estósc* gekürzt worden. Der gen. sg. *estoisc* (Ml. 102c7) ist demnach als *estóisc* aufzufassen, das part. necess. *estoiscthi* (Ml. 134b2) als *estóiscthi*, dies durch Vokalkontraktion aus *estoaiscthi* entwickelt, das nach obigem Muster altes **estaiscthi* ersetzt hatte.

Note 3. Daſs die Kontraktionen in *ara·foíma* usw. im Gegenteil nach der Synkope eingetreten sein müssen, habe ich ZCP IX 27 ff. 66. 78c gezeigt, wozu noch Ped. Gr. I, § 210; II, § 712, 3. S. 513 zu vergleichen sind.

Statt § 211, 14 lies § 211, 16.

§ 132. Im dat. sg. ist auch die Form *-n(d)* als lenierend zu kennzeichnen. Die beim nom. pl. *inna, na* fehlende Überschrift ist in den Corrigenda insofern nur halbwegs ergänzt, als die Formen dort nur als feminin, nicht auch als zugleich neutral bezeichnet werden.

§ 137. Die bei Thurn. Hdb. § 301; Ped. Gr. II, § 440 Anm. 1 besprochene Unsicherheit der Bildung des nom. acc. pl. neutr. hätte erwähnt werden dürfen.

§ 138. Daſs der dat. sg. von *rígain* in seiner einzigen Belegstelle aus den Glossen, Ml. 65d13, nicht *rígnai*, sondern — im Anschluſs an die *ā*- oder *i*-Flexion — *rígain* lautet, konnte unter den Ausnahmen angeführt werden.

S. 68 note, Zeile 3. Lies *ainm(m)* „name“ (§ 146).

§ 156. Wegen der Quantität des Vokals im Zahlwort „zwei“ vergl. Thurn. Hdb. §§ 46. 384, 2. 390; Ped. Gr. I, §§ 157. 202, 2.

§ 159 b, class I, Zeile 6. Statt *a*, *e*, *i* or *u* ist, mit Rücksicht auf das S. 76 zu dieser Regel gegebene Beispiel *aro-b-roínasc*, zu lesen: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* or *u*.

Examples ad d (S. 76). Dafs in *amal for-n-da-còngair* „as he orders them“ in der Stelle Ml. 94 b 3 das Pronomen *-da-* der 3. sg. fem. vorliegt, sollte, um Mifsverständnissen vorzubeugen, bemerkt werden.

§ 160, Zeile 2. Statt „after the 1 and 2 pl.“ lies „after the 1. and 3. pl.“! Vgl. übrigens unten zu § 173, 2 b!

II C. Die etymologisch vielleicht berechtigte Unterscheidung von drei Präpositionen *air*, *er* und *ir* hier und § 211, 2. 12. 22 (mit Note), denen allen in vortoniger Stellung *ar-* entspricht, scheint mir in einer kurzgefafsten Grammatik überflüssig, wenn nicht irreführend. Vergl. übrigens Ped. Gr. I, § 238, Pokorny K. Z. 45, 138 ff., Thurneysen Idg. Anz. 27, 15 zu Ped. Gr. I S. 339 f.

§ 163, letzte Zeile. Statt (§ 158 b) lies (§ 159 b).

§ 168, 5 (a). Dafs die hier aufgezählten Augentia auch akkusativisch verwendet werden, sollte ausdrücklich erwähnt sein. Vergl. Thurn. Hdb. § 474.

§ 169, 2. Statt *cétn(a)e* (§ 156) lies *cétn(a)e* (§ 157).

§ 171, 3, Zeile 2. Die Ziffer hinter *araill* bezieht sich noch auf S. 83 Anm.

§ 172. Die beiden Überschriften „Motion towards the speaker“ und „Motion from the speaker“ sind gerade miteinander zu vertauschen, da *sair*, *síar* doch natürlich die vom Standpunkt des Sprechenden wegführende Richtung, *anair*, *aníar* dagegen die von aufsen her zu ihm hinleitende bezeichnen. Der Paragraph entspricht Thurn. Hdb. § 477.

§ 173, 2 b. Die Verweisung auf § 211, der doch die Präpositionen enthält, ist hier natürlich falsch. Vgl. unten zu § 174, 1 a.

§ 173, Zeile 6. Statt: 1. and 2. pl. lies: 1. and 3. pl.! Vgl. oben § 160, Zeile 2.

§ 174, 1 a. „Simple verbs“ hören auf, solche zu sein, wenn sie mit den in § 211 aufgezählten Präpositionen in Verbindung treten; dieser ist hier also ebenso falsch zitiert, wie in § 173, 2 b. Anderseits ist die Verbalpartikel *ro*, die das Eintreten von *no* ebenfalls hindert, hier übergangen worden.

§ 174, 1 b. Die Funktion der Verbalpartikel in nasalierenden Relativsätzen wäre besser in 1 c untergebracht.

§ 174, 2 d. Über die wunderbare Analyse von „*ní d-a-r-génat*“ „they will not be able to do it“, wofür an der betreffenden Stelle (Ml. 80 a 9) *ní·dergenat* „sie werden nicht machen können“ steht, scheint mir ein Kommentar überflüssig.

§ 174, 3, Zeile 3. Statt: *con-scar* „destroys“ lies: *con-scara* „destroys“.

§ 175, 1. Über die hier und § 203 note 2 als **-ei* angesetzte Endung der konjunkten 2. sg. vgl. Ped. Gr. I, S. 366 Anm. 6, II, S. 342 f.; anders Thurn. Hdb. §§ 74, 3, 558 und danach Rezensent ZCP IX 72 (Endung *-es*). Vgl. übrigens Ped. Gr. II, S. 333 oben.

§ 175, letzte Zeile. Statt: **pl̥-*, § 132 lies: **pl̥-*, § 131.

§ 177, 2. Dafs die Formen *cechlais* u. ä. der im § 109 gegebenen Regel widersprechen, sollte nicht verschwiegen werden.

§ 177, Zeile 13. It contracts. Da „it“ unverständlich, lies: *i* contracts.

§ 178, 3 (a) vorletzte Zeile. Statt: *crenaid* „you sell“ lies: *crenaid* „you buy“. Der Irrtum stammt aus Thurn. Hdb. § 689, wo er jedoch auf S. 527 unten berichtigt ist.

§ 178, S. 92 Note. Statt: **ro-bī-ontro* lies: **ro-bī-ontar* (corr. Pok.).

§ 186. Statt: § 179, 1 a lies: § 174, 1 a.

§ 203. *t*-Präteritum, konjunkte Formen der 1. und 2. sg. Statt: *-miult* lies: (*-biurt*). Statt: *-meilt* lies: (*-birt*), *-meilt*. Vgl. dazu Thurn. Hdb. § 681, Ped. Gr. II, § 778, Thurn. Idg. Anz. 33, S. 33 zu Ped. Gr. II, § 665. Übrigens wird der Ansatz einer Form *·miult* vielleicht durch *da·rindgiult* TBC (ed. Strachan-O'Keeffe) 1552 (vgl. Thurn. Idg. Anz. 33, 34) gerechtfertigt.

§ 205. Obgleich, wie mir Herr Prof. Thurneysen mitteilt, als absolute Formen der 1. sg. praes. mit „konjunkter“ Endung aufser den bekannten *tíagu, arco* (*fuin*) &c auch *a*(*i*)*liu* Ir. Texte III, 1. S. 35 n. 17, S. 51 n. 94 und *cuiriu-sa* R. C. 10, 84 belegt sind, — ebenso *gaibiu anfis, ibiu anfis*, Trip. life (ed. Stokes) S. 54, 14 — darf daraufhin doch nicht ohne weiteres auch ein *guidiu* als absolute 1. sg. angesetzt werden. Vgl. Thurn. Hdb. §§ 556, 557, 591, Ped. Gr. II, § 598 Anm. 3, Thurn. K. Z. 44, 113 (Miszellen 3.).

§ 206. Secondary future, 1. sg. Statt: *-rirthinn* ist natürlich *-ririnn* zu lesen!

§ 207. Imperfect. Statt: Cf. *guidid,* § 198 lies: Cf. *-suidiginn,* § 186!

§ 209 note 2, Zeile 3. Statt: § 53, 2 d lies: § 53, 2 e.

§ 209 note 3, Zeile 3. Statt: *canid* lies: *cenid, cinid*!

§ 210. *-cuirethar.* Das Verbum *fo·ceird* (vgl. Thurn. Hdb. § 803) bildet selber keine *ro*-Formen, sondern wird, wie *·cuirethar,* in dieser Bedeutung durch *ro-lá-* ersetzt; die Angabe ist daher irreführend, dafs *·cuirethar* durch *fo·ceird,* aufser in allen absoluten Formen und im Futurum, auch in den *ro*-Formen ergänzt werde. Vgl. ebenda S. 117 *fo·ceird,* auch § 174, 3.

§ 211, 9. Dafs *com-* weder in Verbindung mit suffigierten Pronomina vorkommt, noch als relatives Präverb gebraucht wird, vielmehr in diesen Fällen *la* an seine Stelle tritt, sollte hier (oder in § 160, II A) erwähnt werden.

Wortverzeichnis.

Freiburg i. B., den 1. Sept. 1914.

HANS HESSEN.

MITTEILUNGEN
AUS IRISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN.

AUS LAUD 615.

S. 36.

Colum Cille cecinit.

1 Trīar as mesa tic a clī, cid olc a ndīl 'na cert dūn,
beidid a n-ifrinn gan acht, 's nī tiucf*aid* amach ar cūl.
2 Espoc mīchrāibtech co fīr taisles na tīrt[h]a go dīan,
'na ladrann ag creachad ceall, nī hè sin as ferr don trīar.
3 Rī nach cunmann cōir *nō* cert, mairg ara mbī nert gon [trīath,
lia nī curt[h]a ōs a fert, 'se ạs mesa go becht don trīar. T.
4 Sagart sanntach am gach nī dā bfēict*her* clī toir is tīar,
muna roib ullam cum cuirp, as ē as mō uilc don trīar. [Trīar.
5 Is mē Colum Cille ūa Nēill, mīan leam a b*eth* do réir Dhīa,
creidim go bfuil mac Dē bī 'na ēnḟer 's na dīs 's na trīar. [Trīar.

Colum Cille cecinit.

Ib. S. 104.

1 Dorala for mo menmuin gunum denmnetuch deghdhair,
cinnus roinnfet thīar is toir mo chūarta dom chongbálaibh.
2 In chūairt-si fil ō Ślēbh Fūait gu Sl*iab* Laigen imacūairt,
óthá Áth Fene gan roinn tuct*har* alle do Rachrainn.
3 Ó Áth Fēne, ēraim nglan, gu Loch Carmain na comramh,
mo cūairt, mo cāin-si go cōir *gan* esbaid, gan imarōil,
a tabairt d'ōgh a rēre gu lermach[1]) do Lasrēne.

[1]) i. e. Dermach.

4 Laisrēn, lasair crābuidh glain,   mo daltán fil ag Derm*aigh*,
is inmuin lem-sa, ạ m*i*c Dē,   a chendsa ria mainchine,
lūach ant śaothair dogní ạ bus   rombē, ạ Dē, mo c[h]omh-[arbus.

5 Cūairt Connacht céd ó Es Rūaidh   it*er* andes is atūaidh,
Īar[na] tinōl gu ngrinne,   a mbreit[h] d' Inis Bó Finne;
gin go ránuc trell a lár,   bid cell 7 bid congbāl.

6 Dossicf*a*t āighedh Īar tain   dar monga mara medhr*aig*,
inmuin senadh salmglan slán   gēbdoid for a clār comhlān,
c[l]Īara caomha, glan a lí,   a tír cíana ạ n-oilithri.

7 Acht cāin Cairbri is Cremthainn   cāin tucthar si do Dherm*aig*,
ūair is indte-si sund síu   bedit sium 'na mbithligiu.

8 Is inmuin lem-sa Dermhach,   ūair is caithir cāid credhlach,
7 hūair robá fo grés   innte trī blīadna ị reglés.

9 Inmuin lem ar mac uá Cēin,   inmuin ar Colla coimhré[i]dh,
inmuin ar mac nDíma ndron,   inmuin ar Librén lobhar,
inmuin ar gach aon gu mbl*ad*   būi ạ codhuil cur*aigh* Chonr*ach*.

10 Cūairt Cairpri mōiri millsi   7 Callr*aighe* ngibhsi,
7 Muighe Rén gan roinn   sán cán sen lasin Sinainn,
Īarna tinól thíar is toir,   a thabairt gu Luim Lethain.

11 Bendacht for Luim loin Lethain   gostic mór tonn is trethan,
7 bendacht Rīgh na recht   forsna tonna nusfoilced.

12 Cūairt mo charat cíat garga,   Conaill is Eogain arda,
a tinōl fria rīgha recht   is a tabairt do Blathmac.

13 Blathmac inmhain clēirchín cain   fuil for lár Doire dealbh-[ghloin,
bá madhngénar, a m*i*c Dé,   do chluin ina cluin sidhe.

14 Fūaim na tuinne risin trācht   ac tichtain d' Indber na mBárc,
scolgaire ịn luin lúithigh lōir   do chloistin 'sa mochdheghōil,
ceól na hēnlaithi malé   sainghāeth fri dairbhribh Doire.

15 Frainc 7 Saxain soma,   Bretnaigh, Albanaigh olla,
Findghaill, Dubhghoill bíd mole   ag foghnam na hindsi-si.

16 Mo chuid-si fēin sunn a bḟuss   óna ceall*aib* doruirmius,
ór 7 cluicc carda druing,   eich scūaibleabhra tar muirthind,
cibé tan dighes for fecht   mo bhíathadh 's mo coimidecht.

17 Int ór for na mindaibh maith[1]),   na cluicc dona lidānchaibh,
na heich dh' airchennchaib[2]) na ceall   airir Alban is Ēirenn,
gurab forra thĪar is toir   betid siumh for a cūartaibh.

---

[1]) maithi *MS*.   [2]) aircennech- *MS*.

18 Cara dam-sa Crīst mac Dé gan bhara, gan bhroghaine,
in gach síst īar nemhdhaibh nath for mo mheanmuin
[doral*adh*.
D.

Mughrón cecinit.

Ib. S. 105.

1 Colum Cille cend Alban, grindi ịm ghargbl*adh* tar gargler,
bārc bardlōgh ga*n* ordal, oghd*ar* dían ardrōn airdnem.
2 Ar n-abstal ógh ard Árand gan astadh im ór n-íreand,
grīan gan tāir, cēim cāin Cúaland, én gūalann Dé na dílenn.
3 Dūthracht tucc Crīst do Chonall gan trīst im rúnghart rolond,
mac Rígh nime ạr dlui*ng* derann, trebhand treibhi Cuind
[Col*um*.
C.

Ib. S. 37.

Pādraic cecinit anūair do bris feirsdi a carp*ait* ag Áth in C[h]arp*ait* ardail (?) ag tarngaire Coluim Chille, oir nīr cedaidh Dīa dō dul do bennug*ud* cenēil Conaill co ticedh C. C. fēin ⁊ co mbendaigheadh sé íad.

1 Inmain āidhe[1]) ilbūadhach
cūanna cruthglan cumachtach
ūasal ordraic ilmāinech,
fāidh foillsidhti fīrinne.
2 Moc[h]en slicht dā saorgenfe[2])
ūa flathfocl*ach* Fergusa,
rēim a gotha glanadhbuil
ēistfit aingil fīrnaomt[h]a.
3 Brīgh[3]) bladhach a c[h]umachta
nī fēd naom nā nūaērlum
cur re rēim a maithesa
eiri i*n*dglan fūaranach.
4 Is port Alb*an* oiregda[4])
b*id* līnta dā ardchrāb*ud*
is d'all*ud* a ardbl*aidi*,
nī fēd cāch a cuimniug*ud*.

[1]) = altir. ōigi. [2]) saorngenfe *MS.* [3]) bridh *MS.*
[4]) oir ⁊ a *MS.*

5 B*id* comeasta a mīrbuile
ag ai[n]glib gan indisi
re gach cuire cruthnaomhda
dār taistil fīad finnḞōdla.
6 Būan ēistfes Dīa dearb*us*cech
re a comrādh cruthnaomt[h]a,
bīaid aingil an Dūilemun
ag molad a mīrbuiledh[1]).
7 Na t*ūat*ha ịs na treaba-sa
fuicfed-sa gan mōrbaist*ed*
co tī cuca ịn fīrērlam
dā cineadh 's dā clannmaicne.
8 A t[h]echt is dom t[h]airngaire
mac fīal fertach Feidlimidh,
mōrmolt*ach* a mīrbuile;
tar an āth nī racham-ne
re hucht āidheadh[2]) inmaine. Inmain.

Ib. S. 97.

1 'A c[h]lēirigh an c[h]urraig cain, innis scēla dūinn gan ail,
nō cuin tāinic tū ar muir ō mac cennard Feidlimidh.'
2 'Tricha laithi cusanē, ạs ē do sgar mē rea gnē,
as uime tāinic mē ạr sāl, d' īaraidh ḟola m*ic* Samāin.'
3 'Crēd sin donīther dā ḟuil, innis, a c[h]lēirigh co mbloidh,
nō crēd sgar*us* rea anmhuin in cathmīl*id* mōradbul.'
4 'Aniug tāinic a uidhe, inneōs*at* fis na hụide,
do sgrīb*ad* leab*ur* dā ḟuil, as uime tāinic mē ạr muir.'
5 'Ag so misi ạg sōdh dom deōin, sochaide le b*id* ainndeōin,
connach abradh brēg nār dligh degm*ac* finnard Feidlimidh.'
6 Nī īarab ar Rīgh nime athc[h]uingi nā impidhe,
acht taob re Colum na cros m' anum do breith co parrt*hus*.'
7 'Beir ant ogham beg-sa ạd lāim 7 imcair é t*ar* bāidh,
innis do C[h]olum co mbl*aid* gach nī canaim, a c[h]lēirigh.'
A. c.

Colum Cille cecinit.

Ib. S. 96.

1 Torach, aitreab nemnech naom, misi do bennaigh co fīr,
in fonn a bos 7 tall, as le mo c[h]rois an feronn.

[1]) a mormirbuil7 *MS.* [2]) altir. ōiged.

2 Mo chros as minn bladhach būan, as cenn ar Tor*aig* both*ūad*,
misi fēin Colum co mbloid, mo c[h]ros as minn ar Tor*aig*.
3 Apart*us* dorad Gridhair, aingle Dē t*uc* co hidhan,
mo chros mōr ān minn co mbloidh d' foghnam dom c[h]ill [do T[h]oraig.
4 Torach, aitreab idhan ard, inmain cuire glan nārgarg,
fa crūaidh crāb*ud*, fa mīn modh, a mbidh rem t[h]aob ['san aitreab.
5 Crūaidhlēiginn as mīnlabra, gnāthbūan gab*āil* a salma,
innraic crāibtech cōir a bus, gnāth troisci 7 treigdenus.
6 Mo t[h]eglach naomh-sa ạ Toraig ger n urn*aig*ti binn [bfoghair,
grādach salmach saltrach sunn līnmar slēchtan is n-imann.
7 Torach mo naomaitreab fēin, trī cēt m*īle* innti do c[h]lēir,
nocha bīdh ēnfer dīb soin nāch do Dīa do gnāthfoghn*aig*.
8 Fāgaim-si būadha ạr Toraig am ainm fēn fa sēn sor*aid*,
gach corp dā n-annluicfider ann, nāch faicfid demna ạ anum.
9 Būaid eli ạr Toraig na treab fāgaim-si co brāch ar bladh:
nem d' faghāil, fa glan a glōir, dā toghfa innti ạ manōir.
10 Gach arrthrach rach*us* le corp go Toraig ō port do port,
nī bāiter nech dā mbīa ann, gāibthech anfud a ardtonn.
11 Fāgaim-si ạr Toraig co brāch būadha ạm ainm fēin [Col*uim* cāidh:
nem da gach aon lena modh 'san ārus a n-adhlaict*her*.
12 Secht lān lamainne[1]) fa secht tucus go Toraig na bfert,
lem d'ūir ūasail na rōma do mōradh a honōra.
13 Loghad trichad mblīadan mbān tuc Gridair dam-sa ạr mo [grādh,
tucus-sa ạn loghadh male do T[h]oraig togfa innte.
14 As imda naomōgh is naomh[2]) bīas a sīrguidhe do tsīr,
air a toghfa ạ Tor*aig* truim in roport a ngnāthaiginn.
15 Torach is port būadha co mbl*ad* ārus āidhedh is aingel,
sgīath gach anma ndīghrais nglan moc[h]en innti adhlaict*her*.
16 Misi ạs breth*em* ar Toraig, Colum cāin, nī cēl oraib,
bērad lem *go* Cr*ist* ga*n* cair na slōigh innti adhlaict*er*.
17 Colum mac Feidlimid mē fēin, Torach aitreab n*aom* tarm ēis,
aderim re cāch *go* rath mo radh siad do gnāth Torach.

T.

[1]) *L.* lānamna.
[2]) Wie der Reim zeigt, ist das Gedicht im Dialekt von Connacht abgefaſst.

Bāithīn mac Cūanach cecinit.

Ib. S. 19.

1 Cethrar sagart, sūairc in dām, Colum Cille 7 Cīarān,
Comgall, ba hē mo t[h]ogha, is Brēnuinn mac Finnlogha.
2 Seiser ba heōlc[h]a rea linn, ba grinn a cill an ard[d]rong,
Colum Cille ịs Brēnainn binn, Comgall is Moling[1]) ga*n* [fo*r*bonn,
in gilla corcra mac Floinn 7 in Dallān Forgaill.
3 Eithne oire[g]dha na clī, in rīghan do Chorbraigi[2]),
māthair Col*uim*, comall nglē, ingen Dīma m*ic* Nāeē.
4 Cūanna 7 Catlum calma, Odrān fa mac fīadhColba,
derbrāthair d' Feimne male clann Ḟinnaide fīrmōire.
5 Dīas cloinne ạg Finnab*air* ḟēil: Comgall taobglan mac Tāidhe,
7 Cognag, caom a dath, māthair Bāithīn m*ic* Cūanach.

Colum Cille cecinit.

Ib. S. 130.

1 Longas Inb*ir* Domnann Sacsain gaibhthe murthrācht:
.xl. c*ē*t sithlong im ṡecht cāecu sithbhárc.
2 Roth rāmach co slemhna, fiall*ach* ann cen merbha,
Saxain mnā co ndreamna meldai būar im Temhrai.
3 Secht n-athni dar Ẹ́ịrinn, bat ile [a] batha,
secht n-ūara cec*h* laithe fessaithir secht catha.
4 Is adhbhal in rōiniudh, is ūathmar in cuire,
insoide do chathaibh for Gaoidhelu huile.
5 Co rīsat in coirthe Mogha Ruith, rádh fírbalc,
mebais ind roth rāmhuch, *con*bebha ind īdhlacht.
6 Mogh Roith rēil asperar nād celar co dímhór,
*con*boing ind roth rämhuch dorónadh la Sīmón.
7 Dussnicfe tarbh tnūthach, *con*gēra ainm mBrighti,
bidh būad*ach* ainm M' Íde, mebais for sl*ūag* sirde.
8 Dob*er* catha doïbh do ṡlūagh laimthech lūthach,
maoidigh ann for genti, [...] in tarb tnūthach.
9 Dusnicfe Flann Cinach ar abhaill mō[i]r sīabrae,
*con*būreba doïb in maccān secht mblīa*dnae*.
10 Is *con*dae fonfūabair, is focus do bētaibh,
a bidhg triasna catha atrīmfid*er* cēduibh.

---

[1]) *Lies* M'ling. [2]) corbraide *MS.*

11 Īar sin documm mara dí airde f*or* airde,
in līn an*n* atluife, rusfirfi mi*n* gainme.
12 Ạrnamāirech doïbh for muir miadh airleth,
in lín an*n* atluife, derb nosfirfe bairgedh.
13 Caín *con*daldae doïbh do inb*er* for inb*er*,
att*ra*satt fo ōensciath fir, mnáoi, mic sceo ingen.
14 Cad ēat a crīcha atfīadar balc tairend,
ōtá Lecaib Pup*aill* (?) coricce Bac mBairenn.
15 (p. 131) Longbārcaidh co Mum*h*ain, is ēscaidh a tairbe,
dusnicfe ịn Flann cētna 7 *con*gaír Ailbhe.
16 Dob*er* catha doïbh dia mbó lán linn fola,
ōtá Cnāmchoill cūanuigh connige tuinn mara.
17 Ėludh ann for romhuir, nícon fess cia dona,
ōenbannscal co n-ōenṡūil, alaile derg fola.
18 Allmuire iar suidhiu, atfiadar fīr tōiden,
ō ṡein co dē mbrātha ní tegad [tīr] nGāoidhel.
19 A airet na toghla fonācaibh mār pup-,
issedh ōen atrīmter teora blia*dna* cāegat.
20 Tiucfa la Flann nGinach lasan fīalchas ḟēnech,
cāin crothfidher gais*cedh*, cāin mōrfaid*er* cl*ēr*ech.
21 Tiucf*a* la Flann Cinach a coimpert madh airledh,
mess, blicht comlán crab- 7 bairgen.
22 Tiucf*a* la Flann Cinach, bidh fír cé otcherta,
gaisc̄ ina techta crab- ní ba geal snéchta.
23 Betheobh la Flann Cinach cia rāit*er* ní míﬀerr,
intan beti c*ēt*aibh ōenf*er* dībh a n-if*er*nn.
24 Ōtá flaith Flainn Ginuigh, is fír cia rorīme,
ō ṡein co dē mbrātha is derb is [s]ē mílé.
25 Can cen*ēl* Ḟlainn Ginuicch a coimpert cāin airde,
ūä Coirpri cūanuidh, uā̃ Gūaire Aidhne.
26 Cía conidhcerta do dāinibh nī rodhbudh,
mac Feidlimt[h]e f*or*finn a ainm Cille Coluim.
27 Allmuire iar suidhe cia rāitir in toirrse,
is sirsan*n* a īarmag a haithle na loingsi. Longas.

Colum Cille cecinit.

Ib. S. 102.

1 An echtrach-sa scīath mo sgol, as derb *go* bfiatf*aid*er dam,
aithrig dam mo leba de it*er* ainglib Rīgh nime.

2 A gabā*il* gacha dardāin, gach sathairnn, gach domnaigh tsāir,
nī tēid do c[h]inedh nā cla[i]nn co brāch *nō* ịar mbrāch a [n-ifrinn.
3 A gabā*il* sin astigh tall gidhbē do*n* m*uintir* (?) roscen*n*can*n*,
marb co brāch nī recha as amach fōs tar a dorus.
4 A gabā*il* [sin] a tigh nái nocha sloinninn sin acht sāi,
nī loisg tene bus būan bl*ad* 's nocha n-airginn crech bidb*ad*.
5 A gabā*il* ar maduin co moch d' īasgaire rē ndul ar loch,
acht co creidi do Chrīst cāid gēb*aid* sē a lāngabā*il*.
6 A gabā*il* [sin] co grod grod do lānamuin rē comr*ac*,
sgarf*ai*d sīad fa būaidh de, is bīaidh orra būaid cloinne.
7 A gabā*il* rē ndul ar ech, madh sīdh, mad cog*ad*, mad crech,
dodēnt*ar* āthus dā druim, is tiucf*a* slān re toirling.
8 A c*ur* a ngūal*ainn* eich āin 's a slīas*ait* des inn da lāim,
nī trascart*har* marcach dī, 's bīaidh uirt[h]i būaid coimlinge.
9 A gabā*il* rē ndul a luing ar anf*ad* an mara moill,
fer dā foirinn nī tēid dī le anf*ad* na glasfairgi.
10 A c*ur* ada dernainn deis, rē ndul do snām ga*n* ēislis,
b*id* fada h'uidhe ga*n* treōir 's nī bāithfi tū tonn aineōil.
11 A c*ur* a n-uball beg bān, a cūaich *nō* ạ corn *nō* ạ copān,
a caithim g*o* rig a les, is b*ar* cara ịntī caithes.
12 A c*ur*-si co mēid ratha a snāithi glas *nō* datha,
d' anacul anma m*ic* big 7 a c*ur* fa ạ brāgaid.
13 A c*ur* a sē deoch*aib* d*ec* ar tinnis na mban, 's nī brēg,
coisgf*id* a n-ita ga*n* geis 7 fōirf*idh* a tinnes.
14 A c*ur* a n-arān *nō* ạ n-im do mac rē ndul cum lēiginn,
dodēna nī bus les dó 7 b*id* nem a iargnō.
15 As misi Colum Cille, dalta Rīgh na fīrinne,
anocht tāinic mo laithi an ūar-si fan n-echtraithi. Anecht.

Colum Cille cecinit.

Ib. S. 48. Vgl. Rawl. B. 502, S. 106 b 39.

Dīa ard airleath*ar*[1]) · aingel innrechta[2]) · tabhr*adh* daighberta[3]) · for ar n-imthechta · for ar n-imrimim[4]) · arnachelamar. arnachomanar[5]) · rísam tísam térnamar · for ar ndíanairlibh. Día dom aidhbredh-sa[6]) · Crīst dom dhíti-si[7]) · Día dom airli-si[8]).

[1]) árlethar *R.* [2]) aúgel indrechta *R.* [3]) dagberta *R.*
[4]) imri*mmend* *R.* [5]) arna*ch*omon *R.* [6]) aithbresa *R.*
[7]) ditesa *R.* [8]) airlisea *R.*

Ib. S. 27.

Vgl. Lebor Brecc (L), S. 262 b 76: Loricca Coluim Cilli incipit.

1 Scīath Dē do nim umam ar bith chē, cāin ānradh[1]),
tairsit a ngail[2]) gnīmradh aingeal Dē dom tālgadh[3]).
2 Mōrc[h]oimdi na ndomun, Rī na rīgh admuirer[4]),
ar altaib, ar neimib ardonceltair cuirer[5]).
3 Amail rocuir[6]) Muire a mac ar[7]) cūairt coime[8]),
ardomcuire samlaid[9]) co hāes n-adhbal n-ughra[10]).
4 Ar meabhaib, ar mertain, ar buidhib, ar brecaib,
ar ḟáebraib, ar ataib, ar bāeghlaib[11]), ar lecaib.
5 Ar cithaib[12]), ar cestaib, ar cathaib, ar coscar[13]),
ar trethan, ar thrasgairt, ar lasair, ar loscadh[14]).
6 [15]) Ar torainn an alltair, ar galar, ar geinntib,
ar mill*iud* in cenntair, ar ṡill*iud*, ar teinntib.
7 Celtair Dē do nimib umam for na huilib,
ar toraibh, ar teinigh, ar conaib, ar cuirib[16]).
8 Ar trethnaib, ar tonnaib, ar lochaib, ar linnib[17]),
ar pīanuib, ar buillib, ar rīadhaib[18]), ar rinnib[19]).
9 Ar plādhaib[20]), ar pīanuib, ar īarnai*m*[21]), ar ḟāebraib,
ar ogaib do tsīabhraib, ar brodaib, ar báeghluib.
10 Ar tsergaib, ar ithib, ar iupaib[22]), ar ḟāthaib[23]),
ar muirib, ar mithibh, ar guinib, ar gāithfib[24]).
11 Fo lām Dē am torann, am trebann, am tarann,
am bir do brū barann, am inneōin *nōi* ngabann.
12 Am ail for slēib scīathach ṁuire amor athar (?),
am rían rān *go* rūathar, am mac mōr na māthar.

---

[1]) arad *L.* [2]) tairsed iarngail *L.*
[3]) snádud *L.* [4]) armuirer *L.*
[5]) arfelltaib aromun · arcelltraib nacuired *L.*
[6]) Mar dochuir *L.* [7]) im *L.*
[8]) cómga cunnla *L.* [9]) corumditne curasamla *L.*
[10]) cohoes nadba lubrai *L.*
[11]) Armedair arbrétaib · arbuidnib arbrécaib · arhidlaib areltaib · arfoebraib *L.*
[12]) chethaib *L.* [13]) coscraib *L.*
[14]) arlassair arloscud · arthrethan arthroscud *L.*
[15]) *om. L.*
[16]) Cathbarr dé donim · bamchorp bamanmain uile · arthoraind artheine · archonaib archuire *L.*
[17]) arlonga[i]b dolindib *L.* [18]) riagaib *L.*
[19]) *Hier bricht L ab.* [20]) *l.* plāghaib.
[21]) *l.* īarnaib. [22]) *l.* upthaib.
[23]) *l.* āithib. [24]) *l.* gāibthib.

13 Am tonn forsmbīd muire, am cloidhem trom tana,
nī ḟuil nā*ch*ambeaba do neoch nāchamcara.
14 Romc[h]ara mac Muire, coimsidh grēine gile,
snāidhsi*m* Dīa na n-uile, rīsi*m* Rī[g] secht nime.
15 Molsu*m* gach maith molair, ainsim gach bridh mbunaidh,
bīadsum gach tonn toraidh, snāidhsim gach slūadh sub*aidh*.
16 Grīansum grīan, cāin cainnel, saorsum gach dūn daingen,
mārsim Dīa na finnnem, caomsum Coimdi aingel.
17 Atach cāin an Coimdi, mo máin, as é ạ adradh,
spirut naom, nūall cuimnech, aiteocham fria ạ labra[d].
18 Lūirech Dē domrōsat dom cnāmaib cui*n* tīasat,
dōigh nī bidhb*aid* gāisit, dōigh nī ranna rīasat.
19 Dōigh nī nāmaid rīaraid Muire immorāidid,
dōig nī cesta cūirit, dōigh nī huisgi bāidhitt.
20 Dōigh nī formad fine, dōigh nīmraba muire,
dōig nīmloisge tene, dōigh nīmmarba duine.
21 Romain ar gach caingnib mac Muire go n-ainglib finna[ib],
lūirech Dē fam balluib ōm mull*uch* gom finnuib.
22 M' anum, mo nert uile ōm c[h]orp g*o* halt m' fine,
fodbrabt a Muire, fo scīathraigh Rīgh nime.
23 Snāidhsim mac na nāime Muire mōrdat mīle,
ar gach mbās ar talmain, ar galar acht crīne.
24 Mo C[h]aomōg a Līathmuigh, Mo Laisi cen dīc[h]leith,
romain ar cūa[i]*n* crūachduib Mo Ling a Glinn Dīthrib.
25 Nā rumtāirli a thlaithrech, nā rummeile īarann,
nā ruminnill bodhba gēin mairfed for doman,
mo chorp 7 m' anum romain ar gach n-oman
scīath Dē do nim tarum.
Sc. Dē.

Colum Cille cecinit.

Ib. S. 116.

1 Dīa na ndúl dom dhīdin ar cach teidhm ar talmain,
dom coimhēd gach inb*aidh* ar imghuin, ar armuibh.
2 Ar dhomhan dom dhallad, ar mhęallad ó maoinibh,
ar ernail gach ūabhair, ar dheamnaibh, ar dhaoinibh.
3 Ar cleasaibh na colla dom chealccadh ón crábhadh,
ar dhoraidh ó dhíabul, ar ghonuibh, ar ghábhadh.
4 Ar urchar, ar oilbēim, ar ledradh, ar losccud,
ar cathais, ar cęstaibh, ar athais, ar oscar.

5 Ar nert neimhnech námhatt, ar gach n-éccōir n-uile,
ar gach glonnaibh goimhe, ar thonnaibh, ar thuile.

6 Ar lochuib, ar linntibh, ar uiscedhuibh innbher,
ar cuire na caidben, ar gach uile imnedh.

7 Ar clochuibh, ar crannaibh, ar alltaibh, ar ūamuibh,
ar dheabhtaibh ó dhaoinibh ar cethraibh, ar cūanuibh.

8 Ar threthan, ar theinntigh, ar gaothaibh, ar glaimnigh,
ar dhoinind, ar dhroighnibh, ar thoraind, ar thairnigh.

9 Ar bhás obann aigméil, ar gach n-aisling n-úathmhair,
ar scáolr*aidh*, ar scáthaibh, ar ṡāebhr*aidh*, ar ṡúadghail.

10 Gan mhé d' ḟaigsin iffr*inn*, gen é úadh dom ḟaiccsin,
ó línibh, ó ·loiscthib, ó ghnímhuibh, ó ghaistibh.

11 Ar mhẹllad, ar mhire, ar daoinibh nāch díadha,
ar na rennaibh rūadha gusna dremaibh díana. D. n.

12 Nár adhrass dom ghuidhe, nār an*uss* arm adhart,
tucc mo cēim gu comholc, ruc mo rēim 's mo radharc.

13 Gach itchi nár ḟaomh*us* ort, a Rí fíal fertach,
uch a thríath foll fechtach, mē cen conn is cintach.

14 Gach itche rotíarrus ort, a thrīath gan tomhus,
doghébh gén gur ghabhass, a Rí na srebh sol*uss*.

15 Logh dam, a Dhé, ạnossa mo pecaidh 's mo píana,
lēig mo chaingẹn cúanna co daingean 's co díadha.

16 Ar h' áille 's ar h' einech, ar h' ūaisle 's ar h' firta,
a Rī suilbhir sotla, nā cuimnigh mo cinnta.

17 Do chrochad 's do chēsadh, h' ég, a Íssa, ịs airde,
cuir a n-aghaidh th' ḟeirge dom chabhair gan chairde.
D. i. a.

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ERLÄUTERUNGEN UND BESSERUNGEN ZU IRISCHEN TEXTEN.

1. Zu Stokes' Ausgabe von O'Davorens Glossar.

§ 40. *accais* wird auch in § 399 durch *imnidh* glossiert.
§ 113. Statt en*eclann* lies en*eclainn*.
§ 134. Statt *munal* lies *munab*.
§ 141. Statt *ad-cumrigim* lies *ad-rigim*.
§ 173. Das Zitat stammt aus einem in YBL 140b erhaltenen Gedichte, wo es sich in Z. 24 mit der Variante *raib* statt *rob* findet.
§ 189. Das Zitat *mani bat ainmnet* findet sich Trip. 78, 19.
§ 195. *docīthi dadae* (leg. *d'adaig*) „wurde zur Nacht gesehen".
§ 196. Statt teasb*ad* lies teasb*aid*.
§ 281. Statt *com*bongat lies *con*bongat.
§ 315. *innī snīes trena brat* „was durch seinen Mantel dringt".
§ 329. Die hier zitierte Strophe, die O'Mulc. § 180 Flann, d. h. Flann mac Lonāin beigelegt wird, läfst sich folgendermafsen herstellen und übersetzen:

Usce slēbe nīmsāsa, coibche co ngēri gnūsa,
deog daim duinn techtas blūsar, bēs lūsar cenislūs-sa.

'Mountain-water does not satisfy me, a boon that makes one pull a wry face — the drink of a fallow deer that bellows, maybe it is enjoyed, though *I* enjoy it not'.

Das Verbum *lūsaim*, zu dem *lūs* die konjunkte Form der 1. Sg. des *ā*-Konjunktivs ist, bedeutet vielmehr „kosten, geniefsen" als „trinken", da es bei O'Dav. 1195 auch von Speisen gebraucht wird (*ma lūsait tūara 7 dig*). Es findet sich auch H 3. 18, S. 212: *gur lūs būas bang na Bōinde .i. gur ibh sē an elada do bhī 'sna cnāibh*

imais. Das Wort *coibche* bedeutet in weiterem Sinne „Gabe, Geschenk“.

§ 340. *ara clith* ist hier und in § 407 in *arachlich* zu ändern, wie § 162 richtig steht. S. *ar-clichim*, Contrib.

§ 341. Lies *an anim*[*m*]*e*.

§ 344. *a c*[*h*]*uinnsi cucht* 'the figure of his face', mit vorangestelltem Genitiv.

§ 350. *roclūi aicmi ilchlandaig* 'he overthrew a tribe of many subdivisions'. *ilchlandaig* ist nicht der Gen. Sg. eines Kollektivums, wie Stokes will, sondern der Acc. Sg. fem. eines Adjektivs *ilchlandach*.

§ 460. Hier ist *ime-fri-son* nur eine etymologische Zerlegung von *im*(*b*)*reson*.

§ 463. Statt *fir elgnais* lies *fīr elgnais*.

§ 476. Das Zitat stammt aus einem Gedichte in den Verslehren (Ir. T. III 50, 19 und 28), und ist wohl zu lesen:

cōic bāe cacha mōrnatha nad dīchressa ą caramna

„fünf Kühe für jedes groſse *nath*, deren Leiber (?) nicht mager seien“. Das Metrum verlangt dreisilbigen Ausgang der Verszeilen.

§ 480. *īar cūl*, was Stokes wörtlich 'at the back' übersetzt, bedeutet vielmehr 'on behalf of', wie es z. B. Thes. II 289, 18 richtig übersetzt ist. Zu den dort angeführten Beispielen läſst sich Mon. Tall. § 24 hinzufügen: *in raibi athchomarc lat īar do chūl ria tudecht* hicc? 'hadst thou permission on thy behalf before coming here?' nicht 'of those whom thou didst leave', wie die Herausgeber übersetzen. Aber in anderem Zusammenhang kann *īar cūl* auch „hinter dem Rücken“ bedeuten, z. B. SR 5815: *cen nī īar cūl* „ohne daſs er irgend etwas zurückhielt, verbarg“.

§ 493. Statt *nola air* ist gewiſs *no-da-air* „er pflügt sie“ zu lesen.

§ 515. *inī cruiter and* 'that which is milked therein'. S. *crudim* und *cruthaim*, Contrib.

§ 536. *conclethi* ist in *conchlichi* zu ändern.

§ 547. Das Zitat ist aus einem Fothad na Canōine zugeschriebenen Gedichte, welches sich in Egerton 1782, 46 b und 23 N 10, S. 82 findet und anfängt: *Dia mbat rī bat rīgchertach.*

Statt *iter clainn 7 geinelach* heifst es dort *for clainn* usw. *cusin nōmad nō* möchte ich „bis zum neunmal neunten“ übersetzen, indem *nō* des Reimes wegen für *nōi* steht.

§ 593. Das Zitat stammt aus TBC, z. B. LL 263 b 29 *immorchor ṅdelend.*

§ 603. *airbere* ist mit „Vorwurf, Tadel“ zu übersetzen.

§ 638. *cen derbdílsi dlicht* stammt aus dem alten Texte Immathchor Ailello ocus Airt (Anecd. III 29, 10), wo die Lesart *cen dagdīlse dlicht* lautet.

§ 702. Statt *dos ndime* lies *dosndime* 'he binds them'.

§ 708. Mit *dofeilge* vgl. *dofeilce* § 710.

§ 748. Beide Zitate, *meiser aicde ar a deimni* und *meiser ēlach ar deimni,* stammen aus Audacht Morainn.

§ 757. *for a bith-denma* kommt auch LL 278 a 35 (Ériu I 90, 5) vor.

§ 780. Statt *érain* lies *erāin.*

§ 813. Statt asb*eir* lies asb*err.*

§ 828. Statt dli*ged* lies dli*giud* (Dat. instr.). Zu diesem archaischen Gebrauch des Dativs vgl. z. B. *ana beochell benair dānaib,* O'Dav. 282; *diubairt eclaise brēithir nō gnīm,* ib. 192; *fordīastar tedmaim,* ib. 691.

§ 846. *Fāiltigern* stellt sich nicht zu *fāl,* sondern zu *fāil* „Wolf“.

§ 848. *fonnamh* = **fo-ṡnām.*

§ 849. Das Zitat stammt wieder aus dem Gedichte in Ir. T. III 50. Es ist zu lesen:

fuirim senṡamaisc   ar dēin co ndronchōiri.

§ 861. Statt 'censure' lies 'contempt' (*tāinsem*).

§ 882. Das Zitat ist den Bretha Nemed entnommen. Vgl. Ir. T. III 28 § 68: *cia sui forcanar nad forcanar duinib* (leg. *dōinib*). Es ist wohl zu übersetzen: „Wer ist der Weise, welcher gelehrt wird, der nicht von Menschen gelehrt wird?“

§ 910. Vor 'over-consumption' ist 'unlawful' einzuschalten.

§ 916. Statt *co fathaib feith* lies *co fātha* (sic F) *feith,* mit vorangestelltem Genitiv.

§ 951. Zu *fūasnad* vgl. *fūasnadh .i. sgāiledh, ut est: fūasnad luighe nō anmcardesa,* H 3. 18, 62 b.

§ 1003. Vgl. jetzt Ériu III S. 96.

§ 1004. *coitte* ist nicht zu *cotut,* sondern zu *coit* zu stellen. Vgl. *calad .i. crūaid nō coit,* Fél. lxxi.

§ 1026. Statt *conberbar* liest H 3. 18, 615 a *conberbthar.*

§ 1063. Das Zitat (*grōmfa grōmfa, glāmfa glāmfa*) ist aus Fingen mac Flainns Gedicht (Arch. III 297 § 47) entnommen.

§ 1072. Statt *inloing* liest O'Mulc. 537 *inellaig*. Zu diesem und dem folgenden Paragraphen vgl. Sitzungsber. der Kgl. preuſs. Akademie 1913, S. 453.

§ 1073. *Nō dula* usw. gehört zu § 1074, mit dem § 1106 zu vergleichen ist.

§ 1091. Vgl. Sitzungsber. 1914, S. 640.

§ 1122. Zu *impetoir* vgl. *oc cech altōir ⁊ terimpetoir .i. imaltōir*, Ériu I 219, § 9, wo O'Keeffe das Wort mit 'portable altar' übersetzt.

§ 1130. *inlolaig* „sammelte", zu *in-long-*.

§ 1218. *lam* steht wohl für *lemm* „für mich". *airbhitiu* wohl = *airfitiud*, wie oben § 45. Vgl. *airbitiud*, Imr. Br. § 18.

§ 1223a. *amaïl descaidh maine mughmenman* 'like dregs . . of a slavish mind'.

§ 1226. Statt *bis a*[*c*] *cumas*[*c*] *a chetuil* lies *bīs a cumas* (*cumes* F) *a chetuil*.

§ 1246. Hier bedeutet *inde* „Eingeweide", nicht 'meaning', wie Stokes übersetzt.

§ 1265. *tuth bracha* 'the smell of malt'.

§ 1267. *mera mescill scēl* 'wild are the stories of a drunken man'

§ 1294. Statt *cidit* lies *cit* (*cid E*); statt rohordaigh*es* lies *rohordaigh*ed.

§ 1295. Statt 'blue' lies 'woad' (*glaisin*).

§ 1313. *fir conort cētc*[*h*]*inta* 'of a man who has committed (his) first crimes'. Zu *con-urgg* vgl. *conoirg* Laws IV 174 z. 176, 2. *coniuratar*, Immac. in dā th. § 247.

§ 1328. Statt *cid ro oir* lies *cid rō-orr*.

§ 1345. Das Zitat findet sich Arch. III 293.

§ 1368. Hier ist *ro-ēchtach* eine etymologisierende Glosse zu *ruchtach*.

§ 1393. *rodet* 'he was granted', nicht 'he granted'.

§ 1394. *ronecam* findet sich auch Arch. III 294 § 13.

§ 1406. Statt sobh*as* lies sobh*us*. *Slūag sobhus* 'a well-behaved army'.

§ 1416. *bē sūes sruth coctha for cūla* 'a woman that turns back a stream of warfare'.

§ 1445. *co n-imatso sofis*. Lies *co n-imat sofis*. Das erste *so* ist Dittographie.

§ 1481. Das Zitat *suí cach somnaighe* stammt aus Triads § 251, wo die Lesart *sái cach somnath* ist.

§ 1482. Statt *coirmthech cen fais*cre lies *c. cen fais*nēis.

§ 1511. Statt impa lies infra.

§ 1535. Hier bedeutet *co* wohl „wie?"

§ 1547. Lies *tennid breo tengad tulbretha*, wo *tengad* (sic EF) wieder der voraufgestellte Genitiv ist. Statt frith*ṡaiġe* lies frith*ṡuide* (F).

§ 1551. Die Glosse findet sich auch in H 3. 18, 62 b: *imtogrenn fīrenech fīrfili .i. is ēim toibhghes in fīrfili annī doberar tar cenn einigh.*

§ 1565. Dies Zitat stammt aus einem alten Gedicht, welches Ir. T. III 51 erhalten ist und dort (Z. 6) so lautet:

atlochur techt i tech co rīg.

§ 1604. Vgl. Hib. Min. S. 8, Z. 271.

2. Zu Stokes' Ausgabe von O'Mulconrys Glossar.

§ 3. Hier haben wir eine Halbstrophe in rannaigecht:

tūatha abacc usci ūair, *glūair conanat i cach dāil*

„die Biberstämme des kalten Wassers, glänzend wohnen sie zusammen in jeder Versammlung".

glūair ist also nicht Gen. Sg., wie Stokes im Glossar annimmt, sondern Nom. Sg. Plur.

§ 20. H liest *adunde.*

§ 32. H liest *aicde.*

§ 35. H liest *yalin utrum latine.*

§ 40. H liest *a uerbo.*

§ 42. H liest *amurca.*

§ 43. Statt *inmi* hat die Hs. (YBL) *immi.*

§ 48. H liest *ingen.*

§ 53. Vgl. § 718.

§ 54. Statt *ō odaig* liest H *bodaig.* Statt *choimdid* lies *coimdid* („wie der Wagenlenker dem Herrn vorangeht").

§ 61. Statt *tolltes* hat die Hs. *tollty* (i. e. *tolltui*).

§ 67. H liest *tosach n-agho.*

§ 73. Statt *adult*[*er*]*o* lies *adulto.*

§ 84. H liest *amhae.*

§ 85. H liest *ammona.*

§ 98. H liest *aeclesia.*

§ 104. Lies *nī trēn fri clannagud arba.*

§ 107. H 3.18 liest: *fri fuil in mīl mōir nī fodmat bronda anfen.* Wie die Alliteration zeigt, haben wir es mit rhythmischer Prosa zu tun.

§ 108. Lies: *ut dixit Bracān Cláon:*
Sadall[1]) *farsid for druim eich īs mac Luigne nochan uil*
„Ein alter Sattel auf einem Pferderücken ist nicht unter M. L."

§ 110. H liest *mid nais.*

§ 123. Statt *lāithe* lies *laithe.* Statt *bratiium* ist *brauium* (βραβεῖον) zu lesen, das im Durham Ritual 92 mit *mind* glossiert wird.

§ 125. H liest *breth ocai.* Zu *ainm aicepta bēlri* vgl. *nomen aiciuchta bēlrai* § 229.

§ 132. Die Hs. hat *Bē Nēt .i. mulier eius.*

§ 134. Lies *nī tēt i mbēl.*

§ 138. Statt *ab es* lies *a bēs* und vgl. Hib. Min. S. 13, 440: *bēs ⁊ uita donintai.*

§ 139. *banuagrag* ist in *ban-augrach* „zänkisch wie ein Weib" zu korrigieren.

§ 140. *bemandro* i. e. βῆμα ἀνδρός.

§ 143. Hinter *flechad* hat H noch *dicitur brec.*

§ 154. Statt *hic* lies *hi*[*n*]*c.*

§ 159. H liest *orator.* Es handelt sich gewiſs um eine Etymologie von *brīathar,* wie Stokes bemerkt; aber es wird die archaische Form *brēthor* zugrunde gelegt.

§ 166. Lies fāil*id.*

§ 167. Statt *bit* hat H *bid* (i.e. *bīd*).

§ 171. Zu *bo .i. laus* vgl. § 213.

§ 175. H liest *batialia.*

§ 190. H liest *lé.*

§ 194. Auch H liest *caldæ ⁊ cathlac.*

§ 195. H hat *crunnæ* und *falo* statt *kalo.*

§ 198. Statt *doeim* liest H *dieim.*

§ 208. Statt *fria thalmad* lies *fri athalmad* = *ath-fólmad.* Statt *crúi* hat H *chrúi* und statt *acam coss* richtig *a camchoss.* Lies *bachall dod*[*e*]*im a chamchoss* „ein Stab stützt seinen krummen Fuſs".

[1]) sadaill Hs.

§ 211. *cernit* steht in der Hs.

§ 213. Lies *grece cae* [*.i.*] *7* „griechisch *καὶ* d. h. und".

§ 236. H liest *conto* statt *conta*.

§ 240 gehört zu 239.

§ 245. Lies *gū-scor* und vgl. *gū-lenis* § 260.

§ 254. *idem* ist in *item* zu bessern.

§ 266. Hier bricht H mit dem Worte *combric* ab.

§ 268. Lies *cūthal*, wie der Reim mit *mūchad* zeigt.

§ 274. H 3. 18 hat richtig *cach suiligh*.

§ 276. Statt *curchān* hat H 3. 18 *curchaib*, statt *cló cloa*.

§ 277. Das Zitat stammt aus einem Gedichte, das Ir. T. I 163 abgedruckt ist.

§ 300. *buithe* ist in *buithi* (Part. nec.) zu ändern. Vgl. Cāin Adamnāin S. 44.

§ 310. *dub-ēn* ist wohl „Rabe", nicht „Krähe". Vgl.

> 'Some say the ravens foster forlorn children
> The whilst their own birds famish in the nest.'
> (Titus Andronicus).

§ 312. Statt *chais* hat die Hs. richtig *chois*. H 3. 18 liest *nī indula do chois* „nicht zu Fuſs zu begehen".

§ 315 a. dig*res* ist wohl dig*rai*s zu lesen.

§ 349. Wie die Siebenzahl der Silben und die Alliteration zeigen, ist *breth ruc dīabul ōs druimden* ein Vers.

§ 357. In *detracere* steht *c* für *ch* = *h*.

§ 361 a. Lies *ēcne .i. ē-chiniuth* und *ē*[*i*]*sc*. Das zweite *ecad* ist für *ēcne* verschrieben.

§ 368. Lies *ab iectione*.

§ 371. Lies: vel edom quia edendo intestina uiuit.

§ 375. Lies: di labrai thond i s*ide* „von dem Geschwätz der Wogen in diesem".

§ 402. Zu *ruiced* (= *ruccad*) vgl. *ruced* § 456.

§ 403. Lies: *ar is sī rann itā fodail na sians .i. facies*.

§ 417. H 3. 18 liest richtig *fir Ērann*.

§ 427. *cēne immenessamar* „solange wir verzehren mögen", *s*-Konj. zu *imm-ithim*.

§ 443. Lies *unus ālaich 7 āla*[*ich*] *cech ōin* „dasselbe Betragen wie das Betragen eines jeden".

§ 456. Lies *dīth n-oco*.

§ 462. *nī cumtaig* = *nīn-cumtaig* „bedeckt ihn nicht".

§ 479. *dīllā er amiris, dīllā demin dōchæ* „die Wahrheit vertreibt den Zweifel, das Sichere vertreibt die Mutmafsung“.

§ 527. Lies *docurethar.*

§ 541. *gniat* Hs. = *gniat*[*h*]. Vgl. mac Augaine Irgnaith, § 606.

§ 544. Lies *frigec*[*h*].

§ 549. Hinter *timor* fügt H 2. 15, S. 41 hinzu: *unde dicitur fuftadh .i. omnad.*

§ 550. Statt *bend muchnæ* lies *Bend nIuchnæ* mit der Hs.

§ 557. Lies fo*chras.*

§ 558. Lies *Gaim a che*[*me*] = *χεῖμα.* Vgl. § 615.

§ 566. Statt ut *est* isinti hat die Hs. uestis indi.

§ 573. Lies *for bū*, nicht „upon death“ wie Stokes, Arch. I 474 will, sondern „on kine“.

§ 575. Lies fo*ir*bthe (f̄ibthe Hs.).

§ 599. Die Hs. hat *Fés .i. fé.*

§ 606. Statt *Belach* hat H 3. 18 *Belut.*

§ 634. H 3. 18 liest *gelit.*

§ 635. H 3. 18 liest *gleo.*

§ 637. *duine duine* ist Dittographie. H 3. 18 hat nur einmal *duine.*

§ 638. Hinter *nī ben* fügt H 3. 18 *sed filia* hinzu.

§ 639. H 3. 18 hat *monoy.*

§ 640. H 3. 18 hat *glynoon.*

§ 666. Wohl *guth-ree* „Stimme der Zeit“.

§ 677. Lies *i merful.*

§ 679. Lies *Glūanderc .i. glau finn dar a sūil.*

§ 686. Lies *in Guthart* (Name eines Flusses).

§ 688. Lies *āille na sīne.*

§ 704. Lies *fuil dond idain, linn dond ītu* und vgl. Corm. § 770.

§ 706. Die Hs. hat nicht *iach*, sondern *ich.*

§ 711. Lies *cūana 7 choin, hūala 7 ilach.*

§ 726. Statt *Bret*[*hain*] lies *Bret*[*ain*]. Der Satz ist vollständig.

§ 727. Lies *ar doman.*

§ 744. Statt *aro chuci* ist wohl *ar a chumci* zu lesen.

§ 768. Das Zitat bildet eine Strophe in debide. Statt cuir*ne* lies cuir*ēn*. Es reimt auf *cuilēn*, das wieder mit *noscicharān* alliteriert.

§ 779. Statt Labr*ad* lies Labr*aid.*

§ 789. Die Hs. hat: dīrech ndēd fri saigid sēt.

§ 808. Lies *ainm tiprat* [1]) *asromuid.*
§ 812. H 3. 18, 82 b liest *mocon* statt *mocho.*
§ 816. Die Hs. hat richtig *imsai.*
§ 822. Die Hs. hat *graine.*
§ 830 d. *Aos dānae ịn rīg co rinnib* ist ein Vers aus einem Gedicht.
§ 830 e. Lies *cāi for barraib* „ein Kuckuck auf Baumkronen“.
§ 830 g. Vgl. Sitzungsber. d. Kgl. preuſs. Akad. 1914, S. 941.
§ 830 i. Statt *dober* hat die Hs. *diber.*
§ 839. Statt *ut dicitur* hat H 3. 18 ut dixit Fer Muman.
§ 841. Die Hs. hat nicht *muincdi,* sondern *muinchi.*
§ 859. Lies *sogen mac mac Conaill Cernaig,* ein Vers.

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[1]) *tiprati* Ms.

Charlottenburg. KUNO MEYER.

ÜBER EINIGE QUELLENANGABEN DER *TOGAIL TRÓI*.

Zu den „Irischen Texten“ II[1], S. 108 habe ich aus der in der Stowehandschrift D IV 2 (damals Nr. 992) befindlichen Versionen der *Togail Trói* folgende Stelle abgedruckt, die sich weder in den von Stokes veröffentlichten Versionen noch im Buch von Ballymote findet:[1]) *conidh amlaidh sin indisis sdair in fili socenelach do Franccaib cetimrum luingi Argo le gasruidib glana Grec co hinis leaburburccaigh Leimhin 7 rofaccaib Feirgil 7 Dairiet Frigeta 7 Eitnir Gothach in scel sin ar iaraidh in croicind órda in reithi Frisicda i cinn sleibi uraird Isper iarthair deiscirt Afraicthi, conidh é cathugud ban Indsi Leimhin connicc sin. Finit.* Dies übersetzte ich damals:[2]) „So erzählt die Geschichte der adlige Dichter der Franzosen, (nämlich) die erste Fahrt des Schiffes Argo“ usw. und sah darin einen Bezug auf den „Roman de Troie“ des Benoît de St. More. Jetzt hat sich auf meine Bitte Herr Dr. van Hamel bei einem Besuch in Dublin die Stelle angesehen und gefunden, dafs in der Handschrift nicht schlechtweg *sdair* steht, sondern dies erst aus *stait* korrigiert ist. Letzteres ist natürlich die richtige Lesart, die keiner Korrektur bedurfte. *Stait* ist nämlich die altirische Wiedergabe des römischen Namens Statius, und so ist zu übersetzen: „So erzählt Statius, der adlige Dichter aus Gallien, die erste Fahrt des Schiffes Argo“. *Frainc* „Franken“ ist dem

[1]) Sie steht am Ende der Erzählung des Argonautenzuges, die in allen Versionen der irischen Trojasage der eigentlichen *Togail Trói* voraufgeht. Diese beginnt mit dem Satze *Ba cuimnech tra nia 7 caur 7 cathmilid* usw. TTr.[1] 372 = TTr.[2] 27 = BB 416 a 14 = D IV 2, fol. 30 a 2.

[2]) Zur Entschuldigung meiner Flüchtigkeit möge der Umstand dienen, dafs ich mir damals (1883) die Stowehandschriften, welche zum Verkauf im Britischen Museum ausgestellt waren, nur auf kurze Zeit ansehen durfte und meine Exzerpte nur in grofser Eile machen konnte.

späteren Sprachgebrauch gemäſs an die Stelle von *Gaill* „Gallier“ getreten. Wenn hier Statius, bei dem doch gewiſs an P. Papinius zu denken ist, zum Gallier gemacht wird, so mag das auf einer Verwechslung mit seinem Namensvetter, dem Komödienschreiber Caecilius, beruhen, der im zisalpinischen Gallien geboren war. Aber keiner von beiden kommt in Wirklichkeit als Quelle für die irische Argonautensage in Betracht. Es handelt sich einfach um eine Schwindelangabe.

Dasselbe ist der Fall mit einer anderen Angabe unseres Textes, der Berufung auf *Eitnir Gothach*, ein Name, auf den ich lange vergeblich gefahndet habe, bis ich ihn in dem *Aithanarit Gothorum philosophus*[1]) des Geographus Ravennas (edd. Pinder et Parthey, p. 201) entdeckte.[2])

Noch andere ebenfalls schwindelhafte Quellenangaben finden sich in der im Buch von Ballymote enthaltenen Version der Argonautensage. Es heiſst dort S. 415 b 28: *Deired sceōil fil don sceōl sin in croicind ōrda, is ē seo a rēidugud, am*al *at*beir *stair Mhuir 7 stair Ennia. Is ē rocertaigh in scēl sin in croicind ōrda.* Die hier als Quelle für die Erzählung vom goldenen Vlieſs aufgeführten Muir und Ennia sind wohl als Moiris und Ennius zu deuten. Ennius hat ja eine „Medea“ geschrieben und Moiris wird einmal in den Scholien zu Apollonius' Argonautika bei einer Bemerkung über die Mygdoner angeführt.[3]) Auch hier ist es natürlich ganz ausgeschlossen, daſs wirkliche Quellenbenutzung vorliegt. Der irische Bearbeiter schmückt sich nur mit der Kenntnis der Namen der beiden Klassiker.

Es ist bemerkenswert, daſs diese Angaben sich nur in den späteren Versionen der Sage finden. Die von Stokes herausgegeben Texte des Buchs von Leinster und H. 2. 17 (Ir. T. II. S. 1)

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[1]) Ferner ebenda: *Aitanaridus et Eldevaldus et Marcomirus Gothorum philosophi.* Nach einer freundlichen Mitteilung meines Kollegen Josef Marquart hat sich der Ravennas den Namen aus dem des Westgotenkönigs Athanaricus, dem Zeitgenossen des Frankenkönigs Marcomeres (Gregor. Turon.), zurechtgemacht.

[2]) *Eitnir* ist in irischem Munde keine auſsergewöhnliche Entstellung des Namens. Die irische Aussprache betonte die erste Silbe, wodurch die darauf folgende synkopiert wurde. Die Endung *-idus* ist weggefallen, wie aus *Valericus* ir. *Ualer* wird (Gorm. April 1), *Simpoir* aus *Symphorianus* (ib. Juli 7), *Irein* aus *Irenaeus* (ib. Juli 3) usw.

[3]) *ἢ ῥητέον ὅτι Μοίριδι κατηκολούθησεν. οὗτος γὰρ Μυγδόνας ἔφησε καταπολεμῆσαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα* (zu II 786).

geben überhaupt keine Quellen an. Die oben erwähnten Zusätze stammen aus der Epigonenzeit irischer Gelehrsamkeit und sind nur als ein Echo aus der Periode der klassischen Bildung Irlands von Interesse und Bedeutung.[1]) Dafs die Argonautensage den klassisch gebildeten Iren des 6. und der folgenden Jahrhunderte gut bekannt war, beweist u. a. die Episode des *Imram Māile Dūin* (cap. XVIII) von dem von der Königin geworfenen Knäuel, welches *Māel Dūin* in seinem Schiffe an der Hand haften blieb, so dafs sie abgeschlagen werden mufste. Die Kenntnis des Motivs[2]) ist wie so manches andere im Laufe der Zeit aus gelehrten Kreisen in diejenigen der Sagenerzähler gedrungen.

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[1]) Im Gegensatz zu solchen erfundenen Angaben sind z. B. die Berichte über die benutzten Quellen in der irischen Version der Alexandersage durchaus korrekt.

[2]) Vgl. TTr. 343 ff.

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DAS WÖRTERBUCH
DER KGL. IRISCHEN AKADEMIE.

Da nicht anzunehmen ist, dafs dieses Wörterbuch in der Weise wie es angelegt ist fortgeführt werden wird, — wenn überhaupt eine Fortsetzung erfolgt, — so lasse ich mich hier auf eine Kritik seiner Anlage oder der im einzelnen befolgten Methode und Ausführung nicht ein, beschränke mich vielmehr darauf, eine Liste der Versehen, Fehler und Mifsgriffe, die den Gebrauch erschweren, sowie einige Zusätze zu geben. Nur ganz kurz möchte ich den Fleifs, der auf die Zusammenstellung des Ganzen und die Ausarbeitung einzelner Artikel verwendet ist, die Bemühung alles zusammenzutragen, was zur Aufklärung von Schwierigkeiten dienen kann, und das Bestreben, die Fehler anderer richtig zu stellen, hervorheben; andererseits aber auch das Bedauern aussprechen, dafs durch ein viel zu hoch gestecktes und ehrgeiziges Ziel, das dem jetzigen Stand unserer Kenntnisse nicht entspricht, und durch eine gewaltige Raumverschwendung im Anhäufen gleichgiltiger Zitate, Wiederholungen und durch die Aufnahme vieles Ungehörigen ein so nützliches Unternehmen geschädigt ist. Hier galt Goethes Wort „In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister.“ Leider kann die folgende Liste auf Vollständigkeit nicht entfernt Anspruch machen. Der Leser wird woltun, nach wie vor jedes Zitat auf seine Genauigkeit selbst zu prüfen. Die von mir in den Sitzungsberichten der preufsischen Akademie 1913, S. 956 ff. gegebene Liste von Versehen in den Personennamen lasse ich hier aus. Herr Pokorny hat mir seine eigene Sammlung von Ausstellungen freundlich zur Verfügung gestellt, die ich, durch die Initiale (P) gekennzeichnet, mit aufgenommen habe. Der Ausbruch des Krieges hat es leider verhindert, dafs Herr Bergin mir seine Aufstellung

von Verbesserungen zuschicken konnte. Sie kann vielleicht im nächsten Hefte nachgebracht werden. Einige seiner mir früher schon brieflich oder mündlich mitgeteilten Bemerkungen füge ich jetzt schon, mit (B) bezeichnet, in meine Liste ein.

1, 2. Lies *ro hainmniged* (rohaiñg Hs). — 33. add. *da = dobert,* CZ VIII 103, 9; vgl. auch 2 *dathad* (P). — 35. lies *daigid* (P).

2, 41. *dá n-*. Hier handelt es sich nicht um ein nasalierendes *dá;* die Ellipse ist vielmehr durch den vorausgehenden Artikel (Gen. Pl.) hervorgerufen.

3, 17. Add. *dē feraib deac,* Trip. 30, 3. — 29. lies *hocht* (.uiii. Hs). — 56. *fo dī,* später *co fo dī,* z. B. Rawl. 502, 84 b 34. Vgl. *co bo dō.*

4, 6. In mehreren der hier angeführten Ortsnamen ist *Da* nicht das Zahlwort, sondern = *Do* in Kosenamen, z. B. *Cell Da Chamōc, Clūain Da Bāetōc, Mad Da Chonn.*[1]) — 8. lies *Gamna.* — 21. In *Da Cherdda, Da Thō* usw. wird *Da* nicht als gleichbedeutend mit *ūa,* sondern als das Zahlwort aufgefaſst. — 23. add. *dā-*, mittel- und mod.-ir. Kompositionsform für altir. *dē-*; vgl. unter *dē-chennach* usw. (P) — 24. statt *Daaithim* hat LL 349 c *Daathim no Daithid.* — 43. lies Fen. 190, 18. —

5, 2. Lies *ola.* — 20. IV ist zu streichen. Dies *dabhach* steht für *dumhach* f., gen. *duimhche.* Vgl. Gael. J. Dec. 1908 (B). — 31. statt '*saint*' lies '*abbot of Bangor*' († 928). — 37. lies *Inis iter.* — 48. lies *Dabeōc = Do Beōc.* — 51. add. *Cnoc Dabilla,* Metr. D. I 38. — 53. lies *Cichurid.* — 54. Das handschriftliche *dabla·* ist in *dalba* zu bessern. — 60. statt *rath*[*bruga*] lies *rath*[*buige*] trotz LL 50 a 43. — 62. lies *Da Buide.* — 64. statt 'twenty' lies 'forty'. Add. *ḋaichid,* Ulster (P).

6, 4. *dachaid = dia thaig.* — 7. add. Rennes Dinds. 44. — 22. add. *Fer Dā Chrīch, Dub Dā Chrīch* (Dubdagrecus). — 39. lies *Da Cholmōc.* — 40. statt *Dacon* lies *Da Chonn = Moconna Essa mac nEirc,* Gorm. March 8. — 41. *dactil = dachtail* (P). — 65. *Dadamh m. Reabta* = Dadan filius Rhegma, Isid. Etym. IX 2, 18.

[1]) Von diesem *Da = Do,* welches mit *Mo* wechselt, spricht der Herausgeber überhaupt nicht.

7, 1, *Dadan*, aus Gen. 10, 7; I Chron. 1, 9. — 2. Hierher gehört *Dadanaim* von col. 125, 1. — 3. *Dadera* = *Do Dera*. — 5. add. *Dadnān*, Gorm. Apr. 6, *Dadhnān*, Mart. Don. — 9. lies *píopa*. — 10. add. *dadadh*, *tada*, Munster. — 18. *dāechda* gehört zum heutigen *daochān* und bedeutet 'horrid, base' (P). — 25. Der Flufsname *Dāel* ist identisch mit *dōil* 'schwarzer Käfer'. — 29. add. *Dāen* n. l., *cath Dāen* Fen. 328, 4. — 34. lies *Mıl*. — 44. Dele 'often *deth*'. Es wird nie so geschrieben, sondern nur d7. — 59 ff. Hier ist jede Angabe des Geschlechts unterblieben.

8, 1. Die Hs. hat *dagathrige* (P). — 10. statt *ár* lies *ar* und so an vielen anderen Stellen. *dag-bert* bedeutet „tapfere Tat", nicht 'good luck'. — 18. statt *hubil* lies *lubib*. — 21. lies *dagcenēl*. Die Lenierung des *c* ist eine spätere Entwicklung, die sich nie im Altir. findet (P). — 30. Arch. III 235, 32 hat *dagcraidib*. — 40. lies *dag-donn*; vgl. gall. *Donnotaurus* (P).

9, 7. Add. *dagnīmrathib*, Thes. II 244. 33, wo es fälschlich zu *dag-imratib* korrigiert ist. — 47. Hier und bei manchen anderen Wörtern fehlt ohne ersichtlichen Grund die Übersetzung („edler Bräutigam"). — 54. lies *dag-rāith*. — 55. Hier war die Angabe des Geschlechts besonders wichtig (masc.).

10, 47. Zum Zitat vgl. Arch. III 304 § 7. — 54. Hier und sonst ist eine späte Form (*deg-aithne* statt *deg-aichne*) angesetzt ohne darauf aufmerksam zu machen.

11, 11. Add. 'good luck'. — 15. add. 'a goodly barque'. — 16. statt *dian* lies *dīn* (: *rīg*).

12, 2. Add. 'a fair oak-wood'. — 24. lies *deg-doe* und vgl. Sg. 68 a 1 (P).

13, 38. Add. *co degmaith*, LL 129 a 43. Statt subst. 'a nobleman' lies *degmaithi* (Plur.) 'noblemen'. Der Sing. wird nie so gebraucht.

15, 10. Lies *deg-ord*. — 36. lies Rawl. 502 a 31. Hier hätte gesagt werden müssen, dafs *dag* die geweihte Hostie bedeutet und dafs *tair* für *triar* verschrieben ist (P). — 38. 3 *dag* ist zu tilgen. Es ist das hebräische Wort.

16, 13. Hier hat der Herausgeber den irischen Namen des Philistergötzen Dagon (*Dagān*) aus SR und den irischen Personennamen *Dagān* durcheinander gemengt. — 19. *dagar*

Dies ist die richtige Form des Nom. Sg. und nicht blofs eine Variante. *daiger* beruht auf dem Eindringen der palatalen Form aus dem Gen. *daigre,* Dat. *daigir* (P). — 35. *dago,* lies *dagō,* eine Verbalform, zu *do-gōim* „ich wähle“. — 36. *dagsad,* fälschlich aus *munad agsad* erschlossen; lies *āgsad* (: *sāsad*), eine späte Konjunktiv-Bildung zu *āgur* „ich fürchte“; vgl. *nisnāgsind,* Imr. Br. II 228, 8. — 50. dele *Dabíd,* Wb 5b5. Die Handschrift hat das Kompendium .dd. *Dabíd* ist natürlich eine unmögliche altir. Form. — 53. *daic* = *do ic*; *doic dīm* „ich bin im Stande“. — 60. *Daid.* Aber LL 348i hat *Daæd* und LB 16a29 *Daig.* — 61. Lies BB 218e47.

17, 24. Lies *suilid* = *suilig.* — 25. statt 12 lies 1. 2. — *daidbres.* Die richtige alte Nominativform ist *daidbrius,* wie der Herausgeber aus dem Gen. *daidbriussa* Z. 36 hätte entnehmen können (P). — 35. lies [*n*]*daidhbhris.* — 42. *daig.* Zum Geschlecht vgl. *is ē in daigh derg,* BB 319b30. — 47. lies *Gnāthaltach.* — 52. statt *dicitur* lies *dixit Fer Muman* mit H 3. 18, 637. — 56. Zu dem Zitate aus Rawl. vgl. *a ōca batar ar daig | ag orcain Maoil Milscothaig,* Anecd. II 66, 1. — 60. statt *orcain* (dat.) lies *orcon* (Nom.).

18, 29. Statt *Es Dega Deirg* lies *eo dega deirg,* was unter *daig* zu stellen ist. — 57. *ate rombeotar* usw. ist hier zu streichen. Es handelt sich nicht um *dāig,* sondern *daig* und ist oben 17, 56 schon einmal zitiert.

20, 7. Dele ‘Probably’. — 33. lies *derglasrach.* — 53. lies *Durbudi.*

21, 22. Statt *dáigmech* lies *daig-menmnach* mit Best. — 24. *Daigre.* Die älteste Nominativform ist *Daigri.* add. *Daigri Doichlech,* Rawl. 502, 106a46. — 30. statt *Eangain* (BB!) lies *Angāin* mit Rawl. 502, 160a43. — 32. statt *Urchocho* (BB) hat LL 348h *Cuircocha.* — 33. Falsches Zitat. — 34. *daigrech* ist in LL 150b nicht durch *dermar* glossiert, sondern soll es im Texte ersetzen (*daigrech nō dermar*). — 53. lies *ara dailbe.* Dele SR 1870, wo der Reim *condailbi* verlangt. — 60. lies *ar ńdálem.* — 65. lies *Deltbunni.*

22, 34. Statt ‘of other liquids’ lies ‘metaphorically’. — 65. add. ‘dispenses, apportions’; *rodāil a bennachtain,* SR 2912; *in muir mōr . . rodāil Rī grēne . . for formnu fēne Forainn,* ib. 3980.

23, 3. Lies *ataregat.* — 33. lies *dāiliub-sa.* — 42. Dele 'opp. lérnaige'. Die Stelle in LB 241 a 68 lautet: *ni rofuirme daille n-ilernaige dam,* was Glosse zu *bleach amrosc ilarda* ist. Daraus hat der Herausgeber sein *lérnaige* herausgelesen. Vgl. CZ III 224 § 11, wo eine andere Hs. *n-ilernalaig* liest. — 45. Add. 'blinding darkness' z. B. *glend na daille,* d. h. die Hölle, LB 256 b. — 58. statt 'composer' lies 'dispenser'. — 65. Hier liest L *dam-sa* statt *dom daim.*

24, 3. *Daim.* Dies ist nicht etwa eine Kurzform, sondern bloſser Schreibfehler in LL. YBL liest an der Stelle richtig *Daimīn.* — 4. lies *dāime.* — 5. add. O'Dav. 456. — 13. lies *Daim argait* und so durchweg. — 59. lies co *tárfad.*

25, 14. Lies *etir.* — 24. lies *ainech* . . *daimet* (so die Hs.) — 42. lies *bruth co fe[i]rg.* — 62. statt *a mharbhadh* lies *do mharbhadh.* — 64. lies *cuind.*

26, 1. Lies *cuind.* — 22. lies *co [n]damann.* — 48. lies *b[a] aithgēr.* — 57. lies *Donann.* — 59. lies *Mend.*

27, 31. Add. *bongdais dorair ndāin* (: *cāin*), Laud 610, 73 b 1. — 38. In LL 7 a 7 steht *daigniu*, woraus sich kein Nominativ *daigen* erschlieſsen läſst. *nidaighen* BB 298 b 10 ist für *n-imdaingen* verschrieben.

29, 8. *daingnecht* bedeutet auch 'fastness, interior, best place' (P). — 16. lies *radañgnigit.* — 26. statt 'curd' lies 'curdle'.

30, 18. Das älteste Vorkommen des Namens in Irland, A. D. 660 (AU) hätte erwähnt werden sollen. — 25. lies *cen danim dūib* — *ñgūir* — *cech trāig.* — 37. lies *dainmech.* — 48. *dainnech* ist vermutlich eine Kontamination von *dāinech, dōinech,* mod. *daoineach* 'having a large following' und *dōendach,* mod. *daonnach* 'liberal, generous' (P). — 47. Ein kymr. *dantec* gibt es nicht.

31, 2. Add. 'gall-apple'. — 5. lies *[i]n-airechus.* — 12. Die Hs. hat *dairchisib.* — 37. lies *rohainmniged.* — 45. Add. *Māel anfaid na Darinse,* LL 370 e 53; *Māel anfaid Darinse Māre,* ib. c 46. — 46. Hier wäre der Baumesname *Daur dībeoil,* Corm. 1159, *Dur* (*Dor*) *dibeoil,* RC 21, 154 hinzuzufügen. — 61. statt *Dair* lies *Dāir* 'Darius'. Es reimt auf *sāim* LL 133 b 5 und *ētāil,* Ir. T. III 69.

32, 1. Lies *Cathāir chāim.* — 2. Der ganze Eintrag ist zu tilgen. Die Stelle Laws IV 312, 24 lautet: *dartaid i crann n-airidi*

do thein, 7 dair[t] la haithgin cach n-ae. O'Donovans 'a notching' ist bloſse Raterei. — 15. lies *dóir-bé.* — 23. lies *Dairinill.*

33, 3. *Dairbrech* ist sicher kein Gen. von Daibre. add. *Druim nDairbrech*, M. Dinds. II 46. — 7. *daircepadh* ist sicher als *dairchepad* zu lesen, da es auf *airchetal* reimt. — 35. add. *Āth Dairi Duib*, B. in Scāil § 11. — 38. dele 'either late plur. of daire', was die Entstehungszeit des Gedichtes ausschlieſst.

35, 3. Lies *Guill.* — 10. Die Hs. hat *Darean.* — 22. lies *Dāirēn.* — 33. statt *dairfeda* liest LL 314 b *diruda.* — 34. add. *Ciar ingen Duib de Dairiud*, LB 22. — 59. Warum Dariet ein Ausländer gewesen sein soll, weiſs ich nicht. — 64. add. *dairīne* „Eichenhain": *Darīne ednech* n. l., Fél.[2] 240, 6 (P).

36, 33. In LL 375 a 43 reimt *Dāirine* auf *bān-inne.* — 41. lies *Daríni.* — 49. lies *Dairinill.* — 52. lies *Fathain.*

37, 24. Statt 'miswritten' lies 'misprinted'. Der Druckfehler ist aber von Stokes selbst korrigiert. — 35. lies *n[d]ōibell.* — 37. lies *Fomorach.* — 38. dele *dáirnaisce, dernaisce.* — 39. add. *ut dicitur daurnaisce dar lemain.*

38, 17. Lies *ba mmóír.* — 33. add. *tech Darta*, Ir. T. II[2] 196. — 41. add. *daurthach*, LL 287 b 42. — 54. lies *cétna-baclas.* — 61. lies *Rechet* (*rethet* Hs.) *Daurthige.*

40, 36. Lies *ainmne.* — 37. lies *ōenblīadain.* — 50. lies *ninach.*

41, 11. In SR 8174 handelt es sich um *turu*, Acc. Pl. von *tor*, in Z. 7844 um *tūr* „Forschen". — 46. add. *Daithe* n. l., *cath Dathe*, B. in Scāil 33, LL 182 a 32. — 47. *dáithe* = *dúithe* f. „Unverstand, Ungeschick", das Gegenteil von *súithe*, eine Ableilung von *duï* (*du-vids). — 48. dele 'seems corrupt'. — 48. add. *daithech* 'swift, active', *daithecht* f. 'swiftness, activity' (P). — 56. *daithen*, eine analogische Nebenbildung zu *dathan* (P). — 59. lies 68 c.

42, 39. *daithgen*, nur schlechte Schreibung für *daithen* und daher kein o- sondern ā-stamm (P). — 34. add. *daithinedh .i ūaire aisnēid*, H. 3. 18, 64 a = *dathined .i. ūair aisnēidh*, ib. 635 a. — 60. lies *do Dháil .i. do Leith Chuinn.* — 61. add. *do Dáil Chonchobair dosom*, Thes. II 325, 4. *i nDál Araidi*, LL 132 a 13.

43, 11. Add. gpl. *dāla.* Vgl. col. 45, 21 (*co n-imad ndála*) und 52, wo die Form fälschlich als Gen. Sg. angeführt wird. —

31. *dāl* allein bedeutet auch „Tod“, z. B. *hi llaithiu dāla,* Rawl. 502, 124 b 55 = *ina ló dála,* RC 13, 394.

44, 8 und 25. Dele 'Very frequent in Ossianic poetry'. Es ist dort nicht häufiger als anderswo auch.

45, 56. Add. 'decision'. *lēgid dam-sa ar dāil,* Fen. 182. — 60. lies *dāl Dē donessai cech rainn.*

46, 38. Lies *mod.* — 56. statt *cuirid* lies *cuirithir* (P).

47, 51. Add. mod. *dālta.* — 65. add. Mag Dāla, Ér. I 132.

48, 1. Lies *attāil* und vgl. Z. 32, wo es im Zitat LL 147 a 53 auf *maccāin* reimt. — 9. statt 'misjudged' lies 'misinterpreted'. — 17. Das Zitat von SR gehört zu *dāl* 'decision' (vgl. Z. 1694: *is mōr dognī d'imrātaib*). — 19. Das Zitat aus LU gehört zu *dāl* 'meeting'. Vgl. TBC 1001. — 32. Das aus TSh zitierte *faddail* ist richtig *faddāil* oder besser *fadāil* zu schreiben und ist eine Ableitung von mod. *fada* mit der Endung der Verbalnomina *-āil.* Das Zitat aus LL 147 a 53 gehört nicht hierher. — 34. lies *dāil* i, f. Dafs dies Wort ein i-stamm ist, beweist nicht nur das abgeleitete ī-Verbum *dāilid,* sondern auch die Komposita *comdail, ernail, fodail, todail* sowie das verwandte Lit. *dalìs* 'Teil' (P). — 38. lies 292.

49, 9. Add. *īar ṅdīlind dīamra dala,* (: *gala*), LL 6 b 41. — 21. In dem aus Fél. Sept. 29 angeführten Zitate bedeutet *dālach* nicht 'multitudinous', sondern 'combative' (*draic dālach*). — 27. lies *cnōi dagruis dālaig.* — 45. add. *clann Dālaig,* CZ VIII 116 § 7. — 51. Die Formen mit palatalem *l* gehen auf Einflufs von *dāilid* zurück (P). — 60. Eine weitere Bedeutung des Verbums ist 'sends to a tryst', z. B. *dālfaid in ben a ssētchi chucund,* RC 13, 381.

50, 6. Hier liest eine andere Hs. (Hib. Min.) *rodāilestar.* — 23. lies *cucam-sa do būain.* — 44. lies *Dalamōn* oder *Dālamōn.* — 49 und 51. *Dalun,* recte *Dallān,* s. col. 55, 1. — 53. Hier liest LB 20 d 27 *m. Dalaig.* — 54. Hierher gehört die archaische Form *Dálon,* col. 56, 47.

51, 12. Add. *nī do dailb didu,* M. Dinds. II 32. Gen. Sg. *īar ṁbreith dalba* (sic leg.), LL 139 a 45. — 26. add. *Druim nDailb,* Metr. D. I 40. — 35. add. *Dalbach Cūle Colla,* LL 370 c 51. — 41. Hier ist der ganze Eintrag I zu tilgen. Das Adj. zu *dalb* lautet *dalbach,* nicht *dalbda.* In SR 4809 bedeutet *duine dalbda,* das auf *aurlabra* reimt, „der erschaffene

Mensch“, indem *dalbda* = *dolbtha*. — 45. *dalbtha* ist eine vox nihili, die der Herausgeber fälschlich aus *sodalbtha* erschlossen hat, das im Reim mit *comartha* für *sodolbtha* „gut gezielt“ steht. — 57. *dalei* hat natürlich nichts mit *dale* ‘give’ zu schaffen, sondern bedeutet „es schien ihr“. — 59. *daleic*, lies *da-lēic*[*i*]. — 61. statt *dālgud* und *dālagud* lies *dālugud*.

52, 11. ‘often *dáll*’ ist zu viel gesagt. Der Herausgeber gibt auch nur Ein Beispiel aus LB.

53, 22. Lies *ar an gaedhlainn*. — 28. add. *mac Daill*, Ir. T. I 67. — 35. statt *Erruaid* lies *Es Rūaid*. — 57. mod. *dalladh* bedeutet ‘sufficient quantity’ (P).

54, 27. *ro dallad* im Sinne von „er starb“ ist nur dichterischer Sprachgebrauch.

55, 4. Die *Hūi Dallāin* (BB 144 f 20) hätten aufgeführt werden sollen. — 7. lies *dītuiccsi*. — 22. Hier wäre *dall-bodar* „blind und taub“ mit dem Zitat *Duma Dall-bodra*, M. Dind. I 18 einzuschalten. — 31. Das Zitat aus Ériu gehört nicht hierher, da es sich um *dall clach* handelt, nicht um ein Komp. *dall-cheō*, wie die Allitteration mit *chrīch* zeigt (B). Vor *ar snaidm* ist *do díchuir sé* zum Verständnis nicht zu entbehren. — 39. Das Fragezeichen ist zu tilgen. — 53. Hier ist *dall-chuilēn* ‘blind pup’ aus O'Dav. 99 einzuschalten. — 54. lies Gilla. — 55. lies CZ VIII 331, 16. Der Eintrag ist überflüssig, da das Wort oben schon als *Daille* figuriert. — 61. lies Gadelica I. — 62. dele cf. dallbach.

56, 38. Add. Rawl. 502, 116 b 43, 149 a 6. — 41. lies *im rind*. — 42. statt *Dalmain* (sic BB) hat Rawl. *Dalmait*. — 47. lies *Dālon*. — 48. statt *maccu* hat Fen. *mac ūi*. Vgl. Cainnech macu Dālan, Fel. Oct. 11.

57, 19. Lies *di*. — 47. lies *Chīrine*.

58, 7. Dele ‘Read *dúr-dáltaig*’ usw. Da *dāltaig* auf *bārcaib* reimt, kann es sich um kein Kompositum handeln. — 16. lies *dāltait*. add. *is fris dāltait*, Arch. III 303 § 12. — 28. lies [*i*]*nar*. — 37. Zu tilgen. Es ist *adhaltranna* „Ehebrecher“ zu lesen. Vgl. mod. *adhaltrannach* (P). — 45. lies *reisin*. — 64. lies *Arddān*.

59, 1. Das Zitat aus ScM. 11 gehört nicht hierher. Es ist *tromdām* (: *rān*) zu lesen. — 4. In den Zitaten aus Acall.

und RC handelt es sich nicht um Rinder, sondern um Hirsche: *dam donn* 'fallow deer'. — 26. dele 'the'. — 28. statt *dīlenn* lies *Dīlenn*, was Acall. 850 auf *Silₑann* reimt. — 51. add. *Derc Daim* Onom., *Loch Daim*, B. in Scāil § 11. — 54. dele *oll-dam* 'a great ox'. Es ist *oll-dām* im Reime auf *combāg* zu lesen. — 61. add. *daim drum-dergga*, LL 200 b 20.

60, 14. Dele *ón daim*. Es ist *ōn dāim* zu lesen. Vgl. BR 44, 7. 17. *dam* 'a worm, reptile, louse', wohl nur aus *dub-dam*, *daol-dhamh* (vgl. „Hirschkäfer") abstrahiert. — 24. Wie der Herausgeber dazu kommt aus Cormacs Glosse ein ir. *dam* 'silent' herauszulesen verstehe ich nicht. — 32. dele 'no instance of gen. dáma'. Der Herausgeber führt selbst zwei solche in Z. 63 und col. 61, 11 an. — 44. lies *lesin*. — 52. statt *hegeda* liest F *hōegidu*. — 65. lies *choire* oder altir. *choiriu*.

61, 6. Die Hs. hat *indamar*. — 14. lies *trasc*[*th*]*i*. — 26. *gaodhal*, lies *gaol*. — 48. lies *Dāmaich*. — 51. add. *nīrbo lais in damiaire dia robatar daim aile oca*, Rl 502, 113 a 6. — 52. Auch I. *damairecht* steht für *damgairecht* (P). — 58. add. *Damairne m. Deccraig*, LL 155 b 41. — 63. lies *sīr-Damasca*.

62, 1. *damalta*, wohl = *dubhalta*. — 39. lies *damān*, Dim. von *dam*. — *damantach* wird col. 64 als *dammantach* wiederholt. — 57. lies *deil*.

63, 9. Lies *clēthe*. Der Herausgeber verwechselt *cletha* 'stakes, rods' mit *clēthe* 'rooftree'. — 18. statt *i. e. dámai* lies *i. e. damu* (*dumu*) 'stags'. — 19. Das richtige Zitat lautet: *Luccīn Dromma Damdai .l. et Daimde*. Vgl. LL 367 f.: *Lochān Damdae Dromma 7 Daimde*. S. *Druimm Damdae*, Onom. — 25. lies *dāsachtaich*. — 28. lies *dāmdis*. — 34. *damgairecht* bedeutet sowohl 'a herd of deer' als 'the roaring of stags in the rutting season'. Herr Pokorny schreibt mir: 'The original meaning of the root *gair* is 'to call', hence 'to summon, to call together, to herd'; cf. the verb *do-in-gair* which means both 'he calls' and 'he protects', or the verbal noun *in-gaire* 'act of tending cattle'. — 49. lies *Erce*. — 51. lies Laud 615, 129.

64, 9. *nola air* ist gewifs zu *no-da-air* zu bessern. Statt *orda* lies *ordu*. — 11. dele 'Ox-or'. — 18. lies *dam-lann* f. —

63. Der Vergleich mit dem verwandten kymr. *defnydd* hätte näher gelegen.

65, 20 und 23. Lies *ap*adh. — 39. lies *domna*. — 54. dele 'Cf. also'. — 61. lies mod. *damhna* m.

66, 10. Statt *enim* lies *erum*. — 47. lies *failet fri damnad Diabuil i n-iffurn do hilphíanaib*. — 52. add. *Damnad* o, n. l. *confich dōini Damnaid*, Ält. Dicht. 41 § 27; *a Domnad*, CZ IX 451 § 16.

67, 35. Lies *nAmmōn*.

68, 22. Der ganze Artikel ist auszulassen, da *damnand* kein wirkliches Wort, sondern nur eine etymologische Erfindung ist wie man sie zu Dutzenden im Cōir Anmann und anderen Glossaren findet. — 56. lies *Da-Mongōc*, Koseform eines *Mong-* enthaltenden Personennamens. — 65. add. *Fe* 7 *Men dā rī damraithe Ērend*, Corm. 603. *dī rīg damraide .i. Fea* 7 *Femen, diatā Mag Fea* 7 *Mag Femin*, LL 9 b 33.

69, 8. Lies *Gr*ēic. — 29. dele *dámradh dopall* (recte *dupall*). Es handelt sich um Rinder, also *damrad*. — 35. add. *Damrai* (Hirschpfad) n. l. *Mo Lūa Damrai* LL 368 a 9. — 37. lies *damraind in cēdblīadain*. — 38. add. *Dam-ros* n. l. *Cūan Damrois*, Onom. — 39. *damsa* bedeutet auch 'gambolling' (P). — 48. lies *dāmsam* und *chrú*.

70, 12. *damthain* hätte als mittelir. Form bezeichnet werden sollen. — 28. Da es kein Wort *dam* „schwarz" oder „schwarzer Käfer" gibt, so kann *dam-theine* nicht „schwarzes Feuer" bedeuten. Vgl. vielmehr *torc tened*. — 30. lies *damthenead*. — 55. add. *dáni* Wb 27 b 15; *ildáni* 20 d 29. — 57. lies *dánán*.

71, 24. Lies *ōendán*.

72, 31. *āes dāna* bedeutet 'poets', aber nicht 'artists'. — 40. dele den ganzen Eintrag (a). Auch hier heifst *th' fer dāna* „dein Dichter". — 45. *Ingen Dāna* ist in Rl 502, 110 b = Anecd. II 50 § 12 ein *ad hoc* erfundener Name, nicht ein gewöhnlicher Ausdruck für 'poetess'. — 46—50 sind zu tilgen. Der Herausgeber hat die zitierten Stellen mifsverstanden. Es ist zu übersetzen: „Eine gute Kunst ist Weisheit" usw. — 49. Vor *dán* ist *maith* ausgelassen. — 58. statt *na baird* lies *in baird*, da das Zitat noch der altir. Periode angehört (P).

73, 5. Statt *do chumtach* lies *do chumtuch* (P). — 20. lies *dán do attrub* (P). — 21. lies *aurfognom.* — 22. lies *frithgnom.* — 27. lies *dūilgine.* — 44. lies *Emoin.* — 47. statt 'doctors' lies 'physicians'. — 60. *orbae* bedeutet nicht 'tilling land', sondern 'inherited property'. — 62. lies *dāna inunna.* Im Altirischen wird *inunn* nicht flektiert und geht immer dem Nomen voraus (P).

74, 28. Statt 'chancing upon these professions' lies 'those professions having fallen to his lot'.

75, 8. Statt 'farming' lies 'inheritance'. — 26. lies *āes borbeladan* 'workers in unskilled professions'. — 28. lies *fia[d]*. — 41. statt *the practisers of every profession in general* lies *any other professionals.*

76, 35. *ba dān dosom* bedeutet nicht 'it was his custom', sondern 'it was a practice of his'.

77, 1. Lies 'it is not his own sword that is destined to kill him'. — 2. lies *diadā.* — 18. statt *den láimh* lies *d'ēnlāimh.* — 21. lies *buith di ōendān* (P). — 52. statt 'tens' lies 'decimals'.

78, 44. Statt LL lies LU.

79, 49. *dūnad* II bedeutet 'case of giving, dative'. — 57. dele *danae* 'iudicium'. — 61. add. *dānae*, O'Mulc. 756.

80, 43. Vgl. *nīm dāna īar fīr | imma dāla mo degrīg,* SR 2069. — 56. add. proverb. *nī* (sic leg.) *dānæ cach ndolbach,* O'Mulc. 756.

81, 12. Lies *doindnaig* (P). — 17. statt *dánaige* lies *dánaide.* Bekanntlich gibt es keine Adjektivendung *-aige.* — 23. lies *dánaidecht.* — 33. Das Zitat aus Ml lautet richtig *nephatdanigthi.* — 35. lies *ascedaigid* CZ III 223,7. — 45. lies *Chrīst.* — 58. Die Sache ist umgekehrt: *dānugud* ist die ältere, *dānaigiud* die jüngere Form (P). — 63. lies *trócairi.*

82, 29. Hier hätte gesagt werden müssen, dafs die ältere Form des Namens *Dā Chīch Anann* (Nom. *Anu,* Corm. 31) ist. *Anand diatāt Cīchi Anand i lLūachair,* LL 9 b 38. — 42. lies *bantúathech Túathe Dé D.*

83, 29. Lies *lug[ha].* — 44. lies *loṅgas na cūllom.* — 61. lies *isin.*

85, 38. Lies *is é mét roērig* usw. — 39. lies *crechaired.*

86, 52. Es handelt sich um Deidamia, Tochter des Königs von Skyros. — 53. lies 143 b 46. — 55. *dano* steht nach Thurneysen, Idg. Forsch. 27, Anz. S. 14 für *di-an-ṡiu,* was

die archaische Form *daniu* begünstigt. Der Herausgeber, welcher glaubt, daſs *daniu* nach *didiu* (neben *didu*) umgemodelt ist, scheint nicht zu wissen, daſs zwischen *didiu* und *didu* kein anderer Unterschied besteht, als daſs der Gleitvokal im letzteren Falle nicht ausgedrückt ist, was oft der Fall ist, wenn einem palatalen Konsonant schon ein palataler Vokal voraufgeht (P).

88, 1. 'In poetry the accent falls on the ultimate'. Was der Herausgeber sagen will, ist, daſs wir die Betonung des Wortes auf der ultima aus den Reimen erkennen können. — 19. lies Rawl. B 512, 1 a 1.

91, 39. Statt *abi,* was nur Schreibfehler ist, lies *adib* (P).

92, 25. *nī* . . *dano* läſst sich an allen Stellen mit engl. 'nor' übersetzen. add. *nī rofailliged dino* (sic leg.), Hib. Min. 52 § 5. — 57. Warum *ocus dano* „und ferner" oft nur ein emphatisches 'ocus' sein soll, sieht man nicht ein, ebensowenig wie das lat. *et etiam* (vgl. Trip. 369, 23). add. *7 dano, orsi,* LU 111 a 8. *7 dino na dāilemain,* Ir. T. II 173, 13; *7 dano,* LU 121 b 40; *7 dno,* Arch. III 2, 3.

94, 40. Lies *fut.* — 41. lies AU II.

96, 42. Hier fehlt der mod. Name Don und der Hinweis auf 1 *Danae* (P). — 65. Zu dem Zitat aus AU wäre die Jahreszahl (660) erwünscht gewesen.

97, 1. Wie jemand darauf kommen sollte *Dant* und *Donait* zu verwechseln, ist nicht ersichtlich. — 11. *olṡodain ba geis la fiannu* heiſst nicht 'though it was a *geis* with the ancients', sondern 'because it was a *geis* with the *fiana*'. — 47. *Danuib* ist doch nicht als 'the Irish development of Dānubius' zu bezeichnen, da es eine bloſs gelehrte Form ist.

99, 26. 'All wrong', wie der Herausgeber gerne sagt. Der Satz fängt mit *dá chur i gcéill* an und *dar leó féin* ist eine Parenthese, wie Atkinson richtig druckt.

100, 15. Add. *is ō hĖrnaib cech dara rī,* Rl 502, 147 b 15. — 20. statt *mac Intait Darai* lies *mac Intait meic Dari* mit LL 321 h. — 25. Nach *bun* geht der Satz weiter: *mad tair, is é a ainm Nuchul.* — 35. Die Qualität des *n* in *Darānae* ist zweifelhaft. Der Reim auf *āge* beweist nichts, da dies auch auf *māire* (Jul. 31) und *tāide* (Oct. 10) reimt. Jul. 31 hat LB *Darāine.* Andererseits ist zu bemerken, daſs die

Schreibungen *Darāna, Darānae* nicht vorkommen, so dafs alles auf palatales *n* hinweist (P). — 47. statt *dia-ro-ba* lies *dia-ro-bo* (P). — 52. lies *darb .i. cumal* usw.

101, 15. Lies *Darbelīn* (P). — 37. lies *bile daro.* — 52. Der richtige Name ist *Ui Derca-chēin*; s. Onom. S. 667 (P.) — 55. lies *Darcaircrenn.* — 63. *Darcellus.* Dieser Name gehört nicht in ein irisches Wörterbuch. Der assyrische König Dercilus (Euseb.) ist gemeint. Der Herausgeber bringt den Namen sogar noch einmal als *Darsellus.*

102, 7. *Darcon* sieht aus wie der Gen. von *Dairiucc,* einer Koseform von *Dair-chū* (vgl. *Dair-bran*) (P). — 41. SR 7699 *in dia dardāin* hätte voll zitiert werden sollen. — 49. *dia dardāin caplaite* hätte in älteren Zitaten und mit der Übersetzung 'Maunday Thursday' angeführt werden müssen. S. meine Contrib. s. v. *caplat.* — 59. statt *isí* hat die Hs. richtig *isin*; s. Güterbock, Z. f. vgl. Spr. XIII 90.

103, 9. Add. *dia dardāin fresgabāla,* LB 256 b. — 55. *Darfrāich* als masc. ist ganz zu streichen. *Dar* kommt nur in weiblichen Namen vor.

104, 15. Statt *Cáthair* lies *Cathāir.* — 20. lies LL 353 a 24. — 37. statt *im Leacon* lies *imleacon.* — 42. lies *dārīrib.*

105, 10. Add. mod. *dārīribh cruinn* 'in real earnest', Munster (P). — 42. dele *Darnat.* LL 140 a 23 liest *Damnat ingen Murchada Luirc.* Vgl. col. 68, 33. — 45. lies *Ernāin.* — 60. *darpuit,* wohl für *dár'thuit* 'als er fiel' verschrieben. — 65. statt *darrái* lies *dar-rā* (ā-verb).

106, 4. *darrmart.* Ein ganz unnötiger Eintrag, durch ungenaues Lesen des Herausgebers verschuldet. Die Hs. hat richtig *darrinart.* — 19. lies *dartán.*

107, 21. Lies *mórphersan.* — 22. lies *popul.* — 62. Die Formen (Dat.) *Tarthesc* LU 77 a 5 und *Tartescc* Táin 1757 hätten herangezogen werden sollen. Da *āth* ursprünglich Neutrum war, so ist *Darteisc* klärlich phonetische Schreibung für *Tarteisc* (P).

111, 16. Lies *fud.*

113, 31. Das Wort *dásachtaid* existiert nicht. *dásachtaidi* in CCath. steht für *dāsachtaigi,* Nom. Pl. fem. von *dāsachtach.* — 43. Eine deponentiale Form *dásachtaigidir* kommt nicht vor, sondern nur eine passive *dásachtaigthir,* wie *dáistir, síabarthair* usw. (P). — 48. Die vermeintliche aktive Form

rodhásachtaigh ist in *rodhásachtadh* (Pass. Prät.) zu ändern (P). — 64. lies con*dasataid* = *condasattaig*, eine mittelir. Form für altir. *conaitecht* (P).

114, 1. Es wäre *dástaigthir* zu lesen, wenn nicht einfach eine Verschreibung für *dásachtaigthir* vorliegt (P). — 56. *cen líga .i. cen datha* wird col. 115, 35 noch einmal zitiert, aber mit anderer Bedeutung. — 57. Lies LL 188 c 7.

115, 51. Lies *deich n-étaighe.*

116, 28. Lies *conimchlói.* — 56. *dath brécae* ist eine unmögliche Form. Der Gen. von *brēc* f. lautet regelmäfsig *brē*(*i*)*ce* (P). — 63. lies *éicsiu.*

117, 9. Statt *céim* lies *cáem.* — 14. lies *i compōcath* oder *ic compōcath.* — 54. lies *donnbhána.*

118, 6. Statt B IV 2 lies Arch. III 308. — 11. add. Acall. 4949. — 20. add. *don tūaith dathglain,* SR 5447. — 23. lies *ndath nglan.* Das Zitat stammt aus einem älteren von Keating angeführten Gedichte (B). — 53. *Dath-śnāth* 'Coloured Thread'. — 59. Dele *dath-chalmae.* Es ist mit der Hs. *dathamla* zu lesen (LL 203 a 4 und marg. sup).

119, 2. Lies *dath* 'as', wo *dath* wie *cruth* gebraucht ist. Add. *dath donic irt* „wie der Tod kommt", Corm. 37 [oder vielleicht *dath dondich irt* „wie der Tod rächt" zu lesen (P)]. — 5. dele 'If reliable' usw. — 63. add. *Budi mac Deirg datham*la, LL 203 a 4.

120, 3. Lies *Dathān.* Hier sind drei verschiedene Namen vermengt: 1. der einheimische Personenname *Dathān*; 2. das hebräische Dathan (Num. XVI 1), irisiert *Dathān* SR 4464; 3. das hebr. Dothan n. l. (IV Reg. 6, 13), ir. *Dathān* SR 7178. — 4. lies *lais.* — 9. *dathan,* nicht o- sondern ā-Stamm. Stokes hatte es ganz richtig mit *daithen* identifiziert (P). — 20. add. *dathas* o, m. 'nimbleness, deftness'. *lōr dathais* (: *leis*), Ér. V 90, 9. S. *daithius.* — 35. = CZ VIII 297, 26. — 36. Der Eintrag *Dathnat* steht hier an unrechter Stelle und ist col. 122 wiederholt. Statt *ben Domnaill . . Dathnat* lies *Dathnat ben Chellaig.* Es ist zu *dath* zu stellen. — 39. Hier wäre zu bemerken, dafs Rl 502 nur in den Stammbäumen die Form *Nathī* kennt. Die wichtige Belegstelle *Dīmma macc Nathī* aus dem Buch von Dimma (Thes. II 257, 8 = Rl 502, 141 b 13) ist nachzutragen.

121, 13. So früh ist *Nathī* gewifs nicht durch *Dathī* verdrängt worden. — 25. Von Alliteration des *n* kann keine Rede sein, da die Betonung nicht auf *nath* fällt. Auch darf das Gedicht Gilla Cōemāins nicht 'old poetry' genannt werden. Im Mittelir. alliteriert vielmehr das *th*, z. B. *Nathī trēnšeng,* LL 132 b 4 in einem Gedichte Flann Mainistrechs; *Dathī cen tathāer,* Rl 86 b 34; Gorm. Aug. 1 usw. — 27. Lies *blīadan* im Reim auf *gīallad.* — 49. add. *Nathī m. Bairr m. Cāirthind,* Rl 502, 127 a 28. — 55. Statt *Bróin* (BB!) liest Rl 502, 141 b 13 *Briōn.* — 56. lies *mac Mic Caille.* Er heifst Rl 151 b 42 *Nathī Senchroccenn m. Meic Caille.* — 57. lies 143 f. — 58. lies 145 c 49.

122, 32. *Nathī m. Melda* (sic leg.) ist identisch mit N. m. Crimthainn. Er ist hier nach der Mutter (Meld) genannt. — ib. add. Nathī m. Odorāin, Rl 159 b 56. — 35. statt *Sechnaig* lies *Senaich* mit Rl 502, 120 b 31. — 53. add. *Togail Bruidne Dathī,* Anecd. II 44, § 5. — 60. Auch *Dathō* alliteriert im Mittelir. mit *t*, z. B. *do mac Dathō co a thech,* Ir. T. I 97, 11; *mac Dathō in taicid,* Rl 502, 82 b. Es hätte bemerkt werden sollen, dafs Windischs Erklärung des Namens sich auf irische Überlieferung stützt: *dā mac Dathō in sin. Buidir amlabair a mmāthair ⁊ a n-athair,* RC VIII 52.

123, 27. Statt *húa Datlaich* lies *Hūi Dadlaich.* — 44. add. *foemai cosmailis is datu | frisna buccu,* YBL 196 b.

124, 56. Lies *niam-data.* — 58. Da LL die richtige Lesart hat, war der Eintrag überflüssig. — 60. statt *daithes* lies *daithius* (P). — 63. lies *dāu* (P).

125, 11 und 12. In allen Zitaten ist *Duach* hier Nom. oder Acc. — 47. Laud 610, 98 b 2 = Anecd. III 60, 10. — 59. statt *vīk* lies *vik.* Dafs *i* hier kurz ist, beweist der Umlaut in DENAVECA (P).

126, 4. Add. *Eocho Garb m. Duach Daill de Thūaith Dē Danann,* LL 9 a 42. — 9. lies *Dībech.* — 16. add. *D. mac Cathail,* Rl 502, 125 a. — 18. lies *Gulbain.* — 22. lies *Daimīn.* — 29. lies *Ennai.* — 37. Bei Mac Carthy 180, 8 steht *Duach Ladgair* (: *gargblaid*). — 38. lies *Maine.* — 42. add. D. *mac Meic Cāirthind,* Rl 141 b. — 50. lies *Conchrad* und vgl. Rl 151 a. — 51. Cóir A. § 133 = LL 321 c 50. — 59. lies *Iesse.* — 64. Dele *Dabíd* Wb 56, 5. Die Hs. hat das Kompendium dd.

127, 3. Lies *Duīd.* — 7. lies *Duīd.* — 11. In Rl 73 b 7 hatte die Hs. zuerst *duida,* was in *dauida* geändert ist. — 14. Dauid Cille Muine war aber kein Ire, sondern ein Britte. — 35. lies *Daur-gabal* (*gabal* 'Gabel'). — 39. Dele *Daurach I.* — 43. lies *daurauth* gl. quercetum. — 61. add. *i nDaurlus,* Rl 502, 150 a 7.

128, 12. Add. Daurtacht, father of Echen, Mac Lasrind and Echde, LL 328 e; *Uislind m. Durthacht,* 138 a 30; *Hūi Daurthe*cht, Rl 502, 126 a 38. — 13. *Dausech* ist eine archaische Form des Namens *Dūisech* Tig. AU 501 (*Dūisig* : *crūisig*) (P). — 47. lies *deṡiu,* sic Sg. 71 b 2, 217 b 12 (P).

130, 53. Hier hätte die Form *dea* Laws IV 162, 6 erwähnt werden sollen.

132, 34. Lies *condessinn.* — 37. lies *decmaing.* Dele *decming,* das nach Pedersen II 9 das pejorative *do-* enthält (P). — 38. Dele *déreg.* — 46. lies *dīchetal.* — 49. lies *-aisnēitte* (P). — 59. Es ist nicht möglich *de-* aus *dis-* oder *disa-* herzuleiten. Im ersteren Falle würde man vor Konsonanten eine Spur des *s* erwarten und *disa-* wird durch synkopierte Formen wie *dechraib,* Dat. Pl. von *dechor,* als unmöglich erwiesen, da ein vorhistorisches **disa-korobis* nur *dechoraib* hätte ergeben können (P).

133, 12. Lies *suthin.* — 47. statt *conoscaig* lies *conoscaigi,* ɪ-Stamm (P).

134, 24. *scochaid* ist keine mögliche Form; lies altir. *scoichid,* mittelir. *scuchaid* oder *scuichid* (P). — 30. statt *mór* lies *níor.*

135, 7. Statt *ni congebed* lies *nicon gebed,* wodurch der ganze Eintrag hinfällig wird. — 24. lies *do-airinni, -tairinni.* — 36. lies *do-esca, -tesca.* — 41. lies *dodiat* (P). — 44. lies *do-foscarta, -diuscarta.* — 47. lies *do-furcaib.* — 65. *condarlicthe* enthält nicht das Verbum *do-lēci,* sondern steht für *con-tārlicthe* (*to-ad-ro-lēicthe*), Prät. Konj. Pass. zu *do(f)āilci* (P).

136, 1. Auch *tairlaiced* (sic leg.) gehört zu *do-(f)āilci*; es steht für *to-ad-ro-lēiced* (P). — 15. lies *foxal, toxal.* — 40. In LL 102 b 16 bedeutet *lēicid* nicht 'puts away from'. — 44. dele LL 218 b 36. Die Stelle lautet: *rascoiltit ⁊ rascáilit sein di rethib tréna togla* (B). — 47. add. 'leave alone', z. B. *sgaoil don mēdail!* RC 29, 220. — 54. lies *chenn.*

137, 9. Lies *din derchoiniud.* — 55. lies *do·air·mescca, -tair·mescca.* — 58. Der Eintrag ist zu tilgen. *rodūnsat dorus dīb* heiſst 'they shut the door with them', viz. *caircce troma* (B). — 63. statt 'breathe' lies 'take breath'.

138, 31. Die Bedeutung von *ar-tā* ist besser mit 'stands before, confronts, remains' zu geben. — 53. lies *suidiu.*

139, 3. Statt *do-rúaiclea, -derclea,* Formen, die nicht existieren, lies entweder *do-uiclea* oder *do-ruacell* (P). — 48. lies *óol.* — 58. lies *forclu* 'choice' (cf. *forglu* Thes. II 340, 1).

140, 9. Dele 'The passage' usw. Der Herausgeber hat die Stelle miſsverstanden. Es ist ein Punkt hinter *and* zu setzen und *Sair sīar doib* 'they move forwards and backwards' ist ein Satz für sich (B). — 36. lies *dīn.* — 57. lies *di.* — 63. lies *asberam sanctos sainredchu doïb.*

141, 12. Lies *Nechtan.* — 13. lies *Émēne.* — 45. lies *Grēcaib.*

142, 3. Lies con*nacconbeth nī du Israhēldaib etir.* — 14. lies *for fid* (d. h. *for Fid Mār*), Arm. 18b1.

143, 26. Lies *bes.* — 31. lies *curpa.* — 40. lies *æclis.* — 62. dele 'intr.' — 63. lies *dorinne finnmag d'iforn.*

144, 12. Lies *mulluch.*

145, 4. Statt 'might' lies 'may'. — 9. lies *d'inat.* — 15. lies *diṡin.* — 17. add. *di-ṡund* 'hence, then'. *de* wird öfters nach Adverbien gebraucht, welche auf und nieder bedeuten, z. B. *sūas de, anūas de,* Ir. T. I 794 (P).

146, 7. Lies *náimtiu.* — 16. Hier wären Beispiele mit idiomatischer Wortstellung wie *a ndu imnedaib ⁊ frithoircnib fodaimi* Ml 55d angebracht gewesen. — 35. Ein besseres Beispiel wäre *cid do chana* (leg. *chanu*) *duit,* TBC 565.

148, 5. Lies *nád biad de clēthe lia chenēl and.* Vgl. die Bemerkung zu *decleithi* unten. — 16. add. *nī bōi iṡin uli doman d'ḟir nō do mnāi, d'ōc nō do ṡin,* LB 133b. — 34. *⁊ don cach duni* ist richtig.

149, 1. Lies *triun.* — 9. dele *do beo* usw. *do* bedeutet hier 'dein'; s. TBC 1224.

150, 54. Der Herausgeber sieht *claidib* irrtümlich als Dat. Pl. an.

151, 9. Lies *de.* — 38. lies *ró n-urchair.* — 53. lies *bachaill.*

152, 17. Besser 'under the safeguard of'. — 18. lies *deṡin.*

153, 10. *dotaet bidc* stimmt nicht zu *dotæd bidg* in Z. 25. Die Ausgabe liest *dotǽd bidg.* — 55. lies *deṡin.* — 61. lies *diṡuidiu.*

155, 21. Lies *dīnd.* — 54. lies *diṡin.*

156, 4. Dele *ragaid do beo* usw. — 6. add. *is ed bīs mo ṡmacht do ṡīr,* Hib. Min. 82, 12. — 11. add. *deag Finn,* RC XXV 346, § 2. — 63. mod. *de dhruim* bedeutet auch 'über'.

157, 4. Der Herausgeber schreibt inkonsequent *di eclai,* aber *dḟebas, doenguth* usw. — 15. lies *ḟochunn.* — 22. Die richtige altir. Form wäre *di ḟorneurt* (P). — 32. add. *eirg dem inchaib!* RC XXV 346, § 2. — 51. lies *de chommairgi.* — 52. lies *di muin Chormaic ind rīg.* Mit *Fintan* beginnt ein neuer Satz. — 57. lies *tigi fri Temraig.* — 60. lies *d'ōenaicniud.*

158, 17. Lies *d'ōenurchur* (P).

159. 13. Lies *monur.* — 60. lies *labraithir.*

160, 15. Statt *tairchet* lies *do-erchain* (P).

161, 12. *cechtarde* neben *cechtardae* 30, *nechtarde* 47 neben *nechtardae* 52 ist inkonsequent (P).

162, 6. Dieses *-de* (*-te*) ist zwar enklitisch und verschmilzt mit dem Komparativ, zählt aber für den Reim nicht mit, so daſs z. B. *gūirite* LL 375 b 54 auf *sūle* reimt. — 37. lies *int olc.* — 46. *bith* ist keine altir. Form; lies *buith* (P). — 53. Diese altir. Rekonstruktion ist voller Fehler; lies *nī mescu de diōul ind lendo* (P). — 55. Besser: 'for her calf being left with her'.

163, 8. Lies *dligthigu* (P). — 50. lies *anscuich*[*th*]*e.*

164, 8. Lies *fīriānu.* — 50. lies *mescu* (P).

165, 48. Lies *maith di anmain. maith* ₇ ist aus *maith*⁊ verlesen.

166, 5. Zahlreiche Beispiele des zweisilbigen *diäd* finden sich in TBC in dem Namen *Fer diäd,* z. B. 3056, 3659, 3694. Dieser Name hätte unter 1 *dé* erwähnt werden sollen. — 26. add. *dē de araid sucut,... dē de rīg sūt, arse,* LL 122 a 42. — 48. lies *tánic.* — 50. lies 48.

167, 25. Stokes hat seinen Fehler selbst Arch. III 55 verbessert. — 45. add. *dea* 'a pagan divinity'.

168, 34. lies *Bēc mac Dē.* — 38. statt *Dei* war *Dē* (LL 9 b 10) zu schreiben. Die Orthographie von Cath Muige Tuired ist doch nicht normal. — 47. Hier hätte Erwähnung verdient, daſs *tūath Dē* auch als „Volk Gottes" von den Juden gebraucht wird, z. B. CZ III 33, SR 5079, 5083 usw. Auch im Pl. *tūatha Dē,* SR 3883; ferner daſs die Tūatha Dē Danann auch *Fir Dea* genannt werden, z. B. LU 122 b 41, LL 245 b 49.

169, 8. Add. *a Slemain, a Slēib Trī nDē,* Rl 502, 84 a 30.

170, 5. Lies 328 b 21. — 10. dele *dechu: ní fili* usw. Hier ist der Herausgeber durch Thurneysen irregeführt worden. Die Hs. liest: *dilmaine labartha 7 dechraighti,* s. Thurneysen, Zu ir. Hss. 59[1]).

171, 19. *dēäd* wird auch am Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts noch zweisilbig gebraucht, z. B. SR 2829, wo es auf *glēäd* reimt. — 26. add. *fo diüd*, Arch. III 30, 3. — 33. statt Dublitir Ua Huathgaile, 11th century, lies Gilla in Chomded, 12th century. — 36. statt *déid* lies *co déidh.*

173, 53. TTr 353 hat: *adfiadat a scēla dō ō thūs co deired.*

175, 62. Statt *beith* lies *buith* (P). — 65. statt *luch* lies *lucht.*

176, 52. Lies *aibriosc.*

177, 26. Lies *deoaid.*

178, 13. Dele *ó cumdach* usw. Der Herausgeber hat sich durch Mac Carthy verführen lassen. Die Hs. hat *gu deod flatha Asarda* „bis zum Ende der assyrischen Herrschaft“. — 26. *Dead* ist in dem Namen *Mess Deäd* LL 48 b 24 zweisilbig. — 25. lies *dían.* — 36. add. *do Dean 7 do Apaill,* TTr 73 = BB 412 b 20; *i tempal Ioiph 7 Dean,* BB 413 a 9. — 59. statt *Cinaed* lies *Connāid.* — 60. Die richtige Form des Nom. ist *Deāth,* wie der Reim auf *brāth* (Ält. Dicht. I, S. 54) zeigt. Schon dadurch fällt die versuchte Etymologie des Herausgebers hin.

179, 23. † *debai.* Ein unnötiger Eintrag, da die Herausgeber des Thesaurus selbst auf S. 725 ihr Versehen verbessert haben (P). — 25. lies *dometu = dommetu* „Armut“. — 28. lies *dēbennach.* — 36. Die Verbesserung *deb[l]enaib* steht schon CZ VI 25 zu lesen. — 55. add. *ō dēblīadain co teora blīadna,* O'Dav. 706.

180, 2. *dē-bricht* bedeutet auch ein alliterierendes aus zwei Zeilen bestehendes Versmafs. S. Ir. T. III 39, § 31. — 39. Gewifs beweisen die Reime, dafs *debrad* kurzes *e* hat. — 42. Der Dativ *foscud* und der Nom. *-gnom* beweisen nichts für *debroth* (P). — 54. statt *om* lies *mo.*

181, 12. *debrath* ist sicherlich eine Interjektion. — 20. statt ‘by God's doom’ lies ‘by God's doom!’ — 49. lies *cona cathaib, gairge regthe,* | *cona ndebthaige tria oibbne.* Ir. Nen. 252, 3 ist dasselbe Zitat noch einmal.

182, 15. Hier wäre die Schreibung *dethfa,* Arch. III 296, n. 4 und *dethba* Ér. V 22, 23 zu erwähnen gewesen. — 33. Dafs

de- nicht aus *dis-* hergeleitet werden kann, ist oben S. 376 schon bemerkt worden (P).

186, 44. Statt *ceti* lies *cethri*. — 49. In SR 717 ist *deccrai*[*b*] zu lesen; vgl. *deccraib : ettlaib*, ib. 6875. Tochm. F. 439 liest: *ní dam nādéine deccair* 'it is something to me which does not cause wonder'. — 56. Die Bedeutung 'act of wondering', die ich in den Contribb. angesetzt habe, ist aufrecht zu halten. Vgl. z. B. *dorōnsat slūaig deccra de* 'the hosts marvelled at it', Dinds. III 44, 71. — 61. dele *deccardrong*. *Dechar-drong* findet sich auch in Laud 610, 73 b 1 : *hūas dagerbla dechard*[*r*]*uing*. Statt *Ul.* lies *Uluim*.

187, 2. Lies *ón rígraidh sin*. — 7. lies *co massi*. — 16. lies *sīl*. — 37. lies *Deccrach*.

190, 46. *dechair* bedeutet nicht 'to follow', sondern ist der Dat. von *dechor*, das im Mittelir. zum Fem. geworden ist. Das Zitat aus O'Clery ist zu übersetzen: 'a tale without a poem distinguishing it'. — 53. *dechardae* gehört zu IV *dechor* und bedeutet 'distinguished, excellent'. — 62. *dechar-drong* bedeutet 'full of varied' or 'distinguished hosts'.

191, 3. Lies *decheng*. — 23. Wörter wie *cenc* und *tenc* sind wenig wahrscheinliche Ansätze. — 60. add. *toraithair .i. dāchennaig*, Immac. in dā th. § 255.

192, 8. Lies *dechétfaid* (P). — 29. statt *dHérind* lies *Hērenn*.

194, 41. Lies *sétnad*. — 55. statt *S. Dechnan* lies sanct *Dechnān*. Statt 'saint' lies 'priest'.

195, 4. Das *ch* in *dechon* hat nicht u-, sondern o-Färbung (P).

196, 2. Add. *Dub-dechon* n. pr. m. Anecd. III 61, 21. — 9. Hier hat Lec. 579 *Mag Glinne Dā Chon*; vgl. Onom.

197, 61. Lies *cona* [*n*]*dechraib*. — 62. statt 'each with his special tribe' lies 'with their differences in each tribe'. — 64. statt 'after their separation' lies 'according to their differences'.

198, 14. lies *ndeadhrand*. — 30. *dechra* (altir. *dechrae*) 'difference, distinction' von *dechor* abgeleitet. In dem Zitat aus Rawl. könnte es auch der Acc. Pl. von *dechor* sein. — 39. statt *Adammair* lies *Adamra*.

199, 31. Statt *dechroid* hat die Hs. *decroid*, wohl eine mittelir. Schreibung für *decrai*, Gen. Sg. zu *deccair* 'hardship'. Vgl. *mōr decrai 7 mōr aingcessa do thabairt form*, LU 131 b 16 (P). — 50. lies 210 b 25.

200, 61. Add. 'differentiates, settles'.

201, 6. Lies *cach luib tricc ticc tria talmain.*

202, 24. Add. 3. *decht* n. 'a saying, teaching'; vgl. altir. *tār-dechta,* Echtra Connla (P).

203, 47. Lies *dretell.* — 48. lies *Leitend* (*Letend* BB 203 d 46). — 65. lies *de*con.

204, 36. Lies *Dēclān.* Add. *Déclān,* LB 15 d 16. In der Brüsseler Hs. 5100—4, S. 4 (Gorm. S. VIII) reimt es auf *Bēccān.* Mod. *Díaglán.* — 41. statt *Sanctus* lies *sacart.* — 58. lies *nād biad de clēithe lia chenēl and* 'that his race should not have a rooftree there thenceforth'. Colgan gibt *de* mit 'in posterum' wieder (P).

205, 10. Lies *nī bad ēcmacht.* — 12. Eg. 1782, 87 b = Arch. III 3, 10.

206, 27. Dieser Eintrag ist unter II zu stellen: *mīana decmuici* 'desires that are difficult to fulfil'. — 43. lies *Deochon Aed i Cúil Maine.* — 55. statt *decraiter* lies *dechraither* wie in col. 199.

207, 16. Hier wäre die sprichwörtliche Redensart *ba gleith ech nDedad,* Anecd. II 59 zu erwähnen.

208, 21. *recartacha* steht für *frecartacha.* — 51. *dedail* läfst sich nicht aus *de* + *deil* erklären; das breite *d* spricht dagegen. Es ist natürlich aus *de* und *dāil* „Teilen“ zusammengesetzt (P). — 64. add. *deagailt,* CZ IX 172 § 14.

209, 11. Lies *drolaibh.* — 13. lies *hiat.* — 26. lies *ren docra.* — 28. lies *deaghailt.* — 41. lies *ant anam.* — 46. dele 'A ceasing' usw. Wie der Reim auf *gēnair* zeigt, handelt es sich in dem Zitat um *dēdail.* — 61. Was hier 'at the verse end' bedeuten soll, verstehe ich nicht.

210, 13. *dédail* ist keine vox nihili, wie der Herausgeber sagt, der selbst einen langen Eintrag unter *dédail* bringt. — 14. add. *Dedail* 'Daedalus', CZ IV 239, 5. — 44. Dieser Eintrag hat wieder in einem irischen Wörterbuch nichts zu tun.

211, 61. Das Wort *dedgair* ist nicht im 11. Jahrhundert ausgestorben, sondern lebt noch heute in der vom Herausgeber bezweifelten Bedeutung 'quick'. O'Leary schreibt es *diair,* z. B. *go diair* 'quickly', Séadna 762 (B).

212, 6. Gegen *dedgarach* ist nichts einzuwenden. Es ist regelmäfsig von *dedgair* abgeleitet und bedeutet 'active, eager'. —

53. lies *Breg.* — 57. Das Verbum lautet altir. nicht *tuillid* sondern *do-sli, -tuilli* (P).

213, 10. Statt *i nuarcollaib* lies *in uar* (= *bar*) *collaib.* — 56. lies *ōol.*

214, 8. Lies *Ēremhōin.* — 47. *deec* kann nicht als Gen. eines Nom. **deë* (*dē* + *penk*ᵘ) gelten. Der Nom. war überhaupt nicht *deë,* denn ein vorhistorisches **dvei-penk*ᵘ*-s* kann unmöglich existiert haben. Wir müssen **dvei-penk*ᵘ*e* ansetzen, das altir. nur **deic* hätte geben können. *deec* ist übrigens nicht Gen. Sg., sondern Dual (P). — 64. statt *deec : ec* lies *dēec : rec.*

215, 5. LL 52 a 11 ist zu lesen *cōic cēt dē*[*ē*]*c trichem tromm.* — 40. statt 'ten' lies 'decimal'. — 47. Im heutigen Dialekt von Ost-Munster heiſsen die Lehrer *déagracha* (P). — 50. statt *sa* lies *sna.*

216, 17. FM A. D. 1015 handelt es sich um *tene deáit*! (B.) — 48. Das Wort ist nicht schon im 11. Jahrhundert ausgestorben. Der Herausgeber führt Z. 44 selbst ein Beispiel aus CCath. an. — 50. LL 357 d 28 hat *mac Treno m. Deeid.*

217, 5. Add. *deserce,* Arch. III 217, *deaircci* ib. 30, § 85.

218, 4. Lies *móir.* — 5. lies *risan déirc .i. re oibribh na trócaire* (B). — 31. lies Trisyllabic.

219, 6. Der Eintrag ist zu tilgen. *debhfert* steht für *deghḟert.* — 41. lies *de-ḟordal.* Das Wort ist ein ā-Stamm und enthält 2 *dál* wie das mod. *fordáil* 'act of straying' zeigt (P).

220, 54. *déga* steht nicht für *décha,* sondern ist phonetische Schreibung für *déca,* Imper. von *do-ēci.* — 62. Ein Adj. *degabal* gibt es nicht.

221, 15. Es liegt kein Grund vor, ein *digaid* mit kurzem *i* anzunehmen. Wir haben nur die Formen *dī-* und *de-.* Kurzes *i* wäre nur im Hiatus möglich (P). — 36. add. Im östlichen Munster wird *go deaghaidh* im Sinne von *go deo* (col. 173, 56) gebraucht.

222, 43. Lies *buith.*

223, 22. Add. *Degān* o, n. pr. m. *Bēcc mac Degān,* LL 393 a 46; *Bēcc m. Lethdegāin,* 48 b 53. — 32. statt *na hIndeda* lies *Naindedai*; LB hat *Nindedai.* — 43. lies *Degēn* und *OROIT.*

224, 5. Statt *Bláthchon* lies *Blatchon.* — 13. BB 144 f liest *cenēl Neamongen: Hūi Mic Dechill, Hūi Labrada, Hūi Dallāin* usw. — 18. statt *Caiséne* lies *Cascēne.* — 21. statt

Cumán lies *Cuman.* — 24. dele 'father of' usw. BB 200 b 43 hat: *nó mac Deichill.* — 26. dele 'To this Decell' usw. — 31. lies 144 f 25. — 56. Stokes hatte gewifs recht *degnech* als von *dech-* abgeleitet aufzufassen. Die Endung *-nech* schreibt sich aus Wörtern wie *cuimnech, toraisnech* usw. her. Vgl. Thurneysen § 517 (P).

Wernigerode, KUNO MEYER.
am Tage der Eroberung von Antwerpen.

ZUM LEBOR GABÁLA.

Van Hamel hat auf Grund einer viel eingehenderen Kenntnis des ersten Teiles des Lebor Gabála, als sie mir für meinen Artikel[1]) zu Gebote stand, das Verhältnis der verschiedenen Fassungen dieses Textes von neuem besprochen[2]) und ist dabei zu weit abweichenden Resultaten gelangt. Doch scheint mir eine Prüfung seiner Beweise zu ergeben, dafs er im Irrtum ist, und dafs vielmehr ich im Wesentlichen richtig gesehen hatte.

Meinen — nur acht Seiten umfassenden — Artikel hat freilich van Hamel offenbar nur ganz flüchtig gelesen, obschon er mehrfach dagegen polemisiert. Das zeigt sich nicht nur in der S. 110 gegebenen, aber nachträglich S. 197 widerrufenen Angabe, ich setze als Quelle ein lateinisches *liber occupationis* voraus. Da gerade meine Hauptthese war (und ist), man könne aus den beiden irischen[3]) Fassungen, die ich B III und A genannt habe, den ursprünglichen Wortlaut des LG mühelos herstellen, so ist schwer verständlich, wie ein Leser auch nur vorübergehend zu jenem Mifsverständnis kommen konnte. Aber noch mehr fällt auf, dafs van Hamel mehrfach wiederholt, ich hätte in der Fassung B I (van Hamels Ba) nur eine Kürzung von A (LL) gesehen[4]). Ich gestehe, dafs ich mir beim ersten Lesen bestürzt an die Stirn griff, ob ich mich denn wirklich so undeutlich ausgedrückt habe. Aber meine Worte (S. 8) lauten:

[1]) Zu ir. Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern, 2. Serie, S. 3 ff.

[2]) Oben S. 97 ff.

[3]) Nur die paar ersten, von mir S. 6 abgedruckten Sätze, die gröfstenteils aus Isid. Orig. 14, 6, 6 und 9, 2, 103 stammen, sind lateinisch, und das *sudet qui legat*, womit sie schliefsen, setzt keinen sehr lateinfrohen Redaktor voraus.

[4]) „In Ba . . Professor Thurneysen sees only an abridgement of A. This I do not understand“ (S. 98 f.). „It is a pity Professor Thurneysen has failed to see this“ (S. 111), nämlich dafs B I ausführlicher als A ist.

„Die Grundlage (von B I = Ba) ist durchaus Version A. Bis zu fol. 83r (der Hs. Rawl. B. 512) wird diese mannigfach erweitert und nähert sich bereits dem Umfang, den ihr dann Version C gibt. Aber nun ändert der Redaktor plötzlich sein Verfahren. Etwa von Tigernmas (LL 16b) an kürzt er gewaltig" usw. Da van Hamel nur vom ersten Teil handelt, habe ich also fast genau dasselbe gesagt wie er (S. 113): „The above list shows that Ba is in almost every section more extensive than A". Das ist doch sonderbare Polemik! — Noch ein Drittes. Van Hamel (S. 99) sagt, man habe bisher die Hs. R (= Rawl. B. 512) „immer für den Hauptvertreter" der Version Ba (mein B I) angesehen. Da aufser mir meines Wissens niemand über diese Version gehandelt hat, so bin wohl auch hier ich gemeint. Aber ich habe ja S. 7 ausdrücklich bemerkt, dafs ich R nur darum benütze, weil mir durch die Güte von Plummer eine Abschrift davon vorliege. Als „Hauptvertreter" habe ich es nicht nur nie bezeichnet, sondern im Gegenteil auf die grofsen Mängel dieser Handschrift besonders hingewiesen. Nur stand mir bei Abfassung des Artikels keine andere im Wortlaut zu Gebote. Auch hier kämpft also van Hamel gegen Luftgebilde. Übrigens ist seine Angabe (S. 101. 102) ungenau, die Unordnung in R beruhe auf falscher Blätterlage in dieser Handschrift. Ich hatte doch S. 7 deutlich bemerkt, dafs die falsche Ordnung auf fol. 76r zeigt, dafs schon die Vorlage verwirrt war. Schon deshalb kann R nicht eine Kopie von S sein, wie van Hamel (S. 102) meint.

Die Aufgabe des Nachprüfenden wird dadurch sehr erschwert, dafs van Hamel niemals auch nur eine Seitenzahl seiner Handschriften anführt, weder der faksimilierten noch der unedierten. Es kann also den Wert oder Unwert seiner Argumente nur der würdigen, der sich selbständig in den Stoff eingearbeitet hat[1]). Auch rächt sich wohl an van Hamel, dafs er nur den ersten Teil

[1]) Den Höhepunkt ungenauen Zitierens bildet wohl S. 190, wo von einer Version der Schlacht auf Mag Tuired die Rede ist „such as that preserved in one of the MSS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy". Nun geh und suche! — Unrichtig ist die Angabe S. 143, LL lese in Zeile 11 des Gedichts: *mac Baaith mic Magoch* wie R; vielmehr hat es (LL 2a6) *mac Fattecht mic Magoth*, erweist also die Lesart von Lec. (B III) als ursprünglich, die von R als bedeutungslose Korrektur. — Wenn S. 178 Anm. 2 Cormac § 1265 zitiert wird, sollte — wegen der Zeitbestimmung — bemerkt werden, dafs es sich nur um einen der Zusatzartikel im Yellow Book of Lecan handelt.

des Textes, die eigentlichen *gabála Érenn* ins Auge faſst mit Ausschluſs der Listen der späteren Könige; deren Berücksichtigung hätte ihm die Einsicht in die wahren Verhältnisse erleichtert.

Eine eigentümliche Ansicht hat van Hamel über die Erhaltung irischer Handschriften. Er glaubt nämlich, alle unsere Handschriften des LG seien direkt eine aus der anderen kopiert. Wer sich aber irgend mit der Überlieferung der irischen Literatur beschäftigt hat, weiſs, wie überaus selten, ja fast unerhört es ist, daſs eine Kopie vor dem 17. Jahrhundert auf eine erhaltene Handschrift zurück geht[1]). Das ist auch sehr begreiflich. Handschriften, die viel benutzt werden, gehen zugrunde; nur solche, die zufällig längere Zeit unbeachtet abseits liegen bleiben, haben Aussicht auf ein höheres Alter. Man vermiſst denn auch bei van Hamel jeden Schatten eines Beweises, etwa durch Nachweis gemeinsamer Fehler in Gedichten, eigentümlicher Orthographie usw. Ich bin einstweilen überzeugt, daſs keine unserer Handschriften direkt, wohl auch indirekt aus der anderen geflossen ist. Nur von O'Clery will ich nicht bestreiten, daſs er unser Book of Lecan benutzt hat; ich kenne die Texte nicht genau genug. Somit handelt es sich für uns im Folgenden nur um die Abhängigkeit der verschiedenen Fassungen voneinander, nicht der einzelnen Handschriften.

Unsere beiden Thesen lauten[2]):

1. Die meinige: Das LG ist im 12. Jahrhundert unter König Ruadri (regiert seit 1156) spätestens 1168[3]) entstanden. Es ist mit ganz wenig Interpolationen in B III erhalten (in Rawl. B. 512 und Lec. I), mit sehr viel mehr Erweiterungen in A (LL). Eine Bearbeitung — teils Erweiterung teils Kürzung — von A ist B I, das dann mit B III (und B II) vereinigt worden ist. Alle diese Neuerungen fallen zeitlich unmittelbar nach der Vollendung des Originalwerks.

[1]) Eine Ausnahme bildet wohl die Edinburger Handschrift des 16. Jahrhunderts, Nr. XL, deren *Mesca Ulad* vielleicht — indirekt — aus LL geflossen ist, s. Zu ir. Hss., 2. Serie, S. 13. Ferner die Kopie von Cormacs Glossar im Book of Hy-Maine, die auf Laud 610 zurückgeht, s. Festschrift Windisch S. 8 ff.

[2]) Ich gebrauche meine alten Bezeichnungen B I für van Hamels Ba, B III für sein Bb. Mit B II befaſst sich van Hamel nicht.

[3]) Die andere Zahl, 1178 (S. 7), beruhte auf dem Versehen, das ich S. 24 verbessert habe.

2. Van Hamel: Die Zeit der Entstehung des LG (Urhandschrift X) liegt zwischen 950—1050. Verhältnismäſsig am treusten gibt es B I wieder. A und B III gehen zunächst auf eine ältere Fassung O zurück, die aus dem ursprünglichen LG wesentlich durch Kürzung entstanden war. Wo B III kürzer ist als A, beruht das auf nochmaliger Kürzung. Daneben haben alle drei Versionen auch eigene Erweiterungen und Änderungen.

In betreff der Fassung C [in BB und Lec II[1])] stimmt dagegen van Hamel mit mir darin überein, daſs sie mit Benutzung aller älteren Fassungen kompiliert ist. Über O'Clery's Redaktion (D) endlich gibt er zum ersten Mal näheren Aufschluſs. Nur weiſs ich nicht, warum er sie S. 119 Cucogry O'Clery zuschreibt, während bisher nach der Vorrede[2]) Michael O'Clery als Hauptredaktor, Cucogry nur als Schreiber einer Kopie gegolten hat[3]). Richtig hat van Hamel konstatiert, daſs die Fragmente von B I in D. V. 1 und D. IV. 1 (früher Stowe Ms. 994 u. 991) aneinander schlieſsen und einst eine einzige Handschrift ausgemacht haben — er nennt sie S — und zwar eine ganz vorzügliche, wenn auch seine Annahme, sie sei geradezu die Urhandschrift der Version B I, keinerlei Wahrscheinlichkeit hat.

Ich beginne mit der Prüfung der Frage, ob die Kürze von B III gegenüber A als eine Kürzung oder ob A als eine Erweiterung einer B III nahestehenden Fassung (meines O) anzusehen ist. Es genügt, glaube ich, schon die Betrachtung einer einzigen Stelle, um das letztere zu erweisen. Nach der Einleitung über die Gaidil heiſst es als Beginn der eigentlichen *gabála*

in B III:

Scuirem ifechtsa do scélaib na nGædel 7 tinntoum do athmíniugud forsna coic gabalaib ro·gabsat Herinn, ut dicitur:

Anno .lx.o aetatis Abram tenuit Parthol- Iberniam. Ab Adam autem .ii. (milia) 7 .dc. 7 .uiii. anni.

in A (LL 4 a 47):

Scuirem ifechtsa do scélaib na ṅGædel, coro·aisnídem dona .uii. tuathaib ro·gabsat Herind rempo:

Ro·gab ém Cessair ingen Betha m(ic) Noe .xl. la ria ndilind.

Partholon mac Sera tri chet bl- iar ndilind[4]).

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[1]) Über das Book of Fermoy s. unten S. 392 ff.

[2]) O'Curry, Lectures on the Ms. Materials, p. 552.

[3]) Ebenda 173.

[4]) Die Zeitbestimmung von B III folgt in A erst weiter unten im Texte (LL 5 a 11): *Isin tsescatmad bl- atsi Abráim ro·gab Par(tholón) Herind.*

Nemed iar Partol-.	*Nemed mac Agno- do Grecaib Scithia i cind .xxx. bl- iar Parthol-.*
Fir Bolc post, clanna Dela m(ic) Loith usw.	*Fir Bolg iarsain.*
	Fir Domnand iarsain.
	Galioin iarsain.
	Tuatha Dé D. iar tain.

Also B III kennt nur fünf *gabála*: Partholón, Nemed, Fir Bolg und die später besprochenen Tuatha Dé Donann und Maic Miled (= Gædil). A zählt sieben Stämme auf, die vor den Maic Miled Irland besetzt haben; man könnte also von acht *gabála* bei ihm sprechen, obschon *Fir Domnand* und *Galioin* im weiteren Text nicht als eigentliche *gabála* behandelt sind. Und das erste sollte eine Kürzung des zweiten sein? Da mufs einer die Art der mittelalterlichen Iren schlecht kennen, wenn er glaubt, dafs einer, der über die *gabála Érenn*, wenn auch kurz, schreiben will, so vorgeht, dafs er von den überlieferten acht einfach drei und darunter gerade die erste streicht! Vielmehr ist ohne weiteres klar, dafs der Verfasser von B III von Cessair nichts gewufst hat, so wenig wie Nennius. Aber van Hamel glaubt, seine an sich unwahrscheinliche Annahme durch den Nachweis stützen zu können, dafs gerade B III auch Kenntnis von Cessair verrate (S. 108 Anm. 1). Es handelt sich um die Unterschrift des Teiles, der die *gabála* enthält. Sie lautet in A (LL 14 b 43): *Is amlaid sen tra gabsat Gædil Herind,* in C (BB 42 a 56): *Gaidhil tra, is amlaigh sin ro·ghabhsat Erind; T(uatha) D(e) D., im Thaillte an ro·ghabsat tra.* Dafür hat B III: *Is amlaid sin ro·gab[ad] H(eriu) o cetgabail Cesra co gabail mac Mil(ed).* Diese Einführung von Cessair in die Unterschrift hätte aber nur dann Gewicht, wenn B III für sich überliefert wäre; es ist aber in beiden Handschriften, die es enthalten, nur Anhang von B I (und B II), welches *gabál Cesra* ausführlich erzählt. So hat sich eben der Schreiber, der die Unterschrift geändert hat, nicht an das zuletzt kopierte Textstück gehalten, sondern die erste *gabál* aus der volleren, vorher kopierten Erzählung suppliert. Für Cessair ist, was van Hamel nicht beachtet hat, in B III überhaupt kein Platz, da es erst mit Noahs Söhnen und ihren Nachkommen anhebt, während alle Berichte von Cessair sie vor der Sündflut nach Irland kommen lassen. Eben darum hat A, als es Cessair nach anderer

Tradition einführte, die Einleitung geändert und mit der Erschaffung der Welt begonnen.

Geht schon daraus hervor, dafs A ein erweitertes B III, nicht B III aus einer A nahestehenden Fassung gekürzt ist, so spricht ferner dafür deutlich ein Umstand, auf den ich schon in meiner früheren Abhandlung (S. 8) aufmerksam gemacht habe, über den aber van Hamel leicht hinweggeht. Die sämtlichen Gedichte von Eochaid ua Flaind († 1004) finden sich nur in A, nicht in B III; vgl. *A choemu cláir Cuind cóemfind* LL 5 b 1 (= BB 24 a 54), *Togail tuir Conaind co ṅgail* LL 7 b 3 (= BB 29 a 27), *Heriu co n-uaill co n-idnaib* LL 10 b 3 (= BB 33 a 45), *Toisig nallonġse dar ler* LL 16 a 8, *Ugaine uallach amra* LL 22 a 9 und die Strofe *Trí sœír Herend ar·canar* LL 22 b 51[1]), von denen nur die zwei letzten in die Lücke unserer Überlieferung von B III fallen. Auch das in BB 36 b 10 Eochaid zugeschriebene Gedicht: *Éstet œs ecnai oebind,* in dem sich freilich der Dichter nicht wie sonst selber nennt, wird nur in LL in der Randnote 18 a erwähnt. Es wäre doch sehr sonderbar, dafs ein Kürzender gerade alle diese Gedichte nicht nur, sondern auch die vorangehenden Prosaberichte, die zum Teil auf ihnen beruhen, sorgfältig übersprungen haben sollte. Vielmehr scheint mir unzweifelhaft, dafs der Verfasser des LG und der Redaktor von B III diese um anderthalb Jahrhunderte älteren Gedichte nicht gekannt und verwertet hat.

Erklärt sich so alles glatt, wenn man A als Erweiterung von B III fafst[2]), wie ich getan habe, so müfste doch diese Ansicht aufgegeben werden, wenn B I, das die Überschüsse von A grofsenteils und dazu noch vieles andere enthält, dem ursprünglichen Text näher stände als A und B III, wie van Hamel meint. Allein sein Beweis ist eigentümlicher Art. Den Hauptnachdruck legt er auf die Stammbäume von Fenius Farsaid (S. 142 ff.), wo der Tatbestand folgender ist. In B III und A heifst es nach einer

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[1]) Van Hamel (S. 115) hat das zweite übersehen. Er nennt den Dichter *Eochu* (S. 114), während dieser sich selber *Eochaid* schreibt (LL 10 b 60 = BB 33 b 25, LL 22 a 30), und läfst ihn 1003 statt 1004 gestorben sein (115 Anm. 2). — Ohne Grund teilen O'Clery, O'Curry (Manners a. Customs II 110) und Atkinson (Einleitung zu LL, S. 18) auch das Gedicht *Heriu oll ordnit Gœdil* (LL 6 b) Eochaid zu.

[2]) Die wenigen Stellen, wo B III wirklich kürzt, etwa bei Genealogien u. ähnl., weil sie ausführlich schon in B I gebracht worden waren, sind wohl immer durch die Worte: *ut supra diximus* gekennzeichnet.



Genealogie, die Fenius Farsaid (Farsaich) durch Baad und Magog (Magoch) auf Japheth zurückführt[1]):

B III: *At·berat araile combad Baad mac Ibaid mic Goimeir mic Iafeth, 7 is uad Gaidil 7 fir na Scithia, 7 mac dó Fenius Fars(aid). Da mac la Feinius Fars(aid) .i. Nenual*[2]) *forfacaib i flaithius na Scithia dia eis, 7 Nel an mac ele 7 icon tur rucad side* usw.

Dafür A (LL 2a8): *Baath indara mac Ibath mic Gomer mic Iafeth, is uad Gædil 7 fir na Scithia. Mac dó in fer amra airegda diarbo ainm Fænius Farsaid. Is se side indara toesech .lxx. do·choid do denam in tuir Nebróith* usw. .. *Da mac immoro bátar oc Foenius .i. Noenual indala mac fo·racaib i flathius na Scithia dia éis, Nél in mac aile, icon tur rucad side* usw.

B I gibt einen anderen Stammbaum, der Fenius Farsaid durch viele Zwischenglieder mit *Baath mac Rifaith Scuit* (Sohn von Gomer) verbindet (v. H., S. 142). Aber van Hamel macht S. 144 selber darauf aufmerksam, dafs auch der Redaktor von B I den Bericht A gekannt haben mufs, da er hinzusetzt: *Is follus de sin, nach·raibe Fenius hi cumtach in tuir, mar at·berat na senchaide cen comśiniud comhai[m]seraid.* Also aus chronologischen Gründen verwirft er den Bericht A und läfst vielmehr einen Urahn von Fenius, Rifath Scot, beim Turmbau von Babel beteiligt sein. Wie kann man denn daraus folgern, dafs B I nicht eine Bearbeitung von A sei, sondern das es dafs Original des LG treuer wiedergebe als A?[3]) Das ist mir völlig unverständlich. Dafs auch der Stammbaum in B I ein alter ist, indem er fast ganz mit der versifizierten Genealogie übereinstimmt, die K. Meyer[4]) herausgegeben hat, ist richtig, hat aber mit unserer Frage nichts zu tun. Denn alle Bearbeiter des LG haben von allen Seiten her neue Quellen beigezogen, darunter häufig solche, die weit älter waren als das ursprüngliche Lebor Gabála. Dessen Verfasser hat ja natürlich lange nicht alles gekannt, was vor ihm über die Urgeschichte Irlands gefabelt und gedichtet worden war,

[1]) Sie ist in A nicht mehr leserlich, nur der Schlufs des angehängten Gedichtes.

[2]) *Fienual* Hs.

[3]) Vgl. auch S. 126: *it was an unnecessary innovation of A to make Fénius build the Tower of Babel himself. Consequently the superiority of Ba* (mein B I) *is now established once for all.*

[4]) Über die älteste ir. Dichtung I S. 30, V. 36 ff.

so daſs fast jeder Kopist in der Lage war, Weiteres beizufügen. Man darf nicht das Lebor Gabála, ein bestimmtes literarisches Produkt, mit den Fabeleien über irische Vorgeschichte im allgemeinen verwechseln, die wohl in jeder Klosterbibliothek wieder anders aussahen, weil fast jeder *senchaid* Altes und Neuerfundenes beliebig mischte[1]). Die ganze Untersuchung van Hamels ist nun dadurch in eine schiefe Stellung geraten und viele seiner Fragen von vornherein gegenstandslos geworden, daſs er stets nach seinem imaginären X sucht, dem angeblichen Lebor Gabála des 10–11. Jahrhunderts, während es ein solches vor dem 12. Jahrhundert gar nicht gegeben hat[2]). Auch die Verfolgung der Entwicklung der irischen Urgeschichte überhaupt hat darunter gelitten. Es scheint mir überhaupt zweifelhaft, ob eine solche jemals für sich bestanden hat, ob sie nicht seit jeher nur die Einleitung zu den Stammbäumen irischer Fürsten bildete, wie in den von K. Meyer veröffentlichten alten Genealogien und wie in unserem Lebor Gabála. Daſs das Cín Dromma Snechta, das zu den ältesten Quellen gehört, auch Genealogien enthielt, ist bekannt. Und wenn Nennius die irische Besiedelungsgeschichte für sich bringt, so erklärt sich das wohl aus dem Charakter seines für britannische Kelten bestimmten Werkchens.

Sei dem wie ihm wolle, die Untersuchung wird sich noch über eine weitere Strecke an bestimmte Daten halten können, als bei van Hamel geschehen ist. Den Ausgangspunkt bilden, auſser den alten Genealogien, die Zitate aus Cin Dromma Snechta (8. Jahrh.?) und die Historia Brittonum des Nennius (c. 826). Daran schlieſst sich Mael Muru Othna († 887), der Saltair na Rann V. 3993—4012 (gedichtet 987), Eochaid ua Flaind († 1004), Flann Manistrech († 1056), der in seinem Gedicht: *Éstid a eolchu*

[1]) Sonderbar ist auch die Ansicht, Gomer werde darum als Stammvater der Iren betrachtet, weil Isidor (Orig. 9, 2, 26) sage: *Gomer ex quo Galatae .i. Galli*, und weil die Iren sich als nahe Verwandte der Gallier gefühlt hätten (S. 142. 173). Sie hätten also den keltischen Sprachstamm schon vor tausend Jahren herausgefunden gehabt! Wie kommt es dann aber, daſs sie jeden Ausländer beliebiger Herkunft *Gall* nennen? Vielleicht darf man eher annehmen, daſs der Stammvater Gomer daher rührt, daſs Orosius (S. 173) Brigantia, nach der Sage die Mutterstadt der Iren, als *Gallaeciae ciuitas* bezeichnet. Ein alter Genealoge mag *Gallaecia* und *Galatae .i. Galli* vermengt haben.

[2]) Z. B. kann man nicht fragen, ob von den Stammbäumen auf S. 142 *a* oder *b* ursprünglich sei. Beide gehören schon dem ursprünglichen LG an. Und so öfters.



cen on die Tuatha Dé Danann sich gegenseitig umbringen läſst; Gilla Coemain († 1072) mit seinem Gedicht: *Gædel Glass o·tát Gædil;* dann die ursprüngliche Form des Lebor Gabála (zwischen 1156—1168), um nur sicher Datiertes zu nennen. Ergänzend treten andere Gedichte hinzu, die in B III und A zitiert werden, also älter sind als LG, auch die sonst überlieferten Genealogien. Ferner wäre das zeitliche Verhältnis des LG zu *Auraiccecht* klarzulegen, von dem van Hamel nicht spricht.

Die ganz sekundäre Rolle, die er B III — dem getreusten Zeugen des Ursprünglichen — zuweist, läſst ihn diese Quelle etwas zu sehr vernachlässigen. So übersieht er S. 170, daſs die Namen von Erimons und Ebers Söhnen in Lec. II sich schon in B III finden, in einem in A fehlenden Abschnitt: *Asberat araile macu la hEbir fon indas* [*s*]*a .i. Caur, Capa, Corann, Etor, Airb, Airbi; .ui. aili la Eremon .i. Aann, Edenn, Aine, Cathiair, Cacher, Cerna.* In Lec. II ist nur *Capa* durch *Conmæl* verdrängt.

Es ist nicht meine Absicht, weiter auf den Aufsatz van Hamels einzugehen, der in den Analysen und Übersichten der verschiedenen Versionen und auch sonst gewiſs manches Dankenswerte bietet. Nur auf das Book of Fermoy (F) und auf Cin Dromma Snechta möchte ich noch kurz zu sprechen kommen, indem hier van Hamel wertvolles Neues zutage gefördert hat. Bei meinem Aufenthalt in Irland hatte ich von den Zitaten aus Cin Dromma Snechta im LG nur das gekannt, das ich Zu ir. Hss. S. 23 als Nr. 4 bezeichnet habe, und habe daher nur nach ihm in den verschiedenen Handschriften gesucht. Da ich es auſser in F nur in der Redaktion C (BB und Lec. II) fand, habe ich die Vermutung ausgesprochen, das Fragment F möchte die älteste Gestaltung dieser Version darstellen (2. Serie, S. 8). Van Hamel zeigt nun (S. 107), daſs F zwar auch Einschub 5 enthält und vermutlich Einschub 6 im verlorenen Teil enthalten hat (S. 118), daſs man aber darum doch kein Recht hat, F zur Version C zu zählen, da es viel näher bei A steht, und da sich die meisten seiner Überschüsse auch in der Textgestalt B I finden. Besonders wichtig ist aber sein Nachweis, daſs schon gewisse Handschriften der Version B I Einschübe aus Cin Dromma Snechta kennen, und daſs ich einen derselben auch in Version C übersehen habe (S. 119). In BB 24 b 53 (Version C) steht nämlich am Rande: *A cin Droma Snechta in beg so sis*; und der Abschnitt lautet: *Ceithri maic*

Parrtholon ro·cetroindsíud Erind ar thus .i. Ær, Orbha, Feargna, Feron. Ro·badar ceathrar a comhanmand sin ag macaibh Mileadh 7 ni hiad fein. Ota Ath Cliath Laighean go hAileach Neíd as i roind Ær sin. O Ath Cliath cetna co hAilean Arda Neimheadh [roind Orbha andsin].[1]) *On Ailean co hAth Cliath Meadhroighe roind Ḟearoin. On*[2]) *Ath Cliath sain co hAileach Neíd roind Ḟeargna isidein* (?). *Conadh amlaigh sin ro·cedroindid Erñ, am*(*al*) *as·bert in file: Ceathrar mac ba gribdha glor* usw. (sieben Strofen). Nicht die ganze Stelle ist natürlich dem Cín Dromma Snechta entnommen; mindestens der zweite Satz ist hinzugefügt worden, weil in dieser späteren Zeit Aer, Orba, Ferón und Fergna vielmehr für Söhne von Eber mac Miled galten, vgl. LL 12 b 15 = BB 38 b 45 und BB 171 a 4.

Diese Stelle führt nun aber van Hamel (S. 118 f.) zu einem äufserst kühnen Schlufs. Sie findet sich ebenso schon in der Hs. S der Version B I, aber ohne die Randnote, also ohne die Quellenangabe. Somit, meint van Hamel, stammt diese vom Schreiber von BB, und dieser hat Cín Dromma Snechta noch selber gekannt. Man denke: alle vier Einschübe aus Cín Dromma Snechta hat er, so viel wir sehen, wörtlich aus älteren Handschriften des LG übernommen; nur diese philologische Notiz soll von ihm selber herrühren! Hat das denn irgend eine Wahrscheinlichkeit? Das Cín Dromma Snechta enthielt noch weitere Angaben über die irische Vorgeschichte.[3]) Wie sonderbar, dafs er davon nichts bringt, sondern gerade nur das, was schon Frühere exzerpiert hatten! Es ist vielmehr ohne weiteres klar, dafs es ältere Handschriften vom LG gegeben haben mufs, die auch die Randnote enthielten, und dafs diese nur von S oder seiner Vorlage weggelassen worden ist, zumal in einem zweiten Fall genau dasselbe geschehen ist.

Dafs nämlich S auch den Einschub Nr. 4 gekannt hat, was van Hamel entgangen ist, geht aus seinem Zitat S. 100 (Nr. 3, b) hervor. Dort fügt S zu dem Bericht, dafs Ceasair als erste Irland besetzt habe, hinzu: *As·berat araile combad Banba ainm na hingine sin ro·gab Erind ria ndilind 7 comad uaithi no·beth Banba for Erind.* Wie man sieht, ist das wörtlich der Satz

[1]) Am Rande.
[2]) *Adon* Handschrift, vielleicht *otha an* oder *and. On* zu lesen.
[3]) Siehe Zu irischen Handschriften, S. 25, Nr. 9.

aus Cín Dromma Snechta, Nr. 4: *Is ed as·bert lebar Droma Snechta comad Banba ainm na cetingine ro·gab Erinn ría ndilind 7 comad uaithi no·beth Banba for Erinn,* nur wiederum mit Unterdrückung der Quellenangabe. Hier wird aber die Quelle in F, BB und Lec. II genannt, ist also nicht erst von BB beigefügt worden. Danach zweifle ich nicht, dafs S oder vielmehr sein Prototyp weiter auch Einschub 6 gekannt hat und ihn nur für seine Darstellung nicht hat gebrauchen können. Denn die vier Einträge aus Cín Dromma Snechta rühren doch wohl sicher von demselben Bearbeiter her.

In der Hs. Lec. I der Version B I ist dieser ganze Teil nicht erhalten; sie würde aber, wie van Hamel mit Recht annimmt, gewifs wie S lesen, da sie sonst ganz mit diesem übereinstimmt. Dagegen Rawl. B. 512 kennt keinen dieser Einträge. Weil es gekürzt hat, meint van Hamel. Das kommt mir nicht sehr wahrscheinlich vor, obschon ich nicht leugnen will, dafs R gelegentlich Kürzungen zeigt (auch aufser der Auslassung aller Gedichte). Eher stellt es die Redaktion B I vor den Interpolationen aus Cín Dromma Snechta dar. In der vierten Hs. von B I endlich, in D. IV. 3, fehlt der Eintrag Nr. 5 und der oben S. 392 f. gedruckte gleichwie in R (S. 104). Wenn die kurze Notiz bei van Hamel (S. 103 unten): „Ceasair = S" buchstäblich zu nehmen ist, würde sie dagegen das Exzerpt aus Eintrag Nr. 4 wie S (S. 100, 3 b) enthalten. In diesem Fall müfste sie eine Mischhandschrift sein.

Auch bei F bin ich nicht ganz sicher, van Hamel genau zu verstehen. Es enthält Eintrag Nr. 4, 5 und kann einst, wie oben bemerkt, 6. enthalten haben. Ob der vierte, oben S. 392 f. gedruckte fehlt, ist nach van Hamels Worten (S. 119) nicht ganz deutlich.[1]) Ist es der Fall, so würde eine spezielle Kürzung von F vorliegen. Jedenfalls nimmt diese Handschrift eine besondere Stellung ein. Da sie einige der Erweiterungen von B I enthält,

[1]) „*LB* (= BB) *has a short passage on the division of Ireland by Partholon's sons. It also occurs in Sa . . . But in a marginal note in LB we are told that the passage is based on the Lebor Dromma Snechta. F omits it, though the whole Gabáil Partholoin is preserved in that Ms.*" Das *it* ist nach dem Zusammenhang wohl eher auf *the passage* als auf *a marginal note* zu beziehen. Zweifelhaft macht das freilich die Notiz S. 106 (Nr. 4 a), F enthalte *a short tract on the division of Ireland by Partholon's sons.* Steht also doch die ganze Stelle in F, und hat sie van Hamel hier nur nicht als Zitat aus Lebor Dromma Snechta bezeichnet, weil es die Hs. nicht tut?



aber nicht alle, zeigt sie, dafs zwischen A und B I Zwischenglieder lagen, auf deren eines sie zurückgeht. Eine Kopie eines dieser Zwischenglieder hatte die vier Einträge aus Cín Dromma Snechta aufgenommen und liegt nicht nur F zugrunde, sondern ist auch von einem Kopisten der B I-Version beigezogen worden, nämlich von demjenigen, der die Vorlage von S und Lec. I geschrieben hat. So sehen wir, dafs, nachdem einmal durch O der Kern geschaffen war, ringsum Neubearbeitungen wie Pilze aufschossen.

Ich bedaure jetzt, mir von B III nur die Sinnvarianten zu A, nicht auch alle blofsen Wortvarianten genau notiert zu haben. Sonst könnte ich durch Abdruck des hergestellten O künftiger Forschung über das LG eine bequemere Handhabe bieten. Aber ich hielt damals eine Ausgabe aller Versionen von LG von anderer Seite für nahe bevorstehend.

Bonn. R. THURNEYSEN.

NOCHMALS FLANN MANISTRECHS GEDICHT: *RÉDIG DAM* USW.

Oben S. 273 habe ich bemerkt, dafs die chronologischen Angaben, die Flann in seiner Versifizierung von Bedas Chronica macht, nicht stimmen, wenn man deren Schlufs, das neunte Regierungsjahr Kaiser Leos III., ins Jahr 725 n. Chr. setzt, dafs sie dagegen stimmen würden, wenn man annehmen dürfte, Flann habe irrigerweise jenes Schlufsjahr dem Jahre 712 n. Chr. gleichgesetzt. Erst nachträglich sehe ich, dafs diese Annahme völlig berechtigt ist. Die Ulster Annalen a. 711 (= 712) und Tigernachs Annalen (Rev. Celt. 17, 223) haben zu diesem Jahr die Notiz: *Beda fecit librum magnum.* Mac Neill (Eriu 7, 76f.) hat geglaubt, damit sei die 703 vollendete Schrift Bedas *De temporibus* (*De natura rerum*) gemeint, von der vielleicht um 712 eine Handschrift nach Irland gelangt sei. Doch war die Annahme schon darum künstlich, weil jene Annalen noch Kaiser nennen, die nach 703 regiert haben, so dafs diese nachträglich ergänzt sein müfsten. Vielmehr ist jetzt unzweifelhaft, dafs mit dem *liber magnus* eben die Chronica gemeint sind.[1]) Und so verstehen wir, weshalb auch Flann ihren Schlufs ins Jahr 712 setzte; es war die bei den irischen Klostergelehrten herrschende Anschauung. Und da er nach eigener Angabe 344 Jahre später gedichtet hat, hat er sein Gedicht im Jahr 1056, seinem Todesjahr, verfafst oder vollendet.

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[1]) Dafs der letzte Kaiser, dessen volle Regierungszeit Beda nennt, Theodosius III., in den Annalen erst acht Jahre später erscheint, gehört zu den vielen Verwirrungen in diesen Geschichtsquellen. Vgl. *Teodorus anno uno* AU 719 = Tigern., Rev. Celt. 17, 227.

Ich brauche also kaum noch zu betonen, dafs wir nicht mehr von einem '*synchronism dated 721*' sprechen dürfen, wie das MacNeill noch oben S. 96 tut, und dafs wir nicht mehr annehmen dürfen, um 712 sei eine Redaktion der gemeinsamen Quelle jener Annalen vorgenommen worden (Eriu 7, 106 f.); es kann dies frühestens nach der Vollendung von Bedas Chronica (725) geschehen sein, kann aber auch viel später fallen.

Bonn. R. THURNEYSEN.

MISCELLEN.

1. Quantitierender Gleichklang in der dritten Strophenzeile irischer Gedichte.

In seiner Abhandlung „Zu irischen Handschriften und Literaturdenkmälern“, Ser. II, S. 24 gibt Thurneysen meine Behauptung zu, daſs im Ausgang der ersten Verse irischer Gedichte, in denen die Langzeilen reimen, quantitierender Gleichklang (Assonanz) herrschen muſs [1]), will aber diese Regel für den dritten Vers nicht gelten lassen. Wenn ich ihn recht verstehe, so verlangt er hier durchaus Konsonanz. Nun leugne ich nicht, daſs dies bei besonders künstlichen Gedichten, wie z. B. Félire Óingusso der Fall ist [2]). Aber auch da genügt Konsonanz allein nicht; das Wort muſs in der Quantität beider Silben mit dem Reimwort übereinstimmen. In der groſsen Mehrzahl der uns erhaltenen Gedichte genügt das letztere; dies aber ist unumgänglich notwendig. Fehlt es, so muſs es durch Reim des Ausganges mit einem Worte im Innern des vierten Verses ersetzt werden, wie das ja auch im Félire der Fall ist.

Um jeden Zweifel an der Richtigkeit dieser Aufstellungen zu bannen, wird es angebracht sein, eine gröſsere Reihe von Beispielen anzuführen. Das Gesetz ist deshalb so wichtig, weil es uns nicht selten in den Stand setzt, die richtige Lesart festzustellen.

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[1]) Fehlt dieser, wie z. B. Fél. Prol. 329 und 333, so gilt die Strophe als *écubaid* „unharmonisch“. Als solche (*can écuibdius*) wird demgemäſs erstere in der Liste von *trefocuil* in LL 37b angeführt.

[2]) Stokes hat dies nicht beachtet, sonst hätte er z. B. Apr. 10 statt *subach* mit R¹BLF *subaid* gesetzt, das der Dichter hier neben *subach* Prol. 100, Apr. 2 anwendet.

In *Saltair na Rann* haben wir ein in *rannaigecht díaltach* abgefafstes Gedicht von 48 Strophen (CLII), von denen 41 durchaus sowohl im Ausgang des ersten wie des dritten Verses quantitierenden Gleichklang aufweisen, was doch kein blofser Zufall sein kann. Das Bestreben, die Zeilen entweder mit lang- oder mit kurzsilbigen Wörtern zu schliefsen, tritt vielmehr deutlich hervor. Da das Gedicht auch sonst mit Binnenreimen durchsetzt ist (*breccad*), so spricht es nicht gegen unser Gesetz, dafs auch das Ausgangswort des dritten, ja häufig auch des ersten Verses auf ein Wort in dem folgenden reimt. Als Verbesserungen ergeben sich 7887/8 *dūib* : *gūir* und 8014/5 ist zu lesen:

cach dū dia dūilib atā ōs bith balcc bladmar frim rē.

Ein anderes in demselben Metrum abgefafstes Gedicht, welches LB 108 b steht, weist in 18 Strophen keine einzige Ausnahme auf. Es ist eben mit strenger Beobachtung aller metrischen Gesetze gebaut, wie denn auch z. B. die Bindung der einzelnen Strophen miteinander durchgeführt ist.

Die von J. O'Neill herausgegebene *Regula Albei* (Ériu III 96 ff.) befolgt das Gesetz in 38 Strophen. In Str. 4 ist mit A[1] *dóini* zu lesen; Str. 7 *dērgnech* und Str. 41 *ossaic ocus indlat dōib | la dērgud cen brōn.*

Viele gute Beispiele finden sich im dritten Bande von E. Gwynns Ausgabe des „Metrical Dindsenchas", so z. B. ein Gedicht von Cināed ūa hArtacāin auf S. 104 ff., wo von 21 Strophen der Gleichklang im dritten Verse nur in vieren fehlt, die ihn durch Reim ersetzen: *-peitted* : *-eper* 11/12, *lēsi* : *lēsi* 31/32, *telchaind* : *Cremthaind* 39/40, *būada* : *rūada* 63/64.

Ein Gedicht in 18 Strophen mit nur drei Ausnahmen (27/28, 43/44, 47/48) steht auf S. 120 ff. Ein anderes von ebenfalls 18 Strophen mit sechs Ausnahmen auf S. 216 ff. Hier ist die zweite Strophe so zu lesen:

Dagmacc Nēit maicc Indūi co nglangart ba hAlldāi
maicc Thait as mac Tabuirn co ramuirn, co rablāi.

Ein Gedicht von 11 Strophen in *rannaigecht,* welches Marstrander in Ériu V 244 herausgegeben hat, weist nur zwei Ausnahmen auf (Str. 2 und 6). An Besserungen ergeben sich

Z. 231 *cāem a chruth*; 233 *mar tūr*; 244 *mōr cell*; aufserdem 236 *d'Ultaib* und 245 *ro-espa a dul ēc do ṡund.*

Auf S. 296 ff. des „Metrical Dindsenchas" haben wir ein in *rindard* verfafstes Gedicht von 17 Strophen mit nur fünf Ausnahmen (11/12, 35/36, 39/40, 43/44, 47/48); auf S. 408 ein anderes in demselben Metrum, wo sich in sechs Strophen nur eine Ausnahme findet (15/16).

In Ériu V 232 hat Marstrander ein Gedicht in *rindard* abgedruckt (vgl. CZ VIII 108), in welchem wir durch Beobachtung unseres Gesetzes wieder mehrere Lesarten richtigstellen können. In Z. 16 ist *āige*, Z. 20 *grăige*, Z. 24 *ăthnai* oder *năthe* und in Z. 28 *srŏtha* (nicht *fātha*) zu lesen.

Als Beispiel von *dechnad* möge ein von Bergin in Anecdota I 47 ff. herausgegebenes, Flann mac Lonāin zugeschriebenes Gedicht dienen, welches in 26 Strophen keine einzige Ausnahme enthält. Freilich bedarf es mehrfacher Verbesserungen. So müssen die Ausgangsworte der ersten Strophe lauten *Rūscaig* : *glēūd* : *bīūd* : *dēūd*, und der Ausgang des ersten Verses in Str. 6 (*co bleachta* Y, *comble*achta D) ist wohl korrupt, da *fērach* (sic leg.): *chōemna* : *-scērad* ein Wort mit langer Paenultima erheischen.

Diese Beispiele werden genügen. Ich glaube danach wiederholen zu dürfen, dafs wer Gedichte in den angeführten und ihnen verwandten Versmafsen durchmustert, bei guten Dichtern das Bestreben erkennen wird, auch im dritten Verse quantitierenden Gleichklang des Ausganges durchzuführen. Das beweist auch die oft gesuchte Wahl des Wortes und die gekünstelte Diktion (cheville) gerade an dieser Stelle.

2. Tätowierung bei den Iren.

In den Mitteilungen aus Zimmers Nachlafs (Zeitschr. IX) findet sich auf S. 103 ein Satz, worin der verstorbene Gelehrte die Ansicht ausspricht, dafs das Bemalen des Körpers bei Britten und Iren auf die Sitte des Tätowierens bei den Urbewohnern zurückgeht. Es läfst sich nun nachweisen, dafs wenigstens die Iren sich gelegentlich auch noch tätowierten, und zwar noch im 9. Jahrhundert.

In Cormacs Glossar heifst es zu dem Worte *ferenn* „Gürtel" — ich zitiere nach dem Buch der Hūi Maine, dessen Bedeutung für die

Textüberlieferung Thurneysen soeben ins rechte Licht gesetzt hat[1]): *Feirenn .i. id bus im colpdai fir, in c[u]ius uice crechthir id crechtha im cholbdu,* d. h. „ein Band um das Schienbein eines Mannes, an dessen Statt ein tätowiertes Band um das Schienbein tätowiert wird". Das Verbum *crechaim* bedeutet nach den einheimischen Glossaren „stigmatize, mark, sear", das Nomen *crechairecht* wird mit „sculpture" wiedergegeben. Auf den menschlichen Körper angewandt wäre das „tätowieren"; an bloſses Bemalen ist nicht zu denken. Es handelt sich also um eine Tätowierung in Gestalt eines Bandes oder Gurtes statt eines wirklichen um das Schienbein, d. h. wohl über der Wade dicht unter dem Knie, da wo heutzutage der Hosenbandorden getragen wird.

Diese Stelle bei Cormac steht nun nicht allein. In dem von Frl. A. Power in Anecdota V 22 abgedruckten Texte, den sie „The Caldron of Poesy" nennt, werden dem Dichter Amargen die Epitheta *glūngel, gairglas, grelīath* (i. e. *grenn-līath* „graubärtig") beigelegt. Hier wird *gairglas* folgendermaſsen erklärt: *colpa īarna crechad nō icatā in colpa glas īarna crechad,* d. h. „ein tätowiertes Schienbein oder einer, der ein blau tätowiertes Schienbein hat". Da hier die blaue Farbe[2]) erwähnt wird, handelt es sich gewiſs um Tätowierung mit Waid (ir. *glaissin*)[3]), das ja auch die Britten zum Bemalen des Körpers benutzten.

3. Die Leibeslänge Christi.

In der Handschrift Rawl. B 512 findet sich auf fol. 52 b 2 folgender Eintrag:

Is hē so tomus cuirp Chrīst arna gab*āil* ó Chonsantīn imp*er* .i. in missūr so thīs do t[h]omus sē hūaire *dēc* 7 is ē sin fad cuirp Chrīst. An lā dochīfe tū in tombus so nī fuige tú bás obann 7 bīaid Īsu subach romat 7 nī urc[h]ōidighend an dīab*al* duit an lá sin 7 c.

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[1]) S. Festschrift für Windisch, S. 9.

[2]) *glas* könnte freilich auch „grün" oder „grau" bedeuten. Ir. T. III 72, 23 wird ein mit Waid gefärbter Mantel *gorm* „dunkelblau" genannt.

[3]) Im Glossar zu *Betha Colmáin* habe ich den Nom. *glaissen* angesetzt, der in dem dort angeführten Kompositum *glaisen-gort* vorzuliegen scheint. Andererseits reimt Ir. T. III 72, 23 der Nom. *glaissin* auf *Caissil*.

„Dies ist das Körpermafs Christi, wie es von Kaiser Konstantin genommen wurde: nämlich man messe das hier unten befindliche Mafs sechzehnmal, dann hat man die Körperlänge Christi. Am Tage wo du dies Mafs siehst wirst du keines plötzlichen Todes sterben und an dem Tage wird Jesus dir freundlich sein und der Teufel dir keinen Schaden tun."

Es ist dann eine Linie gezogen, die nicht ganz 12 cm lang ist, so dafs danach die Leibeslänge Christi sich auf ungefähr 1,90 m belaufen würde.

Berlin. KUNO MEYER.

ZUR IRISCHEN ETYMOLOGIE UND WORTKUNDE.

1. Ogom CI „hier“.

Neben regelmäfsigem COI „hier“, das Marstrander sehr einleuchtend als Ablautform zum altirischen *cé* „hier“ (aus idg. **kei*) erklärt hat (Ériu V 144), kommt auch gelegentlich in derselben Bedeutung die Form CI vor. Marstrander hält CI für eine abgekürzte Schreibung von COI, was an und für sich nicht recht glaublich erscheint, umsomehr als dies dem allgemeinen Brauch der Ogomschrift widersprechen würde, die nur die Schreibung *o* für *oi* kennt, falls es sich nicht etwa um einen dialektischen Unterschied handelt. Die Deutung scheint mir aber anderswo zu liegen. Da nämlich auslautendes unbetontes -*ai*, -*oi* im Irischen noch vor dem Abfall der Endsilben zu -*ī* geworden sind, darf man dies auch für auslautendes vortoniges -*ai*, -*oi* annehmen, wie das Beispiel *dī* „zwei“ aus idg. **dvai* zur Genüge zeigt. Es wird somit auch CI (geschrieben XI) die vortonige Form von COI (geschrieben XOI) darstellen. Noch heute kommen im Neuirischen gewisse Partikeln in vortoniger und haupttoniger Gestalt nebeneinander vor, wie z. B. *ann*, *sin*, usw. (s. Henebry, Sounds of Munster Irish, p. 9).

2. Altirisch **fothae* „Grundlage, Grundregel“.

Form und Etymologie dieses Wortes waren bisher zweifelhaft. Thurneysen setzt einen Nominativ *foth* (Handbuch II 77 b) „Regel, Art, Handlungsweise“ (?) an, ebenso Hessen (CZ IX 51), Pedersen dagegen (Grammatik I 34) einen Nominativ *fotha*. Ein

männlicher Nominativ *foth* wird schon durch den Dativ *don fothu* (Wb 8 c 18) und den Nom.-Akk. Plur. *fotha* (Sg. 4 b 3, BCr. 33 b 4) als unmöglich erwiesen. Wir haben vielmehr deutlich einen *jo*- Stamm vor uns, müssen also als alten Nominativ **fothae* ansetzen, der in Sg. und BCr. schon zu *fotha* geworden ist.

Was die Etymologie anbelangt, so hilft Pedersens Zusammenstellung mit cymrisch *gwadn* „Grundlage, Fuſssohle" nicht viel weiter Wie das nicht-palatale *th* in altir. *fotha* beweist, muſs dem *j* ein dunkler Vokal vorhergegangen sein. Es ergibt sich so ungezwungen eine Grundform **upo* + *tā-jo-* zur Wurzel (*s*)*tā* „stehen", also wörtlich „das darunter befindliche", daher „Grundlage, Grundregel". Die gleiche Bildung liegt in *ass*(*a*)*e* „leicht (erreichbar)" aus **ad-*(*s*)*tā-jo-* vor.

3. Zur Flexion von altirisch *fíu* „Wert, Qualität".

Nach Thurneysen (Handbuch I 182) soll *fíu* der Nominativ zum Genitiv *fe*(*i*)*be* sein; der später belegte Nominativ *feb* sei eine Neubildung nach den übrigen Kasusformen. Dies ist schon deshalb ausgeschlossen, da, wie ich an andern Orten gezeigt habe, der Nominativ *fíu* auf **vēsu-* zurückgeht, während *feibe* auf **vesvjās* mit kurzem *e* zurückgehen muſs. Zu den dort angeführten Gründen, für *fíu* eine Grundform **vēsu-* anzunehmen, kommt noch der weitere Grund, daſs nach den Kontraktionsregeln (Pokorny, Grammar § 126, 3) **vesū-* nur zu *féu*, nie aber zu *fíu* hätte werden können, wie altir. *éu* „Salm" aus *esūss* < *esōks*, *béu* „ich würde sein" aus *besū* < **esō* hinlänglich beweisen.

Auch glaube ich, daſs es mir gelungen ist, den altirischen Genetiv zu *fíu* „Wert, Qualität" aufzufinden. Aus dem idg. Genetiv **vēsous* müſste über **vīsōs* > **vi*(*j*)*ōs* > **fëo* schlieſslich lautgesetzlich *fïo* werden.

Dieses *fïo* liegt tatsächlich in dem Personennamen *Fer Fïo*, z. B. A. U. 761, 842, usw. vor, der dann regelmäſsig zu *Fer Fïa* geworden ist. Die Richtigkeit meiner Annahme erhellt ferner aus dem Namen *Fer Fe*(*i*)*be*, der im Genetiv häufig in der Táin Bó Cúailnge vorkommt, so daſs wir die synonymen *fíu* und *feb* in derselben Namenbildung nebeneinander finden. *fíu* geht somit auf dehnstufiges **vēsu-*, *feb* auf normalstufiges **vesvā* zurück.

4. Ogom NET(T)A(S), NIOT(T)A(S).

J. Mac Neill (Irish Ogham Inscriptions) hat diese beiden Worte als ursprünglich verschieden behandelt. Der Genetiv NE(T)TA(S) soll zu einem Nominativ *NĒTS „Held", NIOT(T)A(S) zu einem Nominativ *NEUTS (< **nepōts*) „Neffe" gehören. Dem gegenüber hat Thurneysen (oben Bd. VIII, 185) vermutet, dafs beide Worte identisch seien; NET(T)A(S) sei vielleicht nur eine archaische Form, aus *NE(P)OTOS kontrahiert; NIOT(T)A(S) sei dann eine jüngere Analogiebildung, durch Einflufs des Nominativs *NIUS (< **nepōts* oder NIOS (< **nepots*) entstanden. Ihm hat sich Marstrander angeschlossen, der (Dictionary of the Irish lang. 121, 43) NETTA mit „*nephew*" übersetzt.

Thurneysens Ansicht ist aber lautlich ganz und gar unmöglich. Es ist mir nicht verständlich, wieso zur Zeit der Ogom-Inschriften eine Kontraktion von *NEOTOS zu NETAS hätte stattfinden können, da die Kontraktion verschiedener Vokale bekanntlich jünger ist, als der Schwund der Endsilben. *NEOTOS hätte somit nach Abfall der Endsilbe im jüngsten Ogom nur zu *NEOT werden können, woraus dann altirisch *nïoth*, *nïath* wurde, das auch tatsächlich belegt ist; übrigens hätte auch eine Kontraktion in jener Zeit nur den Diphthong *éo*, nie aber blofses *e* ergeben können.

Die wirklichen Verhältnisse sind wie folgt:

NETAS ist wirklich der Genetiv des Dentalstammes **nēt-s*, das auf idg. **neit-s* zurückgeführt werden mufs. Aus den vorhandenen Belegen geht deutlich die Bedeutung „Held" hervor. Über die Etymologie hatte sich bisher nur Macbain (Etym. Dictionary s. v. *niata*) geäufsert, der Zusammenhang mit griechisch ὄνειδος annimmt; abgesehen von der Bedeutung ist dies schon lautlich unmöglich, weil altkeltisch **nēd-odjo-* nur neugälisch **niada*, nicht aber *niata* ergeben hätte. Ich vermute, dafs altkeltisch *nēt-s* bis auf die Endung genau dem altind. *nétā* „Führer" entspricht, wozu mit anderem Ablaut *náyati* (< **neieti*) „führt", *nītis* „Führung", mittelpersisch *nītan* „führen", gehören. Die Grundbedeutung von keltisch **nēts* war also „Führer, Heerführer", später dann „Held".

Keltisch **nēts* mufste altirisch zu *né* werden, das mittelirisch nach Mac Neill in der Form *né* und *nae* tatsächlich in BB 222 β¹ 33 und 149 β¹ 35 überliefert ist. Sonst erscheint

mittelirisch der Nominativ fast immer in der Gestalt *nía*, oder *nath*, *nad*. Die Form *nía* verhält sich zu *né* ungefähr wie **cía* „wer?“ zu -*té* „er möge gehen“. *né* ist, ebenso wie -*té* die regelmäſsige betonte Form. Trat aber archaisches *né*, wie es meist der Fall war, namenbildend auf, etwa in der gleichen Funktion, wie *cú* „Schlachthund“ (vgl. den Namen *Cú Chorbb* neben *Nía Corbb*), so wurde es mit dem folgenden Namen als eine Einheit empfunden und das *é* wurde nicht wie auslautendes, sondern wie inlautendes *é* behandelt und daher zu *ía* diphthongiert, ebenso wie idg. **k̯ʷei* „wer?“ wegen seines engen Anschlusses an folgende Worte zu *cía* wurde. Gelegentlich wird auch die Form *ní(a)e* überliefert, die in altirischer Zeit durch Anlehnung an die zahlreichen Nominative auf -*e* entstanden ist. Später muſste daraus wieder *nía* werden.

Der Nominativ *nath*, *nad* ist von dem bei Namen naturgemäſs sehr häufigen Genetiv bezogen; hier ist, wie auch sonst oft, die Genetivform zur einzigen Namensform geworden. Die in *Macc-nïo*, *Cath-nïo* (A. U. 708, 769) vorliegende Nominativform *nïo* ist dem Paradigma von NIOT(T)A(S) entlehnt.

Der altirische Genetiv von *né*, *ní(a)e* der dem Ogom NET(T)A(S) entspricht, lautet *níath* archaisch *nēth* (Thes. II 273). Daneben kommt auch der dem Paradigma des Wortes „Schwestersohn“ entlehnte Genetiv *nïoth* (z. B. *Nioth-fer*) vor, der dann im Lauf der altirischen Periode mit *níath* zusammenfallen muſste. Die sehr häufige Form *nath* (vor *s* : *nat*), *nad* ist in proklitischer Stellung aus *níath* hervorgegangen. Auch *níath* trug nicht den Hauptakzent, doch wechselte der Grad der Betonung je nach der Stellung im Satz, so daſs dasselbe Wort oft in verschiedenen Formen überliefert ist (s. oben 1.).

Nun zum Paradigma von NIOT(T)A(S). Dieses geht auf vorkeltisches **nepotos* zurück, den Genetiv von **nepōts*, das im Altirischen „Schwestersohn“ bedeutet. *nepōts*, *nepotos* wurde urkeltisch zu **nĕūts*, **nĕotos*. Daraus sollte man altirisch *néu*, Gen. *nïath*, *nïad* (archaisch *nïoth*) erwarten. Dieser Genetiv ist auch tatsächlich erhalten, die Form *nïoth* jedoch nur im Paradigma von *né*, *ní(a)e* „Held“, wo sie schon früher eingedrungen ist.

Der Nominativ muſs aber altirisch *nïo*, später *nïa* gelautet haben, denn diese Form im Paradigma von *né*, *ní(a)e* ist auch nur als Entlehnung zu erklären. Altirisch *nïo* an Stelle des berechtigten **néu* erklärt sich sehr einfach durch Entlehnung

der Vokale aus dem Genetiv *nïoth*. Der Nominativ *ní(a)e* ist natürlich dem Paradigma von *né* „Held" entnommen. Der archaisch (A. U. 692) überlieferte Genetiv *nieth* mufs aus derselben Quelle stammen. Wir haben hier nur eine ungenaue Schreibung für den Diphthong *ía* vor uns, wie in *Clied* (= *Cliath*), Thes. II 277. *nïath* mufste in der Proklise natürlich auch zu *nath*, *nad* werden.

Wir sehen also, dafs die Paradigmen beider Worte schon früh ineinandergeflossen sind. Die Gründe sind ganz klar. Vor allem konnte leicht eine funktionelle Verwechslung der namenbildenden Elemente stattfinden, sobald deren ursprüngliche Bedeutung verwischt war. Zur Veranschaulichung der weiteren Gründe stelle ich beide Paradigmen etwa zur Zeit von Wb. im Nom. und Gen. nebeneinander. Formen, die eine Veränderung durch Analogiebildung erlitten haben, stelle ich in eckige Klammern.

	„Held"	„Schwestersohn"
Nomin.	*né, nía,* [*ní(a)e*]	[**né, nïo, nïa*]
Gen.	*níath, níad, nat(h), nad*	*nïath* (arch. *nïoth*), *nïad, nath, nad.*

Den Nominativ *né* „Schwestersohn" habe ich angesetzt, weil sich so die Vermischung in archaischer Zeit noch leichter erklärt. Wenn wir nämlich annehmen, dafs uririsch **nĕūts* schon vorhistorisch durch Einflufs der Casus obliqui zu *nĕōts* geworden sei, so würde das archaisch die angesetzte Form **né* ergeben haben, die mit dem lautgesetzlichen *né* „Held" genau übereinstimmte, und dadurch die Vermischung schon in archaischer Zeit (die, wie erwähnt, übrigens auch rein funktionell erklärt werden könnte) herbeigeführt haben. Altirisch fielen auch die Genetivformen lautgesetzlich fast gänzlich zusammen, so dafs uns schliefslich nur mehr der Name der eponymen Ahnherren einen Aufschlufs darüber zu geben vermag, welches der beiden Worte ursprünglich dem Namen voranging.

Wien. JULIUS POKORNY.

EINE VARIANTE DER BRENDAN-LEGENDE.

In seinen *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1910), S. XLI, bemerkt C. Plummer, daſs sich eine irische Brendan-Geschichte in vier Handschriften findet, in Egerton 1781, fo. 152 d, im *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* (II fol. 50 v, a nach Gwynn's Bezeichnung) und in zwei Hss. zu Brüssel: 5100—5104, S. 13 und 2324—2340 fo. 70 b. Ohne mich dieser Notiz zu erinnern, habe ich 1911 die eine der beiden Brüsseler Hss. abgeschrieben und dann *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* in Dublin damit verglichen. Michael O'Clery, der Schreiber der Brüsseler Hs. 5100—5104, macht hinter dem nächstfolgenden Stück eine Angabe über seine Quelle: *Asan leabhar do scriobh Murcha*dh *o Cuinnhs*[1]) *.i. an leabhur do scrioba*dh *gach a ḃfuil san catternæ so hi cconueint bratar* [*innsi no*[2])] *chuinnche hi Ttuadmum*ain. *30 Junii 1634.*

Der Text enthält — abgesehen von einer ihm eigentümlichen Einleitung — nur vier Abenteuer Brendans: 1. die Osterfeier auf dem groſsen Fisch; 2. die Beruhigung eines Meeresstrudels; 3. der Blick durch die Türe der Hölle; 4. Judas Ischarioth. Die Schilderung der Qualen in 3. und 4. ist offenbar der Hauptzweck des Erzählers. Er vergiſst darüber, daſs er anfangs in Aussicht gestellt hat, daſs Brendan das Land der Verheiſsung aufsuchen wird, und bricht nach der Judas-Episode jählings ab. Ein groſses Stück der Erzählung findet sich nun wörtlich gleich noch einmal in der irischen Literatur, nämlich in dem Brendan-Leben, das in mehreren Hss., aber überall mit fehlendem Schluſs auf uns gekommen ist, und das Stokes vornehmlich nach dem Buch von Lismore herausgegeben hat[3]). Es entsprechen sich fast genau

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[1]) Kaum *·lis*. [2]) Diese Wörter sind auspunktiert.

[3]) Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore 99 ff., Übersetzung 247 ff. Über andere Hss. s. ebenda S. 349.

S. 411, 4—414, 20 unseres Textes (also Episode 1—3) mit Zeile 3589 —3594, 3601—3608, 3615—3668 von *Betha Brenainn*. Nicht ganz leicht ist zu sagen, ob dieser Abschnitt aus *Betha* entlehnt ist. Dagegen könnte man anführen, dafs die Strophe 3611—3614 (nebst 3608—3610) über die siebenjährige Reise des Heiligen, die mit dem Vorhergehenden im Widerspruch steht und offenbar ein sekundärer Einschub ist, in unserem Text fehlt; doch kann das selbständige Kürzung sein. Dafs umgekehrt *Betha* aus ihm geflossen wäre, ist schon dadurch ausgeschlossen, dafs gerade nur in den übereinstimmenden Abschnitten unseres Textes die Gedichte fehlen, die in den selbständigen, der Einleitung und der Judas-Episode, jeweils der Prosa folgen; für jene war also eine andere Quelle vorhanden. Ferner dadurch, dafs die Warnung des Teufels in Episode 3, der Blick in die Hölle ziehe den Tod des Betreffenden nach sich, nur in *Betha*, nicht in unserem Text sich bewahrheitet; auch durch den S. 418 Anm. 1 erwähnten Fehler, der in *Betha* nicht vorhanden ist. Höchstens könnte man annehmen, dafs beide aus einer gemeinsamen Quelle schöpfen. Das wäre bewiesen, wenn unser Text auch bessere oder altertümlichere Lesarten zeigte als *Betha*. Doch habe ich fast nichts in diese Richtung Weisendes gefunden. *Fethnaigis* S. 412, 5 ist an sich wohl altertümlicher als *ro·fethnuig* (*Betha* 3623), aber doch auch als Neuerung denkbar. So bleibt wohl nur die Lesart (*Moighi loma*) *loiscthecha* 'nackte brennende Felder' S. 414, 4, die besser sein dürfte als *loiscnecha* 'voll Kröten' (*Betha* 3662). Daraufhin wage ich aber keine Entscheidung.

Im Folgenden gebe ich den Text der Brüsseler Handschrift (B); die unbezeichneten Varianten stammen aus dem *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* (F), das fehlerhafter geschrieben ist und namentlich in der Beschreibung der Hölle stark gekürzt hat. Die Überschrift lautet in B: *Do da apstol dég Eirenn*, in F: *eir*(?) *Brenuinn Birre antso*.

* * *

I. Bator da apstol decc na hEr*enn* hi Ccluain Iraird ic a foglaim oc Findian, co·nderna Findian fleidh dona hapstolaibh et do næmhaibh Er*enn* archena. Amhail rob ainiu doibh ic comhól na fleidhe, conus·aicet in scoith ndífreccra ndimoir cuca

1 Batur tra easbul Idhaird 2 Finnen 3 *f.* robadar ann acomhonafleighi sin 4 cofacadur ndicra

dind comart[h]a tire tarng*ire*. Is ann dī ro·fas bruth 7 comhairle acu im dol d iarr*aidh* tire na scoithi. Nochar·gabh nech do laimh sech a chele dibh dul ann, co·ndernadh crandchor etorra .i. it*ir* cech ndís dibh, co·tarla iarsin donda Brenainn dol ann. Cuirit
5 dī anda Brenainn crannchor eturra fodein, cip e dibh dia·roisedh dul d iarr*aidh* tire tairng*ire*. Ro·soich dī do Brenainn Birræ dol ann. Is annsin dī ro·chuir næmhu Er*enn* uile hi socht 7 a n-imsniomh ar a doilghe leo a roctain don tsenoir .i. do sinns*er* næmh Er*enn* 7 do ṡúi na faitsine dul i cræs mara 7 morfairrge.
10 Conadh annsin at·bert Brenainn mac Findlogha: 'Meisi an sósar, is mé raghas arin fairrge'.

Conidh dó ro·chan in laídh si:

Batar ic foghlaim trein treall. da apst*ol* dég na hEr*enn*
ac Finnen co fichtib ceall. cansat co léir a leighenn¹).
15 Co·n-acaiset cuca ịn scaith. in comunn féta fírmaith
ota tír thairng*ire* ndaith. o righ na righ on righflaith.
Ro·raidhset uile malle. ba dia ccomhairlibh maithe
co roctain dal diamhair de. d iarr*aidh* tire na scoithe.
Scarthus dia da cech dis doib. forba saethuir na sennæimh
20 do réir cranncair amra uill. co·tarla donda Bhrenuinn.
Coros·bennach dia datha. cona lestraibh lindbracha.
Brenainn Birræ buaidh flat[h]a. is Brenainn mac Findlacha.
Cor·cuirset crandchor caemh nglan. a fiad*nais*e na n-aps*tal*
Brenainn Birra gusin mbladh. is dó do·rala ịn astar.
25 Innsa re n-ǽs cumtha coir. co cornaibh finda fledhóil
a dál ar luí mara moir. a súi slan is a senoir.
'Daigh im sósa[r] sunn cose'. ar Brenainn oc i n-airde
'gidh bas damh inní bias de. meisi raghas ar fairrge.'

1 dínn com*ur*tha brudh 2 aca *B* 3 *f.* .i. ca dís dibh dia·roiseadh dul ann codarla 4 *f.* 7 cuiridh andis sin fein crannchor aturru 5 *f.* cia daibh do·rachadh ann 6 Rosoith doñ. 7 docuiredh næmdhu 9 Eir- dul ann .i. do ṡai na faisdíni dul 11 rachas 12 Conadh annsin ad·bert na briathra so ann 13 Badar ac foghnum 14 oc Fíndean in leighinn 15 Cufacad*ur* qucu 16 o tir an righfl- 18 dail *B* diaraidh 19 Scarthais *B*, Scart*ur* *F* forla *B*, f*ur*ba *F* sætair *B* 22 Finnloggha 23 a fiadhnuisi na n-easbbul 24 dó *om.* 25 cumta *B* 26 ar lai mar 27 mac F|Finnlaighi (*statt* oc i n-a.) 28 badhas (*für* gidh bas) *B* anní

¹) In B sind die beiden letzten Halbverse umgestellt, in F lautet der Schlufs in beiden Zeilen aus Versehen: *cansat co leir in leighinn*. In B steht neben der Strophe am Rande: *Brenainn Cluana Ferta*.

Is annsin dī do·ron*adh* digrais curaigh la Brenainn .i. ar
m*ét* 7 luchtmaire .i. coiciur ar cethracha[i]t 7 tri *sechtmogh*a[i]t,
is e lín do·coid isin curach.

II[1]). Seolais iarsin Brenainn mac Findlogha for tonngar
in mara mongruaidh 7 for treathan na ttonn ttaobhuaine 7 for 5
cichanaigh in tsaili sithguirm 7 i mbeolu in aiccein ionganta*igh*
ilphiastaigh .i. airm i·fuaratar ilar mbleidhmil muiridi. Is annsin
dī fo·gebdís ailéna aille ingantacha, 7 ni·thairistis inntib sin beos.

Batar dī co cenn mbl*iadh*na aran imramh sin. Is annsin
ba comhfoc[h]raibh don caiscc. Batar a mh*uinter* aca radh fri 10
Brenainn dula for tir do ceilebradh na cascc. 'Is tualaing dia'
ol Brenainn 'talamh do tab*airt* duinn in cech inad bus ail dó'.
Iar tictain na cascc trá is annsin tóccbais in mil mór a formna
i n-airde osin muir suas, corbo talamh comhard cobhsaidh coraighti
comhlethan comreidh comhalainn. Tiacchait iarsin forin talum 15
sin et ceilebhrait in caiscc annsin .i. oenla 7 da oidhche doibh
isin inad sin, co·tarnaca[i]r leo ord cascc do denamh. Tiaghait
iarsin ina curach. Sceinnidh in míl mór iarsin fon muir. Cech
uair ba comhfachraibh in caíscc cecha bliadhna, no·tócbadh in
míl mór a druim osin muir, coma talom tirim techtaidhe. 20

III. Fechtus dī batar forin aiccen, con·acatar na srotha ...[2])
dermaire, dosrengait[3]) dī an t-anfad dar a n-aindéoin co bord
na sæbhcoire. Is annsin ros·gabh imeccla mór iat fri med a

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1 *ff.* caur- *B*, Is annsin doronadh dighruis curaidh aird lu*cht*mur*e* cuig*ur* ar .xl. 7 *tri* .uii.m*a*dad robbe a lín cu*m* in curaidh *F* 4 Soilus 6 a mbel 7 .i. m*ura* afuaradar fiadhmila 8 dogeibdis oilein sin *om.* 10 comfochraibh doibh an caisg aga radha 11 dul fo thir 12 is ail leis fein 13 tia*cht*uin dotog 14 cosbhaidh cor. comhl. *om.* 15 coimreigh doibsium sin. Tiaguid forsan tal- sin 7 ceileabradsad an*n* caisc .i. 16 .i. *om.* *B* 17 ann do (*so!*) cotarrnacair na casc 18 7 sgeinneas fo muir gach uair dī 19 doib in caisc 20 curba tal- te*cht*aidi he 21 Feacht (dī *om.*) dobadar forsan cofacadur 22 dosragairb darnai*m*dheoin 23 dogob|b aneagla mor iat re hai*n*bíni an anfaidh dogob an t-aigen

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[1]) Hier beginnt die Übereinstimmung mit *Betha Brenainn* (ed. Stokes), Zeile 3589.

[2]) B läßt freien Raum für ein Wort. F hat: *na srotha diana eanda*; Beatha Bren. (Lism.): *srotha doimne dubha in mara mongruaidh*, Pariser Hs.: *srotha doimne acgarba* 7 *saobchoiredha dermaire dubha in mara mongruaidh*. Wohl zu lesen: *na srotha doinenda dermaire*.

[3]) Wohl *dos·rimairt* zu lesen (*dorimartus* Betha Br.).

ainbthine. Gabhais cach dibh acc fecchadh i n-aghaidh Brenainn, uair roba dermair in gab*udh* i·rabhat*ur*. Toccbais iarsin Brenainn a ghuth co hard, conidh ann as·bert: 'Is lor duit, a mhuir mhor sa', olse 'meisi m oenar do bhadhadh, et léicc uait in luct sa'.
5 Is ann dī fet[h]naigis in muir fo*ched*oír, ⁊ toirnit feicheda na sæbhcoire ó sin amach riamh ⁊ nir·irchoítigset do neoch eile.

IV. A mbatar ann la n-aile [p. 14] forin muir, tainic diabul chuca i ndeilbh sentu aduathmaire inglaine ifernaidhe, co·ndesidh for seol in churaigh i fiadhnaisi Brenainn a ǽnur. Ní·facaid dī
10 nech dib siumh é acht Brenainn a ænar. Iarfaighis Brenainn do dhiabhal, cid ma·tánic a hifern riana aimsir coir .i. ria n-aimsir na heiseirghe moire. 'Is aire im̄ tanac' or diab*hal*, 'd iarraidh mo phianta i clúsalaibh doimhnibh in mara duibh dorcha sa'. Iarfaighis Brenainn dosomh: 'Cidh ón, caít it*ir* a·fuil in loc
15 ifernaidhe sin?' — 'Truagh sin' ar diab*al*, 'ní·cumhaing nech a faicsin et se beo iarsin'. Is annsin foillsighis diab*al* dorus if*irn* do Brenainn. Et feghais Brenainn iarsin in carcair ngairbh nguirm sin lan do bréntaidh, lán do lasair, lan do mhosair, lán do longp*ur*taib na ndemhnu neimhnech, lan do ghol ⁊ do eígim
20 ⁊ do ercoid, ⁊ gaire truagha ⁊ nuallguba mora, golfadach ⁊ basgaire na tuath peactach ⁊ bethu dubach bronach hi cridhe phéine, i carcraibh teinntigibh, i sruamhaibh na sretha sírteinedh, i cailiuch bithbroin ⁊ baís cen chrích cen forcenn, i lathachaibh dorchaibh, i cathairib tromlasar, i n-imat broin ⁊ bais ⁊ ríagh ⁊
25 cuimreach ⁊ tromtreas ndichumhaing co mbloedhgail adhuathmair na ndemhna neimhn*each* i n-aidhci bithdorcha bithuair bithbréin bithsalaigh bithchiamhair bithghairbh bithfoda bithmuichnig

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1 ⁊ gab*us* ag fedadh Brenuinn ana adhaidh 2 dobu 3 leor 4 do bat*hu*d am ænur in lu*cht* so slan gan frithorchuin 5 annsin fethnaigheas fethedha 6 ·urcoidigh doibh tre bithu. 7 Am- robadar cotainic *B* 8 seanta condeisi 10 na enur 11 do*n* diabul cid u*m*tainig hif*r*inn 12 moiri ar in diabul d iaraid mo pianta a cusalaib 13 phiantas *B* 14 de sin inafuil *B* 15 Truadh amh sin ar in diabu ·comaigh neach beo a haithle na pian remhraiti sin dfaicsin 16 dfoillsigh an diab- 17 if*r*inn ngairbh *om.* 18 brentus moindsair 19 demun (*statt* na d.) 20 ⁊ gartha nualldubа golgaire ⁊ basgaire 21 a craidhuib peini 22 sreath (*statt* na sr.) 23 broin 24 *ff.* ⁊ a cairibh tromlasracha teinntighi, a n-imud peinid *eth* (*lies* etir?) cuimhrecha coimceanguilti aduathm*ur* na peinid suthaine bidhdorcha bidfuar 27 *f.* bidhfota gacha huilc .i. marbhthaibh malartaidh na n-anmand n-eggraibeach a sleibthibh sirtineadh

mharbthaig malartaigh muchna mhongteinntigh iccair imnair adheitig iff*irn*, hi slesaibh sliabh sírtheinedh cen anadh cen airisemh, acht sluaig demhna ic tarraing na pecthach i carcraib troma tenna tee tenntighi, dorcha doimhne diamhra dímaine dæra dubha deinmecha, salcha seda senta sirbrena sirdebtach sirtrodach 5
sirscith sirmarb sirbeo. Gol ger garcc goethach golfartach gréchda geranach gothach goirt gergairmnech gubhudach.

Cruma croma cruaidhi calma cendmora.
Piasta buidhe bana belmora.
Leomain lonna lanluatha leidmeacha. 10
Sebaic roda ruadha roarda.
Drecain dercca duba dronnmora deinmecha.
Ticcri trena tuathb*er*taigh.
Scoirpi gorma gimacha.
Griba garba goibgera. 15
Cuile goirte guilbnecha.
Creabair croma cruadhghobacha.
Farcha troma iarnaighe.
Susta senta sengarba.

Claidhbe gera. Gai ruadha. Demna dubha. Teinnti brena. 20
Srotha neime. Cait ac sgribadh. Coin ag leadradh. Gaduir ag tabann. Demhuin ag blæghaidh. Essa brena. Lathacha mora. Cuithe dorcha. Glenda doimhne. Sleibhti arda. Creaca cruaidhe. Sluaigh demhna. Longport salach. Pian cen anadh. Saithe sanntach. Tochur meinic. Troid cen fuireach. Demhna acc 25
pianadh. Imad riagha. Betha bronach.

Airm i·filet srotha secdha,
serba senta sirbréna,
lobhta legtha loisctecha,
loma luatha lantei lethna, 30
cumga cruaidhe cairrgeacha,

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2 *f.* can tairisiumh forro 3 do demhnuimh aca na p. *om.* 3—6 a carrcaib cumga teinntighi 7 gola gera goirti gaibht*hecha*. 8 7 cruma ceannreamra 9 7 piasta bana *om.* 10 lanl. *om.* 11 7 seabuic roarda *om.* 12 7 dreaguin dearga 7 dœla duba dronnmor (deinm. *om.*) 13—15 *om.* 17 cruaidh- 18 Farchada 20 Demhna dæra dubha Teinnti br. *om.* 21 *f.* Cait *bis* blæghaidh *om.* *B* 22 Locha brena 23 Cuirti dorchad Creacha 24 Piana 25 Toch. m. *om.* 26 rig-d 27 *f.* srotha sirbrena (*dann fehlt alles bis S. 414, 6*)

foda fuara fodomna,
beca mora feichtecha.
Sirthe sínte súaiti sothoirsecha.
Moighi loma loiscthecha.
5 Tulcha corra gímacha.
Glenda croma crumhacha.
Mointi garbha deilccnecha.
Coillti dubha teinntighi.
Slighti salcha biastaighi.
10 Mara techta tulbréna.
Cloithi aidble iarn*aidh*e.
Us*ce* duba doimhillsi.
Aiddi imda examhla.
Samhud salach sírlobtha.
15 Gætha goirti geimhreta.
Snechta [15] secda sirsilte.
Lanna derga teinnt*idh*e.
Gnuse déra dubhacha.
Demhna luatha leidm*ech*a.
20 Piana aidble eccsamhla[1]).

V. Iar faicsin na pian sin do Bhrenainn co·cualaidh in nuallgubha ndermair ndofulachta n-etualaing 7 in chúi chiamair attruagh et in golgaire ndichumhaing i fudomain iochtair if*irn*. Is annsin roghabh imeccla in cler*ech* fri adhuath na troighi sin.
25 Conidh annsin at·connairc Brenainn in carraic ndermair, is fuirre sidhe ro·búi a n-at·cualaidh. 7 ticedh in muir ifern*aidh*e da cech aird darsin carraicc .i. tonn teinedh dubhruaidhe anair thairsi 7 tonn uar eighreta aniar cech re fecht. Is annsin bui oénduine truagh ina ṡesamh forsin carraic. Iarfaighis Brenaind de, cuich é.
30 'Hiúdas Scarioth meisi' olse. 'Et is me do·rec mo thigerna do

7 7 mointi dilgneacha 8 7 coillti 9 7 slithidh salach piasdaidhi 10 te*cht*aidhi tubrena 11—14 *om.* 15 7 gætha 16—19 *om.* 20 examhla 7 rl. 21 faicsin t*ra*th na peíni do dochualaid ạ nuallduba truadh a fod*umh*uin if*r*inn. 24 dogabh aneagla ansæmcleireach fri hadhuath-m*uracht* na peinidh nocual- 25 adcun*n*uirc furri (sidhe *om.*) 26 robi an troighi romor rocualaidh 7 dotigheadh if*er*nntuidhisi do 27 don carraic dubhr. *om.* anoir tairsibh 7 tonna fuar 28 aníar tairsibh *gach* re fe*acht* Is anns. *bis* carraic *om.* 29 ce he fein 30 iudas sgario misi roreac

[1]) Damit hört die Übereinstimmung mit *Betha Br.* (Z. 3668) auf.

chinn airccit 7 innmais dhímiccn*igh* dimaoin in tsaog*ail* .i. Isu Cr*ist* mac de bí. Et as dermair' olsé 'm*ét* mo phian n-examhail. 7 biat am*al* at·cí siu o'níu cotí in brath'. Is annsin ro·chúi Bren*ainn* fri mét na troighi, i·facaidh Iúdas do beith. Conidh ann do·righne na runna becca sa oc taithmet a peini do Brenoind: 5

Iudas Scarioth me ịndiu. for tonnaib na trenḟairrgiu
truagh mo betha gaibthech gorm. icom pian*adh* i n-ifornd.
O thuind tein*edh* for tuind uair. o thuind uair for cech tuinn trein
mé 'com pian*adh* as cech aird. truagh in gairm mo b*eth* i pein.
Maircc damh sa treccadh mo righ. olc in gnímh fa·tucus laimh 10
beithir de tria bithu sír. cen sídh is cen ceannsa saimh.
Hichtar if*irn* cech re n-uair. truagh in grifing bís fóm thæbh
demhnu dubha bít im dháil. uch a lágh ní cuma cæmh.
Maircc do·righne maircc do·gni. maircc a t[h]urus for bith cé
intí do·ní saint tar ró. maircc fa dó 7 maircc a dhé. 15
Maircc damh sa mo saint rom·baidh. demhnu ga[i]rcc at·cim [arnuair
maircc mo turus a dé dáibh. maircc do·raidh mo cubhus crúaidh.
Uch a Brenainn fég*aidh* me. ce*ch* a n-dénaim damh is mo
if*ern* dona dǽr dubh dall. uch as ann atú sa béo. 20
Uchán uch luach braith mo righ. co sírsir do·ghebh a olc
tricha circull airccit báin. is e sin do·craidh mo chorp.
[1])Ar innmhus tucus mo righ. uch is tríd as olc mo díl
ní·mair in t-ionnmus dom réir. mairim si ị péin tria bith sír.
Uch nach marbh me ạ m*eic* mo de. uch as garb do·geibhim gleo 25
uch me ạr lasadh cuma *cet*. ni·ḟaghaim éc acht mé béo.
Crumha croma bit fom t[h]æbh. dubha donna truagh in baigh
gair· tafaind ann cech re n-uair. trua[i]gh in grafaing bít im dhail.

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1 7 innm. *bis* tsaogail *om.* 2 olsé *om.* peiní examl . . si . . leith 3 7 bed m*ur* docith siu annsin t*ra* dochai 4 na peini do b. *om.* 5 na roinn ag taithmeach a p. *om.* *B* 6 Híudas sgario induí *B*, aníumh *F* 7 gaifech 8 fuair fuair 9 gum airm *B* beith a 10 treig-d ·tucas 11 bithiu *B* ce*n* annsa *B*, gan ceannsu *F* 12 if*rinn* grifuing 13 deamna um dhal alá 14 ar beith ceídh 16 demna garga 18 cubhais 19 fedhaidh is ro 20 if*r*inn 21 luath 22 ce*r*call 23 tugus trit is 24 nir(?)roibh in*n*mus tre 25 mu is 26 goma *B* nifadai*m* eg beith beo 27 an biad 28 tabhuinn an grabaing anam gaid

[1]) Diese Strophe steht in F erst nach S. 416, 2.

Uch a aircit mairce do·gni. uch do·airccis mé fam dé
uch a ionnmais bhréc*caigh* bain. uch is plaigh ro·imres féin.
Maille re demhnaibh atu. uch rom·medhradh olc mo gné
do·clos tre diumus mo gnaoi. is Iudas Scarioth me.
Iudas Scarioth.

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1 doairgis fande 2 bregaidh plaidh doimruis 3 deamnaim romeadhradh gneith 4 gnaidh sgario 5 Scar. *om*.

* * *

I. Die zwölf Apostel Irlands waren in Clonard in der Lehre bei Finden; da bereitete Finden den Aposteln und den übrigen Heiligen Irlands ein Gelage. Wie sie am schönsten beim gemeinsamen Trunke des Gelages waren, sahen sie eine gewaltige Blume ohnegleichen als (?) Zeichen[1]) des Landes der Verheifsung zu ihnen (kommen). Da wuchs nun in ihnen der Drang und der Entschlufs zu gehen, das Land der Blume zu suchen. Keiner erlangte es vor dem anderen dahin zu gehen, bis das Los zwischen ihnen geworfen wurde, nämlich zwischen jedem Paar von ihnen, so dafs es dann die zwei Brenainn traf, hinzugehen. Nun warfen die zwei Brenainn das Los zwischen sich selbst, welchem von ihnen es zukäme zu gehen, das Land der Verheifsung zu suchen. Nun traf es Brenainn von Birr dorthin zu gehen. Da versanken nun alle Heiligen Irlands in Schweigen und Sorge, weil es sie bekümmerte, dafs es dem Senior, d. h. dem Ältesten der Heiligen Irlands und dem Weisen der Wahrsagung, zufiel in den Schlund des Meeres und der grofsen See zu gehen. Da sprach Brenainn, der Sohn Findlugs: 'Ich bin der jüngere, ich werde auf die See gehen'. Und dazu sang er dieses Lied:

Es waren beim heftigen edlen Lernen die zwölf Apostel Irlands; bei Finden mit zwanzigen von Klöstern sangen sie eifrig ihre Lektion.

Da sahen sie die Blume zu sich (kommen), die wackere, wahrhaft gute Versammlung, vom glänzenden Land der Verheifsung, vom König der Könige, vom königlichen Herrscher.

Sie sagten alle miteinander — es gehörte zu ihren guten Beschlüssen —, sie wollten bis zum Zusammentreffen mit Gottes Geheimnissen das Land der Blume suchen.

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[1]) Eher 'das hervorragende Zeichen'.

Gott benahm jedem Paar von ihnen, den alten Heiligen[1]), die Vollendung der Mühsal zugunsten eines herrlichen, grofsen Loswurfs, so dafs es den zwei Brenainn zufiel.

Da segnete sie der Gott des Glanzes nebst ihren Gefäfsen mit Biermalz, den Brenainn von Birr, die Siegeskraft des Herrschertums, und Brenainn den Sohn Findlugs.

Da warfen sie das liebliche, lautere Los in Gegenwart der Apostel; Brenainn von Birr mit dem Ruhm — ihm fiel die Reise zu.

Schwer war für die Leute der würdigen Versammlung mit den schönen Trinkhörnern des Festtrunks das Zusammentreffen ihres heilen Weisen und ihres Seniors mit dem Tritt[2]) des grofsen Meeres.

'Weil ich hier bis jetzt der jüngste bin', sagte Brenainn der Junge in Erhabenheit, 'mag mir auch werden, was daraus werden wird — ich werde auf die See gehen'.

Da wurde durch Brenainn ein treffliches Boot bereitet nach Gröfse und Bemannung, nämlich 45 und dreimal siebzig, das war die Zahl, die ins Boot stieg.

II. Darauf segelte Brenainn, der Sohn Findlugs, auf dem Wogengetöse des rotmähnigen Meeres und auf der See der grünseitigen Wogen und auf dem Geheul der tiefblauen Salzflut und in den Schlund des wunderbaren bestienreichen Ozeans, da wo sie eine Menge von Meeresungetümen fanden. Dort fanden sie auch schöne, wunderbare Inseln, und sie hielten sich nicht weiter auf ihnen auf.

Nun waren sie bis zum Ende eines Jahres auf dieser Fahrt. Da war Ostern nahe. Sein Gefolge sagte zu Brenainn, sie wollten an Land gehen, um Ostern zu feiern. 'Gott vermag' sagte Brenainn 'uns ein Land zu geben an jedem Ort, wo es ihm beliebt'. Als dann Ostern gekommen war, da hob das grofse Tier seinen Rücken in die Höhe über das Meer hinauf, so dafs er hohes, festes, ordentliches, breites, ebenes, schönes Land war. Darauf gingen sie auf dieses Land und feierten dort Ostern. Nämlich einen Tag und zwei Nächte waren sie an diesem Ort, bis sie das Oster-Ritual vollendet hatten. Darauf gingen sie in ihr Boot. Dann verschwand das grofse Tier unters Meer. Jedesmal

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[1]) Der Nom. Pl. *na sennœimh* nimmt *doib* wieder auf.

[2]) Kaum 'Steuerruder'.

wenn Ostern jedes Jahr nahe war, hob das grofse Tier seinen Rücken über das Meer, so dafs er trockenes, gehöriges Land war.

III. Einst nun waren sie auf dem Ozean, als sie stürmische, gewaltige Strömungen sahen. Der Sturm drängte sie gegen ihren Willen zum Rand des Strudels. Da ergriff sie gewaltige Furcht bei der Gröfse seines Stürmens. Jeder von ihnen begann auf Brenainn zu blicken; denn die Gefahr, in der sie waren, war gewaltig. Darauf erhob Brenainn laut seine Stimme und sprach: 'Es genügt dir, grofses Meer', sagte er 'mich allein zu ertränken, und lafs diese Leute los!' Da glättete sich nun das Meer sofort, und die Wallungen des Strudels senkten sich von da an auf immer und haben keinem anderen mehr geschadet.

IV. Als sie sich eines Tages auf dem Meer befanden, kam der Teufel zu ihnen in einer greisenhaften[1]), schrecklichen, unreinen, höllischen Gestalt und setzte sich auf das Segel des Bootes vor Brenainn allein. Keiner von ihnen sah ihn da aufser Brenainn allein. Brenainn fragte den Teufel, weshalb er aus der Hölle gekommen sei vor der richtigen Zeit, d. h. vor der Zeit der grofsen Auferstehung. 'Darum bin ich doch gekommen' sagte der Teufel, 'um meine Peinigung zu suchen in den tiefen Verschlüssen dieses schwarzen, düsteren Meeres'. Brenainn fragte ihn: 'Wohlan, wo ist denn dieser höllische Ort?' — 'O Jammer' sagte der Teufel, 'niemand kann ihn sehen und darnach leben'. Da zeigte der Teufel Brenainn die Türe der Hölle. Und Brenainn sah darauf diesen rauhen, dunkeln Kerker voll von Gestank, voll von Flamme[2])

. . . .

gewaltige, mannigfaltige Qualen.

V. Nachdem Brenainn diese Qualen gesehen hatte, hörte er gewaltiges, unerträgliches, nicht auszuhaltendes Wehgeschrei und trauriges, jämmerliches Weinen und unausstehlichen Klageruf in der Tiefe des unteren Teiles der Hölle. Da ergriff den Kleriker Angst bei der Furchtbarkeit dieses Elends. Da sah Brenainn einen grofsen Fels; auf diesem war, was er hörte. Und das höllische

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1) Das Ajektiv *senta* (*sentu*), das im folgenden noch mehrfach wiederkehrt, und das Stokes mit 'inveterate' übersetzt, war unserem Verfasser offenbar unbekannt; er fafst es als Genetiv eines Substantivs und ändert danach die Form der folgenden Adjektive.

2) Die Übersetzung dieser langen Schilderungen der Hölle s. bei Stokes, S. 254 f.

Meer kam von jeder Seite über den Felsen, nämlich eine Welle von schwarzrotem Feuer von vorn über ihn und das andere Mal eine kalte eisige Welle von hinten. Dort stand ein einzelner elender Mann auf dem Felsen. Brenainn fragte ihn, wer er sei. 'Judas Ischarioth bin ich' sagte er, 'und ich bin es, der seinen Herrn verkauft hat für Silber und für verächtlichen, wertlosen Reichtum der Welt, d. i. Jesum Christum, den Sohn des lebendigen Gottes. Und gewaltig' sagte er, 'ist die Menge meiner mannigfaltigen Qualen. Und wie du mich siehst, werd ich sein von heute bis zum jüngsten Gericht'. Da weinte Brenainn bei der Gröfse des Elends, in dem er Judas sah. Da machte der dieses kurze Gedicht, indem er Brenainn seine Pein erwähnte:

„Judas Ischarioth bin ich heute auf den Wogen der mächtigen See. Elend ist mein gefahrvolles, düsteres Leben, da ich in der Hölle gepeinigt werde.

Von der Feuerwoge auf die kalte Woge, von der kalten Woge auf jede mächtige Woge, gepeinigt von jeder Seite: ein elender Ruf ist, dafs ich in der Pein bin.

Weh mir, dafs ich meinen König verlassen habe! Schlimm war die Tat, an die ich Hand legte. So wird man darum in Ewigkeit ohne Frieden und ohne die Milde der Ruhe sein.

Je zur einen Stunde der untere Teil der Hölle; elend ist der ...[1]), der an meiner Seite ist. Schwarze Teufel sind in meiner Gesellschaft; ach über ihr Gesetz[2]), keine liebliche Bildung!

Weh dem, der es getan hat, weh dem, der es tut, weh seiner Wanderung in dieser Welt! Der habsüchtig ist über das Glück hinaus, zweimal weh ihm und wehe, o Gott!

Weh mir! meine Habsucht hat mich ertränkt; rohe Teufel seh ich je nach der Stunde. Weh um meine Fahrt zu ihnen, o Gott! Weh dem, was in mein hartes Gewissen kam!

Ach Brenainn, seht mich an! Alles, was ich tue, bringt mir nur mehr. Die unselige, gemeine, schwarze, blinde Hölle, ach darin leb ich!

Ach, ach! der Lohn für den Verrat an meinem König, lange, lange werd ich seine bösen Folgen tragen. Dreifsig Reifen von weifsem Silber, das hat meinen Leib verunglimpft.

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1) *grífing*, im Reim mit *ífirn*; 'der Greif'?

2) Der Reim verlangt freilich *láigh*.



Für Reichtum hab ich meinen König hingegeben; ach, dadurch ist mein Geschick schlimm. Der Reichtum bleibt nicht zu meiner Verfügung: ich bleibe in der Pein in Ewigkeit.

Ach, dafs ich nicht tot bin, o Sohn meines Gottes! Ach, dafs ich in rauher Weise Kampf finde. Ach, dafs ich in Flammen stehend nicht wie Hunderte (?)[1]) den Tod finde, sondern lebe.

Krumme Würmer sind an meinem Leibe, schwarze, braune; elend ist der Kampf! Jagdgeschrei je zur anderen Stunde; elend sind die Hetzen, die mich treffen.

Ach, Silber! wehe deiner Tat! Ach, du brachtest mich unter mein ...[2]) Ach, lügnerischer bleicher Reichtum, ach, Plage hast du bewirkt.

Zusammen mit Teufeln bin ich, ach! ...[3]) schlimm ist meine Art. Durch Übermut habe ich meine Schönheit verwandelt: Judas Ischarioth bin ich."

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[1]) Eher ist wohl *co fochét* zu lesen 'indem ich bis zu hundertmal aufflamme'.

[2]) *dé* (im Reim zu *féin*) kann nicht richtig sein. Vermutlich *péin* 'unter meine Pein' und vorher *do gnim* statt *dogni* mit regelrechter Konsonanz.

[3]) Der Reim mit *demhnaibh* verlangt *medhraidh*, das ich nicht verstehe.

Bonn. RUDOLF THURNEYSEN.

ALLERLEI IRISCHES.

I. Bec mac Dé.

K. Meyer hat in dieser Zs. IX, 169 die grofse Prophezeiung von Bec mac Dé nach drei von den fünf bekannten Handschriften herausgegeben. Er verweist auch auf Leabhar Breac, S. 260 a (lies b), wo sich unter anderen auf Bec bezüglichen Anekdoten eine kürzere und verständlichere Prophezeiung über den Zustand Irlands am Ende der Welt findet. Sie kehrt in der Brüsseler Handschrift 5100—5104, fol. 7 v, wieder, und die zwei Abschriften lassen gegenseitig ihre Fehler verbessern. Der Text mufs aus der Zeit stammen, wo das Hochkönigtum bei den Mac Néill in Ailech war, da dieser Ort vorangestellt wird.

* * *

Cētbrīathra Bic maic Dé inso īarna ghein fo·c*het*oír. Dia·mbói cāch oca rada: 'is bec in nóidiu', as·bert somh boī immarcraid na ndaoine mór aice do scélaib derid domain. Conid and at·bert sum:

Ailech cen gīall. Temair hi tráig. 5
Daurlus (.i. Guaire) cen bīad. Līne cen lūad.
Lūachair i-llén. Emain co hūar.
Maisten cen mīad. Carman cen rīad.
Bladma cen bláth. Āine cen hōl.
Echtge cen ág. Laigin hi ngáir. 10
Laigis ós chāch. Eli (.i. Descirt) do meth.
Ére cen maith ó sin himmach coti in bráth.

1 inso *om.* *B* ghein (*no* breit) *B*, genemain *L*(*eabhar Breac*) .i. diambói *B* 2 atbert Bec *L* imacr- *B* 3 na noidine moire *L* 4 sum *om.* *B* 5 Ailiuch *B* 6 Durlus *B* 9 eol *B* 10 i *B* 12 amach *B* 7rl. *add.* *L*

* * *

Dieses sind die ersten Worte von Bec mac De sofort nach seiner Geburt. Als alle sagten: 'Das ist ein kleines Kind!', sagte er, er habe mehr als die grofsen Menschen an Berichten über das Ende der Welt. Und da sprach er:

„Ailech ohne Geisel. Temair am Strande.
Durlus (Guaire) ohne Speise. Line ohne Ruhm.
Luachair in Trübsal: Emain kalt.
Maisten ohne Ehre. Carman ohne Wagenfahren.
Bladma ohne Blüte. Aine ohne Trunk.
Echtge ohne Kampf. Leinster im Gespött.
Leix über allen. Eli (Descirt) im Verfall.
Irland ohne Gutes von da bis zum jüngsten Gericht."

II. Scēla geine Cormaic.

Die so betitelte Erzählung findet sich, wie d'Arbois de Jubainville, Essai d'un catalogue S. 196, anmerkt, in der Handschrift des Trinity College zu Dublin, H. 3. 17, Col. 782—784. Dieser Text ist aber wörtlich identisch mit einem Abschnitt, den K. Meyer, ZCP VIII 310, 30—312, 9 aus den Laud-Genealogien abgedruckt hat. Ich gebe die bedeutsameren Varianten aus H. 3. 17:

Titel: Sgela geine Corm*aic* andso sis. *S.* **310,** 30 *Anfang:* Intan im̄ robdar lana — 31. Aithe — 32. do *om.* asrobart doirgeba am*ac* co remi Corm*ac* — 33. Maidean rogenair Corm. *om.* Olc — 34. Aithai .u.creasa imdeaglaith ar teine ar (35) agdaire ar cach nolc ar conaib Nibo cian iar sin (36) ina collud isin aidce tolluid — 37. uaidchi finebolg inbolg intsod — 38. arluaith robai aircise and — 39. do aircis — 40. fiadruad focuaird in m*ac*

311, 1. ose co*n*raithit Luigne fotri — 2. rofi*n*d athair a mathar son anisin — 3. Luigthige — 4. Do deart fri — 5. folait Con *om.* — 6. Cachtan — 7. Fiacha Casan — 8. amedon aithe dosnacadar do breith — 9. uáti ual ui*m*pe dosnacad — 11. Sliab Conachlad inairt- — 12. tiprait indlaith .. trog co*m* comaid — 13. Ainmni ai*n*m*n*i andso Atfet (14) scela caiid f*or* in — 15. fliuch muide — 16. in muide lama daine arnaco*m*ad (17) bas de an*n*sin *tre*a (18) *tre*agasc 7 *tre* draig*eacht* co Team- dilnad sobais 7 dobreath — 19. ornasc oir 7 timteact — 20. Fomaisi gus mor direach (hísen *om.*) —

21. ⁊se — 22. Conacaid — 23. Doluig seom — 24. dotuaslaig in claidi*m* nob-t — 25. tuaslaici claidi*m* osome ractaire — 26. No indrosc dob-t (27) ar in rachtaire biaid mo meamaisneis i*n*illis Robia — 28. rachtaire .i. bea*n* ruc an rig cid cias a bean ol Cit — 29. ol in rachaire .i. ben ruc an rig dinimaithle[1]) .i. a cairid — 30. do disli illomrad glais in guirt — 31. lomrad eis a ceile nirug hi[2]) ol — 32. Corm-c fe*r*uc Forruisistar in rachtaire — 34. i*m* diaig sea mai*n*itfuil do clai*n*d i*n* nEiriu is in (35) fer sin Taet f*or* einech sa co fear gabsa ni *om.* — 36. lium rucais in breath t*ri*chat — 38. Nito olse nimdarrig ceinba hand.

312, 1. Togaib in m*a*c a glun im̄ *om.* — 2. cein Congairtceile ⁊ a amais co ⁊ f*or*orcongrad (3) forro Taet am dar feinechus fei*n* is caith uair — 4. an*n*roso Doco*m*luid M*a*c Con ⁊ Lugaid m*a*c M*a*cniad — 5. *Die Glosse fehlt* side ⁊ t*ri*thean ⁊ Eocho — 6. Cindas on ol forfagaib i*n* faithe f*or*ru ba breith — 7. Nito beir siu uair is tosach — 8. duit *acht* roba toil duit siu lium — 9. adb*er*t.

III. Aird Echdi.

K. Meyer, Zur keltischen Wortkunde III Nr. 41, hat gesehen, daſs mit diesem auf der Halbinsel Cantire befindlichen Wohnsitz von Echde Echbél in der CuRoi-Sage das Vorgebirge gemeint ist, das Ptolemäus 3, 1 u. 8 *'Επίδιον ἄκρον* nennt, heute 'Mull of Cantire'. Er faſst den ersten Bestandteil als *ard* 'Höhe'. Aber im Text (Ériu II 32) heiſst es *i n-aird ecdæi* und *a h-airt ēde,* während *ard* 'Höhe' neutraler *o*-Stamm ist. Darum scheint mir nicht zweifelhaft, daſs wir das irische Femininum *aird* vor uns haben, das schon längst Stokes (Kuhns Beitr. 8, 351) mit gr. *ἄρδις* f. 'Pfeilspitze, Stachel' identifiziert hat. Das Wort hat sich besonders in gewissen Ausdrücken am Leben erhalten wie *as cech aird* 'von allen Seiten', *quadrati mundi,* Glosse: *ceth*[*ar*]*aird* Tur. 138, und man setzt gewiſs mit Recht als Grundbedeutung: 'Endpunkt, Ecke' an. Somit entspricht *Aird* (*Echde*) dem gr. (*'Επίδιον*) *ἄκρον* ganz genau. Meyer wird Recht haben mit der Annahme, daſs das Miſsverständnis von *Echdi* als Genetiv

[1]) Das zweite *i* scheint auspunktiert.
[2]) oder *lii.*

vom Dativ *i n-Aird Echdi* ausgegangen ist. Also wieder eine der irischen Sagengestalten, die aus einem Ortsnamen herausgewachsen ist, wie namentlich so zahlreiche in der Tain Bo Cuailnge. Dafs dieses Verfahren schon den allerältesten auf uns gekommenen Sagen eignete, zeigt ja deutlich König *Bran* im alten *Imram Brain*, der dem Vorgebirge *Srúb Brain* 'Rabenschnauze' sein Dasein verdankt (ed. K. Meyer, § 64)[1].

Da ich eben die CuRoi-Sage berühre, möchte ich zu meinem Wiederherstellungsversuch von *Aided ConRoi I* (ZCP VIII 190 ff.) ein paar Besserungen vorschlagen:

Da § 4 wohl sicher *no* = *dano* steht, ergänze ich auch in § 6 das *l* am Ende der Zeile zu *l-* = *no* (*dano*) und lese: *fo·cairt side dano dar drolam in choiri* 'dieser sprang nun über den Henkel des Kessels'.

Zu *tobbie* § 9, das mir *do·bí* zu lesen scheint, vgl. Táin B. C. 2614 (ed. O'Keeffe): *da mbeith ainib bad mo for ChoinCulaind, is ed ro·thuibebad fris* 'wenn C. C. einen gröfseren Fehler gehabt hätte, so hätte er (Fer Diad) ihn ihm vorgeworfen' oder 'aufgerupft'.

In § 10 liegt der handschriftlichen Lesung näher: *teinm ind ubuill sin* als mein etwas gewaltsames: *no·teinfide a n-uball sin*; der Sinn bleibt ungefähr derselbe.

In § 11 ist vielleicht zu lesen: *cona·torachtatar dó. Gaiti CúChulinn in claideb* 'so dafs sie nicht bis zu ihm gelangen konnten. C. C. stiehlt das Schwert'. Dafs er damit den Salm umbrachte, wäre dann in Gedanken zu ergänzen.

Dafs die Deutung der *fir Óchaine* (S. 211. 214) als Vögel, die auf den Ohren der Kühe singen, eine etymologisierende ist (von *ó* 'Ohr' und *canid* 'singt'), habe ich damals nicht gesehen. Sie kann also beliebig spät sein.

Die Verwandlung von *Bláthnat ingen Mind* in *B. ingen Caithmind* (S. 222) hängt wohl mit dem König von Britannien

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[1]) Dafs man kein zweites *Srúb Brain* anzunehmen hat, obschon in *Aided ConRoi* (Ériu II 22 § 4) ein solcher Ort auch in der Nähe von Caher Conree zu liegen scheint, ergibt sich daraus, dafs diese Episode erst von dem Bearbeiter der Sage aus dem Dindšenchas von *Srúb Brain* geschöpft worden ist (ZCP IX 217) und dieses von dem gewöhnlichen Vorgebirge in Donegal handelt. Doch hat jene Verschmelzung bewirkt, dafs der Ordner des jüngeren Dindšenchas *Srúb Brain* unmittelbar hinter *Findglais* in Munster einreiht (Rev. Celt. XV 450).

Caithmend zusammen, der in der Einleitung des Prosa-Dindšenchas (Rev. Celt. XV 277 § 2) erwähnt wird.

S. 336 Zeile 9 ist der Druckfehler 'die packte'... statt 'Sie packte' stehen geblieben.

IV. Comrac Fir Diad.

Von dem Kampf des Fer Diad mit CuChulainn ist in unserer Überlieferung der LU-Version der Tain Bo Cuailnge bekanntlich nur der Anfang bewahrt, und ob die paar Notizen, die eine spätere Hand YBL 39 b 7—43[1]) beigefügt hat, derselben Version entspringen, mufs vorerst als unsicher gelten. Gibt es Mittel, die Lücke, die die direkte Überlieferung läfst, zu ergänzen?

Mit dieser Frage hat sich schon Nettlau in seiner Arbeit über diese Episode in Rev. Celt. X und XI beschäftigt. Namentlich hatte er in der Hs. H. 2. 12 (Trinity Coll., Dublin) ein Fragment der Erzählung gefunden, das in seiner Fassung von allen anderen Quellen, die im wesentlichen die LL-Version wiedergeben, bedeutend abweicht[2]). Beruhen diese Abweichungen etwa darauf, dafs der Redaktor eine vollständige Handschrift der LU-Version benutzt hat? Nettlau konnte darauf keine sichere Antwort finden, weil H. 2. 12 erst kurz vor dem Punkte einsetzt, wo YBL abbricht. Er war aber eher geneigt daran zu zweifeln[3]) und hoffte auf eine Entscheidung durch die Hs. H. 2. 17, falls sie diese Episode enthielte. Diese Hoffnung hat sich nun zwar nicht erfüllt, da diese Handschrift, ebenso wie die Parallelhandschrift Egerton 93 (die *eh*-Version), lange vor der Fer-Diad-Episode abbricht[4]). Dagegen ist ein anderes Manuskript geeignet, diesen Dienst zu leisten, von dem sich Nettlau nur Anfang und Ende notiert hatte[5]). Es ist die des Franziskaner Klosters in Dublin, die mit Nr. 16 bezeichnet ist, und deren Abdruck wir jetzt Best (oben S. 276 ff.) verdanken.

Es hat sich nämlich ergeben, dafs die Franziskaner Hs. (F) dieselbe Fassung enthält wie H. 2. 12 (H), aber glücklicherweise vollständig. Freilich wörtlich entsprechen sich die beiden nicht.

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[1]) ed. Strachan-O'Keeffe 2678—2733.

[2]) Es ist jetzt von Best oben S. 298 ff. sorgfältig im Zusammenhang abgedruckt.

[3]) S. besonders Rev. Celt. XI 342 f.

[4]) Vgl. ZCP VIII 526.

[5]) Rev. Celt. XI 326 f.

Jede von ihnen hat gelegentlich gekürzt, vielleicht auch manchmal auf eigene Hand erweitert, und sie behandeln auch sonst den Text sehr frei. Aber im allgemeinen stimmen sie doch so nahe überein, daſs ein gemeinsames Original unzweifelhaft ist. Dieses scheint eine ziemlich späte Bearbeitung des Fer-Diad-Kampfes gewesen zu sein.

Da F den Anfang der Episode enthält, der ja auch in YBL bewahrt ist, so sind wir nun in der Lage, für diesen Teil genau zu bestimmen, wie sich diese Modernisierung zur LL-Version und zur LU-Version verhält. Es ergibt sich, daſs sie eine vollendete Mischung beider darstellt, indem sie abwechselnd bald dieser, bald jener folgt oder beide vereinigt. Aber wie schon Best gesehen hat, es ist sogar noch die dritte Version benutzt, die ich *eh* genannt habe. Freilich enthält diese ja, wie schon berührt, den Fer-Diad-Kampf nicht. Aber sie beschreibt zwei frühere Zusammenkünfte von Fergus mit CuChulainn (Wind. 1809 ff. und 2863 ff.), und diese Schilderungen hat unser Redaktor benutzt, um Fergus' Kommen in der Fer-Diad-Episode auszuschmücken. Sein Verfahren im einzelnen wird am besten zu Tage treten, wenn ich die paar ersten Sätze seines Textes neben den der Versionen LU (YBL) und LL setze; die Stücke, die er verwendet hat, sind gesperrt gedruckt:

F § 2—3.	YBL 2201—2216.	LL 3001—3024.
As andsin do hiomraidheadh ag feroibh Eirionn cia budh coir do chathughadh 7 do chruadhchomhrag re Coin ccathbhuaghach cCulainn a mocha na maidne arnamaroch. Adubradar cach uile gurab é an feidhm nach fuloingther 7 an boirbfreagartach biodhbadh 7 an trénmhílidh trasgartha tromchomhloinn 7 an coghainchneasach a hIorrus Domhnan .i. dile 7 dearbchomhalta Con cCulainn budhein 7 a cheile comhghaisgidh 7 comḟoghlama .i. Fer Diadh mac Damhain mic	Is andsin ro·himraided leosom iarum cia fer bad tualaing dingbail ConCulaind dib. Ad·bertsadar 7 ro·nertsadar 7 ro·naidsetar ceithri coicid Herenn cia bad choir do thabairt for ath inn aigid ConCulaind. At·rubartadar uili corb e in congenchnesach a hIrrus Domnand, in feidm nach·fuilińgther 7 in bairindlecc bratha, a derbchomalta dil dichra fodeisin. Nı·bai ic CoinCulaind cles na·beth	Is andsin ra·imraided oc feraib Herend cia bad chóir do chomlond 7 do chomrac ra CoinCulaind ra húair na maitni muchi arnabárach. Issed ra·raidsetar uile combad é FerDiad mac Damain meic Dáre, in mílid mórchalma d'ḟeraib Domnand. Daig bha cosmail 7 bha comadas a comlond 7 a comrac. Ac oenmummib da·ronsat ceirdgnimrada gaile 7 gascid dḟoglaim (*St*), ac Scáthaig 7 ac Uathaig 7 ac Aife. Ocus ní·bái

Daire Domnandoigh .i. an milidh ar morchalmacht os feroib Domnann uile, ór ni raibhe cleas goile no gaiscidh ag Coin cCulainn nach raibhe ag Fior Dhiadh acht cleas an gháoi bhulga nama. Gidheadh dar leosan do bhi iongabháil an chleasa sin fein ag Fior Dhiadh, doigh as cneas coghna 7 cnamha baoi uime, gonach gondaois airm naid iolfæbhoir a n-am chatha no comhlainn é.

Ar sin faoigheas Meadhbh feasa 7 teachda ar ceand Fir Dhiadh. Ro ér 7 ro aither Fear Diadh na teachta sin, ór do aithin an t-adhbhar fá raibhe Meadhbh dia thochuiredh .i. do cathughadh 7 do chomhrag re charoid 7 re cumpanach fein re Coin cCulainn. Iar sin fæigheas Meadhbh a draoithi 7 a deighfilidh ar ceand Fir Dhiadh dia æir 7 dia egnach 'na fiaghnoisi, go tturthogbadæis teora bolg fora ghnuis o ainimh 7 o easbuidh, muna tairisedh leo. Do eiridh Fer Diadh leo iar sin, uair ba husa lais gæi ghaiscidh dfulang naid gæi aoire 7 aithisi.

aice, acht mad in gai bulgai namma, 7 cid indar leosom bai aiciseom a sechna 7 a imdegail fair daig congnaidhi imbi, noconis·gebdis airm na ilfæbair.

Do·bretha Medb techta for cend Fir Diad. Nocho·tanic Fer Diad risna techtaib hisin. Do·bretha Medb filid 7 æs dana 7 æs glamtha gruaidi ara chend, co·nderntais a ærad 7 a aithised 7 a ainfialad, cona·fagad inad a chind for bith, co·tisad i pupall Medba 7 Aililla for Tana. Tainic Fer Diad leisna techtaib hisin [ar] uamun a imderctha doib.

immarcraid neich díb ac áraile, acht cless in gæ bulga ac Coinculaind. Cid ed ón ba congancnessach Fer Diad ac comlund 7 ac comrac ra láech ar áth na agid side.

Is andsin ra·fáittea fessa 7 techtaireda ar cend Fir Diad. Ra·érastar 7 ra·eittchestar 7 ra·repestar Fer Diad na techta sin ocus ní·thánic leo, dáig ra·fitir aní ma-ra·batar dó, do chomlond 7 do chomrac re charait, re chocle 7 re chomalta [fri CoinCulaind *St*]. Is andsin fáitte Medb na drúith 7 na glámma 7 na crúadgressa ar cend Fir Diad, arcon·derntáis téora æra fossaigthe dó 7 teora glamma dícend, go·tócbaitís teora bolga bar a agid, ail 7 anim 7 athis, munu·thísed[1]). Tanic Fer Diad leo dar cend a enig, daig ba hussu lessium a thuttim do gaib gaile 7 gascid 7 eñgnama ná a thuttim de gaaib áire 7 écnaig 7 imdergtha.

[1]) .i. on 7 ainimh 7 easbuidh, muna·dtisedh leo (*St* usw.).

Im einzelnen verhält sich unsere Fassung (*f*) folgendermafsen zur LU-Version (Y) und zur LL-Version (L). Ich bezeichne *f* mit den Paragraphen von Best, der darin Nettlau folgt, und zähle innerhalb der Paragraphen die Zeilen:

§ 2, 1—3 = L 3001[1]); 3—7 = Y 2204; 8—9 = L 3004; 9—14 = Y 2207.

§ 3 wesentlich = L 3012.

§ 4, 1—4 = Y 2216; 4—8 = Y 2221; die Ausdrucksweise 10—11 aus *eh* (ZCP VIII 553 f.); 13—23 = L 3027 und Y 2225 (gemischt).

§ 5 = Y 2233 (vgl. St, Windisch 3112).

§ 7, 1—12 = Y 2237 und St (Windisch 3153).

§ 9 steht an Stelle des Gedichts Y 2251, L 3035, entspricht ihm aber inhaltlich nicht.

§ 11 = L 3163.

§ 12, 1—17 = Y 2312; 18—19 = eh (Egerton 93) § 207; 20—31 = eh (ZCP VIII 549); 31—38 = Y 2330; 38—42 = eh (ZCP VIII 549—550); 42—46 = Y 2339; 46—47 = eh (S. 550); 48—50 = Y 2345; 50—58 = L 2867 (besonders St); 58—61 = eh (Eg. 93) § 210; 61—64 = ib. § 208; 64—71 = eh (ZCP VIII 550); 71—75 = Y 2353; 76—77 = eh (wie oben); 77—84 = Y 2359 und L 3175 gemischt.

§ 13[2]) = Y 2364.

§ 14, 1—4 = Y 2366; 4—7 an Stelle des Gedichts Y 2371 (L 3190).

§ 16 = L 3182.

§ 19, 1—3 = eh (ZCP VIII 550).

§ 18 = Y 2416.

§ 21 = Y 2421.

§ 23 = Y 2431. Dann § 23. 24, 1—6 wesentlich = L 3235 (sehr gekürzt); 6—8 = L 3295.

§ 25. 26. 27 stehen an Stelle des Gedichts Y 2448, L 3258.

§ 30 vgl. Y 2472 und L 3282.

§ 31 = Y 2473.

§ 32 = Y 2505 und L 3284.

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[1]) Es sind immer auch die nächstfolgenden Zeilen gemeint.

[2]) Die Paragraphen 13. 14. 16. 19. (aber nicht 18) 21 kehren fast wörtlich gleich in Egerton 106 wieder (s. Rev. Celt. X 341 ff.).

§ 34, 1 und 6 vgl. L 3290.
§ 37 = Y 2517.
§ 38 = Y 2518 oder L 3306.
§ 39, 1—2 vgl. L 3315.
§ 42[1]) vgl. Y 2545 und L 3374.
§ 43 (diese Zahl ist bei Best in § 42 Z. 11 vor '*Loim chro*' einzusetzen). Zu Z. 1 vgl. Mesca Ulad (ed. Hennessy) S. 20 (LL 264 b, Z. 9 v. u.); zur letzten Zeile den Anfang des Gedichts Y 2521 (L 3319).
§ 44 steht (nach dem in H. 2. 12 bewahrten Anfangssatz) an Stelle des Gedichts Y 2583 (L 3349), dem er aber inhaltlich nicht entspricht.
§ 45, 1—2 = Y 2578 (L 3345); 10—14 = Y 2579.
§ 47 = Y 2609 oder L 3386.
§ 49 = Y 2610.
§ 51, 1—15 steht an Stelle des Gedichts Y 2617 (L 3409). Hier bricht Y ab.

Ich habe die Stücke, die der LL-Version entsprechen, oben meist einfach mit L bezeichnet. Aber bekanntlich besitzen wir die LL-Version in doppelter Gestalt, in der älteren, die uns nur im Buch von Leinster erhalten ist — ich will sie *l* nennen — und in der jüngeren, durch verschiedene Handschriften vertretenen, die ich in meinem Stammbaum (ZCP IX 441) unter *s* zusammengefafst habe. Aus welcher hat unser *f* geschöpft? Die Beantwortung der Frage ist auch für den Endteil von einiger Bedeutung, wie wir sehen werden. Sie ist aber bei der Art des Textes nicht ganz leicht und komplizierter, als man zunächst vermuten könnte. Es scheint nämlich, dafs im Anfang (§ 3 und 7 und in dem aus einem früheren Abschnitt herübergenommenen Teil von § 12) die jüngere Version *s* sei es ausschliefslich, sei es vorwiegend benutzt worden ist, während in § 11 und in den späteren Partien nur das ältere *l* zugrunde gelegt worden ist. Warum der Redaktor so verfahren ist, können wir nicht wissen; vielleicht hatte er eine unvollständige Handschrift von *s* vor sich, die bald nach § 7 abbrach. Die beweisenden Stellen sind:

[1]) In der Mitte dieses Paragraphen setzt H. 2. 12 ein, das hier ausführlicher ist und dem ursprünglichen Wortlaut von *f* näher zu stehen scheint als F.

§ 3, 8 *go tturthogbadæis teora bolg fora ghnuis o ainimh* 7 *o easbuidh, muna tairisedh leo* gegen LL 3019: *go tócbaitís teora bolga bara agid, ail* 7 *anim* 7 *athis*[1]), *munu thísed* und *s* (St usw.): *co tturgbaitís ... .i. on* 7 *ainimh* 7 *easbuidh, muna d-tísedh leo.* Die Wörter *easbuidh* und *leo* finden sich also nur in *s* und *f*; *tturthogbadæis* sieht fast aus, als ob es beide anderen Lesarten vereinigen sollte, doch könnte es wohl auch Verderbnis von *s* sein. In demselben Paragraph, Z. 2, liest LL 3013: *Ra érastar* 7 *ra eittchestar* 7 *ra repestar,* F: *Ro ér* 7 *ro aither,* St nur: *Ro érusdair.* Die zwei Verben in F könnten hier eher auf *l* als auf *s* weisen; doch ist das unsicher. Also in diesem Paragraph sicher Einfluſs von *s*, vielleicht von *l*.

§ 5, dessen Inhalt in LL fehlt, aber in *s* vorhanden ist (Windisch 3112), folgt im wesentlichen Y 2233; nur das Schluſswort *re Coin cCulainn* könnte nach *s* hinzugefügt sein. Wichtiger ist:

§ 7. Auch er fehlt in LL und steht, auſser in Y 2236, in *s* (Windisch 3153). Im wesentlichen folgt *f* wieder Y; aber der Einfluſs von *s* ist deutlich in F, Z. 5: *doigh amh ni meatachd no milaochus ro fidir siomh form sa riamh* gegen Y: *daig ni he mo triamnass na mo midlochos riam a-llo nach i nn-aichdi ro·fidir orm* und St: *uair ní hé mo metacht so nó mo milaochd(acht) ro fitir siom form sa riamh.* Auch Zeile 8 in F *milaochus,* in St *milaochas* gegen Y *midlochos.* Man könnte sich ja allerdings fragen, ob der Abschnitt (Windisch 3112—3162) in *l* immer gefehlt hat, ob er nicht etwa nur in der Hs. LL übersprungen worden ist. Das ist aber bei seinem Umfang unwahrscheinlich. Auch die Frage könnte man aufwerfen, ob er in *s* wirklich aus einer Hs. der LU-Version nachgetragen worden ist und nicht etwa aus unserer Version *f*. Da aber die Beeinflussung in § 5 ganz unzweifelhaft in der umgekehrten Richtung stattgefunden hat, indem dort *s* dem Wortlaut Y viel näher steht als *f*, wird es sich auch hier so verhalten und das ganze *s* älter als *f* sein.

§ 11 zeigt dagegen deutlich Übereinstimmung mit *l*. Vgl. Z. 1: *Is andsin tarroidh Meadbh modh n-aroidh ar Fer n-Diag uman comhrag do dhénam re seisi*[*r*] *comaoisi c*(*urad*)

[1]) Den Zwischensatz lasse ich mit Windisch aus.

mit LL 3163: *Is andsain ra siacht Medb mǽth n-áraig bar Fer ṅ-Diad im chomlond* 7 *im chomrac ra sessiur curad* gegen *s*: *Is ann sin ro gabh Medhbh ratha* 7 *urradha ar Fear n-Diadh fá comlonn do denamh re seiser curadh do trenḟeraibh b-fer n-Erenn* (die Übereinstimmung von *f* und *s* in *do dhénamh* kann leicht zufällig sein). Ebenso Z. 5 *cor seisir* wie LL 3167: *im chur in tśessir chétna* (*s* ganz abweichend) und Z. 6 *dia ttaothsad* wie LL 3168: *mad da toetsad* gegen St: *dia d-tuitedh.*

§ 12 stimmt in dem aus einem früheren Teil der Táin (Windisch 2867 ff.) entlehnten Abschnitt zu *s* gegen LL. Vgl. Z. 54 (S. 279 unten): *a truaill Fergusa* 7 *cuirios* ... *'na ionadh* 7 *tuc da bhreithir nach ttiobradh dFergus e, nogo ttíosad lá an morchatha, airm a ttiocfadaois ceithre hollchoigidh Erenn a n-áit n-aonbhaile ar Gháirigh* 7 *ar Iolgháirigh a ccath mhor thana bo Cuailgne*

mit St: *asa truáill thaisgetha* 7 *cuiris* ... *'na ionadh* 7 *tug dá breithir nach ttiobhradh dḞearghus é go lá an mhórchatha, áit a ccomhruicfitís fir Éirenn a g-cath mór tána bó Cúailghné ar Gáiridhe* 7 *Iolgháiridhe,*

während LL 2870 nur hat: *assa intig* 7 *do·bretha* ... *dia inud* 7 *do·bert a brethir na tibred dó, co tucad lá in chatha móir.*

Aber am Ende des Paragraphen (S. 280), wo *f* zum späteren Text zurückgekehrt ist, liest es: *ḟer comgaisgidh* 7 *comhgniomha* ähnlich wie LL 3178: *th'ḟer comchliss* 7 *comgascid* 7 *comgníma,* während in St 7 *comgníma* fehlt.

§ 16 F *ni mar coch* wie LL 3182: *ní mar chach* gegen *s*: *ni mar cech nech oile.*

§ 32 F *scaroidh feirstte* wie LL 3285: *scar dam fortcha* gegen St: *sguir na heocha duinn, ar sé, et cuir fortci* (wofür in H. 1.13 und Eg. 106, Windisch S. 1110: ... *et cuir feirsde.* Die Lesart *feirste* stammt aus der LU-Version 2506: *Cid nach srengai feirtsi in charpait*).

Ich möchte gleich hinzufügen, dafs diese Übereinstimmung mit *l* gegen *s* auch im Folgenden zu Tage tritt, wo Y nicht mehr vorliegt, mit Ausnahme von § 80—85, worüber unten. Man vergleiche:

§ 51, Z. 16 F *achmhusain* wie LL 3406: *athcossan*; die ganze Stelle fehlt in *s*. — Z. 17 F *Eccoir amh doitsi* wie LL 3527: *is aire sin na rachóir duitsiu* (*s* ganz anders).

In § 55, Z. 8 könnte man eine Übereinstimmung mit *s* sehen in F *Tiagham orra* (H. 2. 12, S. 302 *Tiagam orta sin*) wie St *tiegam forra,* während LL 3554 nur *tecam* (ohne *forru*) liest; aber das kann leicht nur eine Änderung der Hs. LL sein. Gewichtiger ist Z. 21: F *gana suainedhaibh lin lanchadoigh* (H. 2. 12 *go suaighnędhaibh lancadaith*) wie LL 3574: *go suanemnaib lín lanchotut,* während diese Ausdrücke in *s* ganz fehlen.

§ 59, Z. 2 F *Leatsa do rogha gaisgidh anú, uhar Fer D., doigh as misi rug rogha isa laithe do luidh.*

H. 2. 12 *Letsa do rogha gaisgid, ar Fer D., oir is misi do rug roga ane.*

LL 3604 *Lettsu do roga ṅ-gascid chaidchi, bar Fer D., daíg is missi bar·roega mo roga ṅ-gascid isind lathi luid.*

Aber St ... *aniú* ... *uair is agamsa bói mo rogha ané.* In *anú* (F) und *ane* (H. 2. 12) ist keine Beeinflussung durch *s* zu sehen; die Adverbien sind durch das Vorausgehende gegeben.

§ 61, Z. 2 F *d'imraobadh* wie LL 3607 *in t-imrubad,* aber St *in commbualadh.*

§ 71, Z. 3 F *ni rabha ag biathad Con CC. achd tuatha Breth nama* (H. 2. 12 *ni raibhi ag biata C. C. acht tuathad Breag amain*) wohl aus den früheren Stellen in LL 3599 und 3647 geschöpft: *Raptar biat(t)aig Brega dana (no) do Choin Chulaind*; beide Stellen fehlen in *s.*

§ 85, Z. 6[1]). Nur scheinbar ist hier eine Übereinstimmung von *f* und *s* vorhanden in *do lar a bhoisi* (*boisi*) in F und St gegen LL 3938: *do lár a dernainni.* Denn die anderen Hss. von *s,* Eg. 209 und H. 1. 13 (Windisch, S. 1111) haben gleichfalls *do lar a dernoinne.* St und *f* haben offenbar jedes für sich im Anschluſs an das unmittelbar vorhergehende *do lar a bhoisi* (3934) geändert.

Wir sehen also namentlich aus dem ersten Teil, daſs der Redaktor von *f* mit mindestens vier Handschriften gearbeitet hat, mit einer der LU-Version, einer der älteren LL-Version (*l*), einer vielleicht unvollständigen der modernisierten LL-Version (*s*) und einer der *eh*-Version. Dagegen beruht die Übereinstimmung in § 13. 14. 16. 19. 21 mit Egerton 106 (oben S. 428 Anm. 2) nicht

[1]) Zeile 6 und 7 sollten richtiger zu § 86 gestellt sein.

darauf, daſs er auch noch eine solche Handschrift beigezogen hat, sondern gewiſs hat vielmehr umgekehrt die Vorlage dieser Mischhandschrift aus unserer Version *f* geschöpft. Da diese jünger ist als Version *s*, aber eine ihrer Handschriften (H. 2. 12) auf Pergament geschrieben ist, fällt meine ZCP IX 443 ausgesprochene Vermutung dahin, schon die Urhandschrift von *s* sei Papier gewesen; man darf sie also etwas früher ansetzen, als ich getan habe.

Die obige genaue Analyse von *f* nach seinen Quellen hat nun das wichtige Resultat ergeben, daſs der Verfasser diese zwar beliebig mischt und kürzt (namentlich die Gedichte läſst er weg), daſs er aber so gut wie nichts Neues hinzufügt. Denn die paar Zeilen, die keine Entsprechung haben, namentlich die Gespräche, die er an Stelle der ausgelassenen Gedichte setzt, sind ziemlich leer und der Gesamtsituation entnommen. Gewiſs hat er auch da, wo für uns zufällig eine seiner Hauptquellen, die LU-Version, abbricht, sein Verfahren nicht geändert. Wir können somit sicher sein, daſs die Teile, die *f* mehr hat als die LL-Version, solche sind, die die LU-Version enthielt, die aber vom LL-Verfasser weggelassen worden sind. Um sie hervorzuheben, diene die folgende Analyse.

§ 51, 15—19 entspricht LL 3406 und 3527 f. Der Schluſs des Paragraphen steht nicht in LL; aber das Gespräch kann leicht Erfindung des Redaktors sein, um die ausgelassenen Gedichte zu ersetzen.

§ 55 entspricht bis Z. 34 der LL-Version; vgl. mit dem Anfang LL 3550 ff., Z. 20 mit 3573, Z. 29 mit 3584. Aber nun setzt offenbar die LU-Quelle ein:

§ 55, 34—36. Die Heilkräuter, die CuChulainn dem Fer Diad mitteilt, hat er von den Elfen (*a sioghaibh* F, *a sigbrugaibh* H. 2. 12). Z. 36—39: Das erste Drittel der Nacht stöhnen sie, das zweite plaudern sie, das dritte schlafen sie.

§ 56—58 (H. 2. 12 ist am Anfang besser als F): Fer Diad sendet Botschaft an Ailill und Medb, die Iren sollen mit dem Stier nach Hause ziehen, während er kämpfe. Aber die Vornehmen weigern sich abzuziehen, sondern wollen dem Zweikampf zusehen; und Fergus sagt, wenn CuChulainn den Stier wegtreiben höre, werde er nicht zu halten sein. So geschieht nichts. (57) Cuch. ist am andern Morgen früher an der

Furt als Fer Diad. Dieser wird von Laeg bei seinem Nahen beschrieben. (58) Gespräch zwischen Cuch. und Fer D., dessen Anfang an das Gedicht LL 3533 erinnert, worin Fer D. aber weiter behauptet, Cuch. sei früher sein Diener (*ara* oder *gilla*) gewesen, während Cuch. die Gerechtigkeit seines Kampfes darlegt.

§ 59, 1—3. Waffenwahl wie LL 3602. Aber Z. 3—7 (in F) und § 60 erzählen, wie sie auch am zweiten Tag bis zum Mittag nur *clessa* vollführen.

§ 61. Der ernste Kampf zuerst mit Lanzen, dann mit Schwertern entspricht teilweise LL 3605—3633; aber grofse Abweichungen im einzelnen weisen auf die andere Quelle.

§ 62. Am Abend erinnert Cuch. im Gespräch abermals an ihre frühere Genossenschaft. Der Ausdruck *do thiaghmhaois ar ar fiogh foirceadoil le Sgathaigh* (F, Z. 7) stimmt mit dem oben angezogenen Gedicht LL 3540 überein: *im·theigmís cach fid forcetul fri Scathaig.* Aber dafs das ganze Gespräch von unserem Redaktor eingeschoben sei, macht die alte Verbalform *do faothsatt* (F, Z. 3) unwahrscheinlich (in H. 2. 12 durch *do tuitfedh* ersetzt).

§ 63. 66[1]). 67. Am nächsten Tag steht Fer Diad früher auf als Cuchulainn. Dieser ist sorgenvoll und erklärt dies daraus, dafs es ihn bekümmere mit seinem Genossen kämpfen zu müssen, da er doch seine Landsleute, die Ulter, nicht im Stich lassen könne. Als Waffen wählt er *airigthi gaile 7 gaisgid,* und so kämpfen sie bis Mittag.

§ 68. 69. 70 (bis Z. 2). Der Schwertkampf, der sich daran anschliefst, entspricht einigermafsen LL 3698, weicht aber stark ab. Die Zeugen des Kampfes beklagen, dafs durch Medbs Aufreizung die Freundschaft der beiden sich in Feindschaft verwandelt habe.

§ 70, 2—9. Die Worte des Fer Diad entsprechen, mitsamt der angehängten Strophe, denen Cuchulainns LL 3621 und 3624, die dort aber an einem früheren Tage (dem zweiten) gesprochen werden.

§ 70, 9—19 und § 71. Die feindselige Trennung der Helden am Abend entspricht inhaltlich, aber nicht in der Ausführung

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[1]) Zeile 1 von § 67 sollte auch bei F als § 66 bezeichnet sein, wie bei H. 2. 12.

LL 3711. Die Notiz, dafs die *tuatha Breg* CuChulainn Nahrung liefern, fehlt hier in LL; aber sie ist gewifs aus den früheren Stellen LL 3596 und 3645 herübergeholt. Aus der LU-Version kann sie nicht stammen, da nach Y 2350 ff. CuChulainn keine solche Speise hat.

§ 72. 73. Fer Diad geht zu seinen Leuten südlich der Furt und wird von Medb die ganze Nacht unterhalten und aufgeheitert. Cuchulainn nördlich der Furt ist schwer bedrückt und befürchtet, besiegt zu werden. Er will daher Laeg mit Warnung zu den Ultern senden, damit sie auf der Hut sind. Das betrübt Laeg sehr, und er pflegt die Wunden seines Herrn so gut, dafs dieser den Rest der Nacht schläft.

§ 74[1]) hat nur schwache Anklänge an LL 3717 und 3740. Fer Diad kommt zuerst zur Furt, frägt vergeblich nach CuChulainn und macht (als Triumphzeichen) ein lärmendes *cless* mit seinem Schild, dafs man es im ganzen Lager hört. Da spannt Laeg den Wagen an und weckt seinen Herrn, der darüber so zornig wird, dafs seine Wunden wieder bluten. Doch fühlt er sich durch Laegs Pflege so gekräftigt, dafs er sich tagsüber jedem gewachsen dünkt.

§ 76. CuChulainn fordert Laeg auf, ihn zu loben, wenn er ihn stark sehe, und ihn zu reizen, wenn er unterliege. Diese Aufforderung findet sich sowohl in LL 3750 als in den angehängten Notizen in Y 2678.

§ 78. 79. Cuchulainn kommt zur Furt und verweist Fer Diad seine Prahlerei, da er doch am Leben sei. Er bietet ihm an, von den 6 Kriegern, mit denen Fer D. nach der Verabredung mit Medb kämpfen mufs, falls er den Kampf mit ihm verweigert, drei auf sich zu nehmen[2]). Doch Fer Diad weist das ab und waffnet sich zum Kampf. Die Kampfbeschreibung zeigt viele Anklänge an LL 3807 ff., wie das Best angemerkt hat; aber die Anordnung ist verschieden, und die Form *gur meadhbaidhior* § 79, 8 (d. i. ein verderbtes ·*mebdatar*) gegen *goro·maidset* LL 3824 weist auf eine ältere Fassung.

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[1]) Im Anfang dieses Paragraphen bricht H. 2. 12 ab.

[2]) Ob dieser Teil des Gesprächs aus der LU-Version stammt, ist zweifelhaft, da von diesen 6 *curaid* vorher wohl in LL, aber nicht in Y die Rede ist. Er möchte vom Redaktor erfunden sein.



§ 80. 81. 83. 85 (bis Z. 6). Das sind die Teile, die in LL fehlen, sich aber in *s* finden, und die Windisch 3835—3871, 3877—3935 abgedruckt hat. Sie handeln von den beiden Elfen Dolb und Indolb, die zur Rechten und zur Linken CuChulainns streiten, aber von Fer Diad getötet werden[1]. Ferner von dem dreimaligen Streit von Laeg mit seinem Bruder Id, dem Wagenlenker Fer Diads, der ihn hindert, den Flufs zu stauen, um den *gae bulga* gebrauchen zu können; vom dreimaligen Sprung CuChulainns auf Fer Diads Schild und von dem fast gleichzeitigen Abschiefsen des *gae bulga* unten im Wasser und eines anderen Speeres oberhalb durch CuChulainn. Im Wortlaut stimmen *s* und F mehrfach überein, doch ist F kürzer. Es fragt sich nun, stammt auch diese Erzählung aus der LU-Version, oder ist sie in F aus *s* aufgenommen, wobei ihr Ursprung zunächst fraglich bliebe. Gegen die zweite Möglichkeit spricht aber zweierlei. Erstens ist *s*, wie oben nachgewiesen, in diesem Teil von F sonst überhaupt nicht mehr benutzt worden. Zweitens hat *s* mitten in die Erzählung einen Abschnitt von *l* (LL 3872—3876) aufgenommen, während er in F fehlt. Zur Not könnte man das freilich als Kürzung von F erklären, da auch die vorhergehenden Zeilen von *s* (3866—3871) in F ausgelassen sind. Dazu kommt aber, was man längst bemerkt hat, dafs dieses Stück in der ungekürzten Fassung *s* mehrfach Anklänge an die nachträglichen Notizen in Y enthält, vgl. Windisch 3866 ff. und 3926 f. mit Y 2686[2] und 2688[3]. Dafs diese Notizen aus dem jungen *s* geschöpft sind, ist durch mehrere altertümliche Verbalformen ausgeschlossen. Es bleiben also nur zwei Möglichkeiten. Die Y-Notizen, sowie *s* und *f* gehen hier auf eine andere, uns völlig unbekannte Quelle zurück, oder alle drei stellen die ursprüngliche LU-Fassung dar. Die erstere ist, da wir sonst alle Quellen von *f* kennen, ganz unwahrscheinlich. Und da *s* in der Fer-Diad-Episode

[1] Daher stammt *Dolb mac Becaltaig* als Bruder CuChulainns in 'Tidings of Conchobar' (Ériu IV 28, § 20).

[2] Für das handschriftliche *riatiad* möchte ich einfach *ria linad* lesen. Einen Satz wie *forbrid a med* usw. hat wohl auch der Verfasser von *Brinna Ferchertne* vorgefunden, vgl. *cessa fri fiansa forbair* Str. 36 (ZCP III 46 und IX 203).

[3] Beide Stellen sind in *f*, wenigstens in unserer einzigen Handschrift F übersprungen.



auch sonst aus der LU-Version geschöpft hat nach dem oben S. 430 zu § 7 Bemerkten, so liegt diese ohne Zweifel auch hier unseren drei voneinander unabhängigen Fassungen zugrunde. Das ist nun wichtig. Denn wenn wir sonst die von LL beiseite gelassenen und in Y nicht erhaltenen Teile der LU-Version nach *f* nur ungefähr, dem Inhalt nach ergänzen können, haben wir hier überall da, wo *s* und F genau übereinstimmen, offenbar sogar ihren Wortlaut vor Augen. Allerdings ist auch jetzt nicht sicher zu bestimmen, wann ursprünglich die zwei Anreizungen Cuchulainns durch Laeg stattgefunden haben. LL 3787 (und die entsprechende Stelle in *s*) läfst die erste vor sich gehen, nachdem ihn Fer Diad zum erstenmal vom Schild abgeschüttelt hat; die zweite wird nicht erwähnt, aber ihre Folge, das 'Aufblasen' CuChulainns (3802 und *s*), nach dem dritten Mal (vgl. *in tresfecht* 3797). Doch behandelt LL diese Partie überaus frei. In Y 2686 steht die zweite gleichfalls nach dem dreimaligen Abschütteln; aber die erste (2680) steht viel früher, anscheinend vor dem Kampf; allerdings brauchen diese kurzen Notizen die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge der Ereignisse nicht genau einzuhalten. In der sonst aus der LU-Version geschöpften Stelle in *s* (Windisch 3866 ff.) wird nur die zweite erwähnt und zwar unmittelbar nachdem Fer Diad die zwei Elfen umgebracht hat, vor dem ersten Sprung auf den Schild. F hat leider beide ausgelassen und gibt also keine Entscheidung. Vielleicht hat *s* die zweite an die Stelle der ersten gesetzt.

§ 86[1])—88, Z. 9. Die Wirkung der zwei tötlichen Würfe CuChulainns wird zum Teil mit deutlicher Anlehnung an LL 3938 ff., aber offenbar mit Einmischung von LU erzählt. Dadurch ist die Schilderung unklar geworden.

§ 88, Z. 10 und § 89. Der schon von Todesnebeln umschattete Fer Diad schleudert noch einen Wurfspeer in die Brust CuChulainns, so dafs auch dieser auf der anderen Seite der Furt niederstürzt. Laeg mahnt ihn aber aufzustehen — hier sind Anklänge an LL 3969 ff. zu spüren —; er tut es und will Fer Diad den Kopf abschlagen, unterläfst es aber auf des Sterbenden Bitte, nimmt vielmehr dessen Haupt auf seinen Schofs. Auf CuChulainn senken sich Todesahnungen, und Fer Diad stirbt.

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[1]) der tatsächlich schon § 85, Z. 7 beginnt.

§ 91. CuChulainn erhebt sich wieder und klagt um Fer Diad ähnlich wie LL 4007 und 4035.

§ 96 und 92. Er befiehlt Laeg, Fer Diad auszuziehen und den *gae bulga* herauszuschneiden (vgl. LL 4060 und 4092); die von Laeg herausgezogene Mantelspange bestimmt ihn zu einer Klage, die dem Gedicht LL 4066 = Y 2699 entspricht. Daran schliefsen sich (§ 92) Betrachtungen über die Folgen von Fer Diads Tod, die an eine frühere Stelle in LL (4015) anklingen.

§ 98, 1—2. Laeg schneidet den *gae bulga* heraus (= LL 4094). Wie er hinter CuChulainn herkommt, erschrickt dieser, weil er immer noch meint, Fer Diad haue auf ihn ein. (Das mag Phantasie des Redaktors sein an Stelle des Gedichts LL 4098). Mit dem Ausspruch, im Vergleich mit diesem Kampf sei jeder andere nur ein Spiel gewesen (= LL 4160), schliefst das Stück.

Es ist möglich und zu hoffen, dafs unter den vielen Handschriften, die *Comhrac Ḟir Dead* enthalten (d'Arbois de Jubainville, Essai d'un catalogue, S. 96), sich noch weitere und bessere der Redaktion *f* finden als unser F und H. 2. 12. Aber wie sie sind, genügen sie zum Beweis, dafs auch für diese Episode offenbar die LU-Version die einzige Quelle war, auf die alle, die sich nicht mit der Bearbeitung *l* (LL-Version) begnügten, zurückgriffen. Die Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse der Handschriften sind allerdings für diesen Teil der Táin etwas verwickelter, als für die anderen, indem hier *s*, das sonst fast ausschliefslich auf *l* beruht, zweimal direkt aus der LU-Version geschöpft hat, was es sonst nur noch einmal (Windisch 5357—5366) getan zu haben scheint. Aber davon abgesehen bleibt mein Stammbaum ZCP IX 441 auch für diese Episode in Gültigkeit, was ich damals (S. 437) noch nicht zu versichern wagte.

V. Eine Fälschung auf den Namen Cinaed ua h-Artacáin.

Es ist in der irischen Literatur nichts Ungewöhnliches, dafs ein Gedicht einem Heiligen oder Dichter der Vorzeit in den Mund gelegt wird. Aber selten ist es — aufser durch Versehen —, dafs einem vollkommen bekannten Dichter ein Werk untergeschoben wird. Wenn das Buch von Hy-Maine die irische

Übersetzung der *Historia Britonum* (Nennius) dem Gilla Coemain zuschreibt[1]), so ist das eine einfache Verwechslung, da viele lateinische Nenniushandschriften Gildas als Verfasser nennen.

Etwas anderes liegt im Buch von Leinster vor. Hier ist 208b—209b ein längeres Gedicht eingetragen, dessen Anfang aus Versehen erst am Ende (209b 25) nachgeholt ist. Es steht gegen Schlufs des poetischen Dindšenchas und handelt von der Sage der *Boand*, wie sie mit dem Dagda den Sohn Oengus Mac Óc gezeugt und wie sie durch ihren Tod dem Flusse Boyne den Namen gegeben hat. Nicht nur wird hier 209b 24 am Rande *Cinæd h(ua) Artacain* als Verfasser angegeben, sondern die letzte Strofe des Gedichts (209b 22) scheint das zu bestätigen:

Sægul mná Nechtain co-nnirt. Cinæd ro·chertaig co cert
æs na mná cialla co·tacht. cóic bl(iadna) di ⁊ curp cóic secht.

'Das Lebensalter von Nechtans Frau mit Kraft, Cinaed hat es richtig festgelegt, das Alter der Frau, bis sie die Besinnung verlor (eigentlich 'erwürgte'): fünf und fünfmal sieben Jahre war sie im Leibe (am Leben).'

Die Verfasserschaft scheint also gut verbürgt. Lesen wir aber das Gedicht durch, so stofsen wir fortwährend auf Formen, die wir diesem schon 975 gestorbenen Dichter unmöglich zutrauen können, wenn wir nicht unsere Ansichten über die irische Sprachentwicklung völlig umgestalten wollen, und die sich denn auch in seinen zahlreichen anderen Gedichten nicht finden. Vgl. das Objektspronomen in *fácbait é* 209a 5, *co·fargbur tu* 209a 27 (auch die I. Sg. des Subjunktivs auf *-ur*!), die Konstruktion: *mac ro·ail sinni 'nar síd* 'der Knabe, den wir in unserem Sid aufgezogen haben' 209a 39, Verbalformen wie *at·rubratar* 209a 13, *con·ebratar* 208b 14, die *nn*-Formen: *risa·mbenand* 209b 38, *as·mberand* 36; auch das Adverbium *sút* 208b 55, 209b 30 dürfte kaum so alt sein.

Diese sprachlichen Anzeichen einer späteren Entstehung werden nun durch den Inhalt bestätigt. In ZCP VIII 518f. ist darauf aufmerksam gemacht worden, dafs die Angabe des Prosa-Dinnšenchas, Boand habe der Quelle ihre linke Seite zugewendet (*im·sói tuaithbel in tobuir fo thri* Rev. Celt. XV 315[2])), auf dem Mifsverständnis des Ausdrucks *co n-étuachli* beruht, der sich in

[1]) Zimmer, Nennius Vindicatus, S. 13.

[2]) *do·saig for tuaithful in topuir fo tri* Folk-Lore III 500. Ähnlich Tochmarc Emire, ZCP III 242, § 41.



dem wahrscheinlich von Cúán ua Lothcháin († 1024) verfaſsten Gedicht über die Boand findet[1]). Dasselbe Miſsverständnis kehrt in unserm Gedicht 209 b 15 wieder: *ticub 'na thuathbel fó thrí,* so daſs also dem Verfasser die Prosaauflösung bereits bekannt gewesen sein muſs.

Aus alldem geht hervor, daſs das Gedicht kaum vor dem 12. Jahrhundert entstanden sein kann; um ihm mehr Gewicht zu geben, hat der Verfasser die Maske des zweihundert Jahre älteren Cinaed ua h-Artacáin vorgenommen. Das spricht für das Ansehen dieses Dichters bei der Nachwelt.

VI. Die Interpolation von Fled Bricrend in LU.

Mit der Zusammensetzung des Textes von Fled Bricrend hat man sich vielfach beschäftigt, namentlich Windisch in der Einleitung (IT, I 245), Zimmer KZ. 28, 623, Henderson in seiner Ausgabe (Ir. Texts Soc. II) und ich in den 'Sagen aus dem alten Irland' und ZCP IV 193, besonders 199 ff. Die Entscheidung bringt jetzt Bests Nachweis (Ériu VI 169 f.), daſs in LU manche Teile erst nachträglich durch die Hand H eingetragen worden sind. Es zeigt sich, daſs mein erster Versuch einer Trennung der Bestandteile das Richtige getroffen hatte.

Freilich sind die Resultate hier nicht ganz so einfach abzulesen wie in der Táin Bó Cúailnge, wo der ältere Text in YBL zur Kontrolle vorliegt. Die zwei Einträge von H erstrecken sich von § 24 Ende (von *-rechtaib bo* an) bis § 42 Mitte (Schluſs: *a cesta co tech*) und von § 62 gegen Ende (von *ocus luid iar sin* an) bis § 79 Mitte (Schluſs: *cein ro-mbói ina bethaid*). Der erste füllt nicht nur das eingeheftete Blatt S. 103—104 vollständig, sondern auch die ganze erste Kolumne von 105, wo der ursprüngliche Text ausradiert worden ist. Was hat hier einst gestanden, d. h. welche Bestandteile des Eintrags sind aus dem älteren Text übernommen? Daſs § 29—32 (der zweite Wortstreit der Frauen) und § 33—41 (die erste CuRoi-Episode) zur Interpolation gehören, ist immer erkannt worden. Anderseits müssen — wenigstens dem Sinne nach — aus dem alten Text stammen die vier letzten Zeilen von 105 a, da sie die Einleitung zum Folgenden bilden, und der Schluſs des ersten Wortstreits der Frauen (103 a oben); und das

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[1]) Edw. Gwynn, Metrical Dindshenchas III, 80, Vers 58.

unmittelbar Anschliefsende, die Art wie jeder der Helden seine Frau ins Haus eintreten läfst und wie CuChulainn das Haus wieder aufrichtet, hängt so eng mit dem Vorhergehenden zusammen, dafs es gleichfalls ursprünglich sein mufs. Nicht so der Frauenkatalog (§ 28 von *Ocus bá sam doib* an). In der Tat ist es dem Raum nach ganz unmöglich, dafs auch er noch auf der später ausradierten Kolumne gestanden hat. Er ist also sicher ein sekundärer Einschub, wenn er auch wohl nicht der anderen Version, die der Interpolator benutzte, angehört hat. Aber auch wenn wir von ihm absehen, füllen die Teile, die wir als alt erkannt haben, in LU jetzt fast 59 Zeilen, während die Kolumne 105a, auf der sie gestanden haben müssen, nur 47 Zeilen hat. Doch mufs man in Anschlag bringen, dafs die alte Hand M auf jede Zeile ca. 5—6 Buchstaben mehr zu schreiben pflegt als H hier tut; sie konnte so mit etwa 8—9 Zeilen weniger auskommen für denselben Inhalt. Immerhin fehlt scheinbar noch der Raum für mindestens drei Zeilen Text. Nun sehen wir aber anderwärts, dafs der Schreiber H den ihm vorliegenden Text zu strecken pflegt, wenn er zu viel Raum hat. Das zeigt sich namentlich LU 76a, wo der alte Text der Táiṅ (YBL 1709 ff.) etwas erweitert worden ist, um die Kolumne genau zu füllen. Dafs dies auch hier der Fall gewesen ist, läfst sich an einer Stelle wohl noch zeigen. Die Worte im Anfang von § 28: *Tancatar a ǽs cumachta ocus a lucht adartha na dochum* 7, die gut eine Zeile füllen, stehen nur in LU, nicht in den sonst hier genau übereinstimmenden Handschriften Egerton 93 und Codex Vossianus (ZCP IV 159); er dürfte also eine eigene Zugabe von H sein. Ebenso sind von den vier untersten Zeilen von 105a (§ 42 Anfang) vielleicht nur die zwei letzten alt (die anderen Hss. haben hier geändert), so dafs also der ursprüngliche Text im ganzen um drei Zeilen kürzer gewesen wäre. Jedenfalls scheint mir klar, dafs die kleine Zeilendifferenz nicht genügt, die Sicherheit der Zuteilung der verschiedenen Stücke aufzuheben.

Noch einfacher liegt es beim zweiten Eintrag. Hier sind vor dem neu eingehefteten Blatt 109—110 die 4½ letzten Zeilen von Kolumne 108a und die ganze Kolumne 108b durch H an Stelle des ursprünglichen Textes gesetzt worden, der somit 51—52 Zeilen zählte. Er mufs enthalten haben den Schlufs der Geschichte mit den drei Trinkschalen und den Anfang der zweiten CuRoi-Episode. Die Einleitungssätze der einzelnen

Abschnitte sind vom Interpolator etwas geändert worden[1]); aber wohl sicher alt sind § 72 (etwa von *iss e Sualdaim* an) bis § 74 (mindestens bis *cusna claidbib nochtaib*), d. h. 37 Zeilen auf S. 109b—110a; ferner der Anfang von § 79, die 12 letzten Zeilen von 110b. Das wären rund 49 Zeilen. Dabei fehlt ein Satz, der die Rückkehr der drei Helden von Medb berichtete, und mindestens einer, der ihre Fahrt zu CuRoi einleitete. Es füllten also diese Stücke die 51—52 Zeilen 108a—b voll aus, und alles andere (§ 62 Schlufs bis § 72 Anfang und § 74 Schlufs bis § 78) erweist sich schon durch diese einfache Rechnung als Interpolation.

Wichtig ist nun vor allem die Tatsache, dafs von den drei CuRoi-Episoden die erste (§ 33—41) dem Interpolator, die zwei letzten (§ 78 Ende bis 90 und § 91—102) dem ursprünglichen Text angehören, so wie ich es in den 'Sagen aus dem alten Irland' angenommen hatte. Später habe ich mich irrigerweise zur Ansicht meiner Vorgänger bekehrt, die die drei Episoden einer einzigen Redaktion zurechneten, obschon ich ausdrücklich den verschiedenen Sprachcharakter von I und II—III als unerklärt hervorhob, und habe dann darauf die falsche Rekonstruktion von ZCP IV 202 ff. gegründet. Auffällig bleibt auch jetzt noch innerhalb der Interpolation der Widerspruch von § 32 und 33 (a. a. O. 204); man mufs wohl annehmen, dafs der Interpolator verbindende Zwischenglieder der Redaktion, die er exzerpierte, ausgelassen hat.

Dagegen bestätigt sich erfreulicherweise durchaus, was ich a. a. O. 195 ff. über die Gestaltung der Sage in den anderen Handschriften und über ihr Verhältnis zu LU gesagt habe. Sie gehen alle auf die interpolierte Version zurück, die ebenso aussah wie LU nach den Einträgen. Auch die Fassung, die am meisten gekürzt hat, H. 3. 17, hat noch den Einschub § 29—32 und den Anfang des interpolierten Abschnitts § 33 ff. bewahrt. Besonders wird bestätigt, dafs § 57 (das Katzenabenteuer) wirklich schon im alten Text zwischen § 56 und 58 stand, da das in Eg. 93 und Voss. an seiner Stelle sich findende Stück 63—65 aus der Interpolation stammt. Hat hier diese jüngere Redaktion deutlich umgestellt, so bleibt nun auch kein Zweifel, dafs die Vereinigung

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[1]) Vgl. den Anklang des Anfangs von § 72: *Ro·ansat ind óic dia n-imratib 7 dia radsechaib* an § 29: *Do·rala in tech ina ráithsechaib briathar.*

der ersten CuRoi-Episode mit den beiden anderen das Werk dieses Redaktors ist, nicht etwa auf einem Muster beruht, wo genau die gleichen Interpolationen, wie in LU, von Anfang an an einer anderen Stelle eingeschoben worden waren. Die Quelle für die Einschübe war für LU vermutlich das 'gelbe Buch von Slane', das im Titel des gleichfalls interpolierten Anfangs von Serglige ConCulainn (LU 43 a) genannt ist.

VII. Irisch *airg* 'oder'.

In den St. Galler Glossen 188 a 12 findet sich zu dem Text: *Omnis enim pars orationis quocunque modo diriuata uel in eandem notitionem siue definitionem primitiui sui accipitur ... uel in aliud quod iam ante erat suppositum in propria naturali positione* und zwar zum zweiten Teil die Glosse: *airc manip hinunn etargnae don díruidigthiu frisa cétnide, fedir am- ṡodin a ndírui- dochum nacha rainne aile, ut bene* 7 *male.* Da ich *airc* nicht verstand, habe ich Handbuch II, 31 *air* 'denn' dafür eingesetzt. Aber seine Bedeutung wird unzweifelhaft durch eine zweite Belegstelle, Táin Bó Cúailnge (ed. Strachan-O'Keeffe) 1105. Von Ailill werden CuChulainn folgende Bedingungen vorgeschlagen: *Ra·mbia comméite Maige Muirthemne di Maig Áii* 7 *carpat bas dech bess i nÁii* 7 *timthacht da fer deac. Airgg* (*Airg* LU) *mad ferr laiss, a-mmag sa inro·alt* 7 *tri .uii. cumal* 'Er wird ein so grofses Stück wie Mag Muirthemne von Mag Ai erhalten und den besten Wagen, der in Ai sein wird, und Kleidung für zwölf Mann; oder, wenn er lieber will, diese Ebene, in der er aufgezogen worden ist, und sieben Cumal'. So entspricht *airc* auch in der St. Galler Glosse dem lat. *uel*: 'Oder, wenn das Abgeleitete nicht von derselben Klasse ist wie das Primitivum, so wird das Abgeleitete in einen anderen Redeteil übergeführt, wie *bene* und *male*'.

Es wird dasselbe Wort sein wie *airc .i. docamhal* 'schwierig' O'Clery, das auch als Substantiv vorkommt (Meyer, Contrib. s. v.; Windisch, Táin B. C., S. 419), wenn Meyer mit Recht *i n-argg* (LL 47 b 7, Rev. Celt. XX 10, 5) in *-airgg* emendiert, also auch dieses Wort auf *g* endet. Entweder wäre die Bedeutung 'oder' die ältere, wie im Bretonischen sich *mar* 'wenn' nach Zimmer zu *mar* 'Zweifel' verschoben hat; oder umgekehrt hat sich *airg* 'schwieriger Fall, Dilemma' zur Konjunktion entwickelt.

Bonn. RUDOLF THURNEYSEN.

NACHTRAG ZU *OCHTḞOCLACH COLUIM CILLE.*

Durch ein Versehen ist oben S. 39 bei Mitteilung der Lesarten des Buchs von Lecan eine in Laud nicht enthaltene Strophe, die auf die 44. folgt, ausgefallen. Sie lautet:

44a Na drochrīg dībecha
ūaibrecha dīmsacha
nā damaid comairli
nā cert nā cōir,
natescta ịn trēnlasair,
nastollfa ịn trēnoigread,
nīstā māin measraidthi
ịsin mōrdā[i]l mōir.

Charlottenburg. KUNO MEYER.

BERICHTIGUNGEN.

Seite 206, Zeile 22: statt *bezieht* lies *beziehen*.
„ 208, „ 10: „ *Nemain* „ *Morrigan*.
„ 269, „ 6: „ *das die* „ *die die*.
„ 271, Anmerkung 2. Für *ó ro·chloí cialla* „nachdem er gestorben war“ macht mich K. Meyer auf LL 137 b 6 aufmerksam, wo *cialla ros·clái* ebenfalls „er starb“ bedeutet.
„ 394 u. Anm. 1. Van Hamel belehrt mich, dafs sich der Einschub aus Lebor Dromma Snechta in der Tat im Book of Fermoy findet, nur ohne die Quellenangabe.

R. Th.

ERSCHIENENE SCHRIFTEN.

Kuno Meyer, Über die älteste irische Dichtung. I. Rhythmische alliterierende Reimstrophen (Abhandlungen der K. Preufs. Akademie der Wissensch., 1913, Phil.-Hist. Cl., Nr. 6). Berlin 1913. 4°. 61 S.

Als ich bei der Herausgabe der Mittelirischen Verslehren ihren Inhalt zu analysieren suchte, mufste ich S. 161 ff. den genauen Bau gewisser, vom gewöhnlichen Habitus abweichender Strofen unbestimmt lassen, weil die Beispiele in ihrer Vereinzelung die Eigenart der Metren nicht deutlich genug erkennen liefsen. Sie gehören dem ältesten Teil von Verslehre II an, der wohl noch gegen Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts verfafst ist. Jetzt bietet sich Hoffnung, dafs in dieses dunkle Gebiet Licht falle, indem es K. Meyer gelungen ist, eine ganze Reihe solcher altertümlichen Poesien aufzufinden. In der vorliegenden Abhandlung veröffentlicht er vier Gedichte, von denen mindestens das erste, wenn nicht alle, der Klasse angehören, die in Verslehre II § 28 als *nath cethorbrechta* bezeichnet ist. Es sind gereimte Stammbäume irischer Fürsten, die zum Teil bis auf Adam hinaufgeführt werden, indem die genealogische Reihe von Japhet bis Fetebir oder Feteuir, die im ältesten Teil der Historia Brittonum (§ 17) den angeblichen Stammvater der Britten Alan(i)us mit den biblischen Genealogien verbindet, auf den goidelischen Urvater Mil mac Bili und seine Vorfahren übertragen worden ist. Die als Nr. IV und als Anhang abgedruckten Gedichte zeigen dann, wie Spätere solche genealogischen Gedichte kurzweg adoptiert haben, indem sie nur für die unteren Generationen neue Strofen an Stelle der ursprünglichen setzten und irgend einen Dichter der Vorzeit als Verfasser nannten. Es ist sehr dankenswert, dafs M. vor einer Übersetzung der Stücke nicht zurückgeschreckt ist. Mag auch noch so vieles unsicher bleiben, da es sich meist um blofse Epitheta handelt, deren Sinn aus dem Zusammenhang nicht erschlossen werden kann, die Übersetzung gibt doch einen guten Eindruck von dem Stil dieser alten Dichtungsweise, der dem der altkymrischen Poesie aufserordentlich nahe steht. Die *Nombithi* II 45 = *Numia Numin* IV 27 sind vielleicht die *Numidae*; III 5 übersetze ich: 'Wie die Woge nicht Zutritt zum Lande gewährt'; mit *twirn* III 35 darf nicht *in tuirnd* Fél.[2] XXV verglichen werden (S. 50), da dieses ein Fehler für *in tsuirn* ist (Zu ir. Hss., 2. Serie, S. 20).

Wichtig ist nun namentlich, dafs M. diesen strofenreichen Gedichten die Gesetze ihres Baues hat entnehmen können. Freilich wird man hier zunächst sehr vorsichtig vorgehen müssen, da die Überlieferung der Gedichte, wie einige anderweitige Zitate zeigen, offenbar sehr geschwankt hat und man daher Gefahr läuft, Fehler oder ausnahmsweise Abweichungen mit unter die Regeln zu bringen. Auf Silbenzahl beruhen diese Gedichte nicht; aber II (und seine Nachahmung IV usw.) ist rhythmisch gebaut, indem jedes Strofenviertel zwei haupttonige Silben enthält. Dafs gelegentlich mehrsilbige Komposita wie *Arggat-lám* II 12 und *ardos·brut* II 9 für zwei Hebungen zählen, versteht man; ebenso dafs ein schwerer fremder Name wie *Mathusāl* einer Wortreihe wie *elg for lár* (so zu lesen II 52 = IV 33) gleich gerechnet wird, und dafs umgekehrt die drei Einsilber *Bodb*, *Sem*, *Máir* einmal (II 37) ein einziges Viertel füllen. Unsicherer ist, ob auch Versglieder wie *Luirecdai*: *Indecdai* II 50 als alt anzuerkennen sind, da die Strofe in IV fehlt. Wenn nun aber andere Gedichte, wie namentlich III, beliebig Langzeilen mit 4, 5, 6 haupttonigen Silben, also Viertel von 2 oder 3 Hebungen bilden, kann man nicht mehr von einem Rhythmus im gewöhnlichen Sinn sprechen, es ist nur ein gewisses Zuviel oder Zuwenig ausgeschlossen. Auch ein regelmäfsiger Wechsel von Hoch- und Tiefton herrscht nicht, wie man M. (S. 5) mifsverstehen könnte.

Fest ist dagegen in dieser Gattung die Silbenzahl des reimenden Schlufsworts jeder Langzeile. Zwar will M. (S. 12) auch hier Ausnahmen gelten lassen. Aber aufser *Brecc*: *Fobrecc*, *Glass*: *Foglass*, II 9. 10, wo eine Art Wortspiel vorliegt, kann ich seine Beispiele nicht anerkennen. Dafs II 22 der Nominativ, den er *Dui* schreibt (Hs. *Dau*, so auch IV 7) zweisilbig sei (S. 12), — es wäre die einzige Ausnahme in diesem Gedicht — scheint mir unerwiesen, ist jedenfalls dem zweisilbigen Gen. *Duach* nicht zu entnehmen. Das Reimwort könnte *au* 'Ohr' sein (*h.* L, *sluaig* R), anklingend an das folgende *Augeine*: 'dreifachen hohen Blick, erhabenstes Ohr (hatte) Augeine'. Oder eher ist einsilbiges *aui*: *Daui* zu lesen, jenes die ältere Form des späteren *ai*, Gen. *uath*, *uad* „Wissenschaft, Dichtkunst" (Verslehren, S. 127 f.).

In den Gedichten I und III mit zweisilbigem Schlufs gibt es aufser *Cotriche*: *cocriche*, das erst M. gegen die Hs. hineinkonjiziert hat, nur je eine scheinbare Ausnahme. Die Strofe III 14 lautet in der Hs.: *Droṅgaib maraib mandrais iath nIathomuin* | *ella oircne oldomun crich Crothomuin*, I 3 in derselben einzigen Handschrift eine Seite weiter hinten: *Coinmilid Ailill fri agu fri cricha Crothomu*[i]*n* | *crothois Abratchain airbe iath Ethomuin*. Man sieht, die beiden Ausnahmen bilden nur eine einzige. Da nun ein Ortsname *Ethomu(i)n* sonst unbekannt ist, aber *Edmuinn* in Compert ConCulainn § 2 — allerdings als Akkusativ[1]) — bezeugt ist (Nom. *Eithmann*, *Eathmainn* Metr. Dinds. I 40, 29), so liegt es gar zu nahe, diese zweisilbige Form auch

[1]) Hier liest D IV 1, fol. 48a2 *dar Muirthemne* 7 *dar Edmand* 7 *dar Breghmagh*. K. M. [ebenso Egerton 1782 *dar Edmann*. R. Th.].



hier einzusetzen. Ein Schreiber wird III 14, veranlafst durch das vorausgehende *ollomun*, das dreisilbige *Crothomuin* eingeführt haben, das dann die Umbildung des Reimworts *Ethmuinn* nach sich zog. Was an jener Stelle gestanden hatte, weifs ich freilich nicht zu sagen; etwa *crich Cremthainn*? Der Reim wurde dann auch in das folgende Gedicht I verschleppt.[1]) — Reime wie *Fergus* : *Oingus* III 33 (S. 12) lassen sich wohl entschuldigen; ob auch *coscrach* : *fechtnach* III 17, ist zweifelhaft.

Neben dem rhythmischen Reim ist die Bindung der einzelnen Versglieder durch Alliteration das wichtigste Kunstmittel. Sie wird von M., S. 8ff., genau untersucht. Auch hier scheint mir einiges, wie die Bindung 2. *c-* : *g-*, *t-* : *d-* und das in § 5 Bemerkte noch nicht als gesichert anzusehen. Auch nach der späteren Lehre können zwar schwachbetonte Wörter von 1—2 Silben die Alliterationswörter (*com-uaim*) trennen; man nannte sie je nach der Silbenzahl (nicht Wortzahl, wie M., S. 10, sagt) *dialt n-etarléme* und *lorga fuach* (Rev. Celt. 13, 271 f.). Aber M. glaubt auch Beispiele zu haben, wo vollbetonte Wörter dazwischentreten. Besonderer Art und nicht zu beanstanden ist III 38—39 b*reth* i*rgnad* : b*riathrach* E*therel*, eine Doppelalliteration. Aber von den anderen drei Belegen haben zwei keine Beweiskraft. Die Strofe II 6 ist ganz unsicher überliefert, wie M., S. 11, selber ausführt; und III 19 steht die merkwürdig junge Form *imbris* (oder *i·mbris* .. *bresgail* zu lesen?), und die leichte Änderung von *tesga*[*i*]*l* in *esgail* macht überdies die Bindung regelmäfsig. So bleibt nur III 18 als ein nicht von vornherein verdächtiger Zeuge; man wird also weitere Belege abwarten müssen. Auch ob in jeder Langzeile eine Zäsur anzusetzen ist, kann fraglich erscheinen.

M. setzt die älteren dieser Gedichte ins 7. Jahrhundert. Auch das 8. schiene mir möglich, wenn auch nicht zu leugnen ist, dafs manche Ausdrücke wie *mercuir* III 23 für 'Mittwoch' (M. druckt aus Versehen 'Dienstag') sehr altertümlich klingen. In beiden Fällen muss man aber *goet* III 1 passivisch fassen, nicht aktivisch mit M. und im Einzelnen manche Veränderung durch die Tradition annehmen. Wenn aber M. gar in *lainneck legión* III 28 eine Erinnerung an den Schuppenpanzer der Römer sehen will (S. 39), so kann ich ihm darin nicht folgen. Zu *lann* kann in altirischer Zeit das Adjektiv nur *lannach* lauten;

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[1]) [Korrekturnote: In der inzwischen erschienenen Fortsetzung (Über die älteste ir. Dichtung II. Rhythmische alliterierende reimlose Strophen, ebend. Nr. 10) hat Meyer mehrere meiner obigen Besserungsvorschläge angenommen, behält jedoch die dreisilbigen Ausgänge *Ethomuin: Crothomuin* bei und entschuldigt sie durch die Freiheit, die sich die Dichter bei Eigennamen zu gestatten pflegen (S. 3). Diese leugne ich natürlich im Allgemeinen nicht; aber gerade in den betreffenden Gedichten, die fast ganz aus Eigennamen bestehen, ist sie in ihrer völligen Vereinzelung wenig wahrscheinlich. Die übrigen Beispiele, die Meyer zitiert, finden sich in viel weniger streng gebauten Gedichten; und das Beispiel *Luirecdai* : *Indecdai* II, 50, wo die dreisilbigen Wörter das ganze Strophenviertel füllen und für zwei Hebungen zählen, ist natürlich anderer Art (s. o.)].

lainnech gehört zu *lainne* 'Gier': 'zwanzig Schiffe stark warf er (*fálaig*) die Scharen der gierigen Legionen nieder'. Zur Endsilbe *-ión* in *Elpión*, *Faireón* III 28, 29 vgl. *-ién* in den Glossen (Handb. § 908) und *firión* neben *firién*.

Man darf den Aufschlüssen, die die Fortsetzung der Serie bringen wird, mit Spannung entgegensehen. Auch die Frage wird aufzuwerfen sein, ob diese Poesie nun ganz bodenständig ist oder doch schon mit den rhythmischen Satzschlüssen der Spätlateiner zusammenhängt.

R. Thurneysen.

Festskrift Alf Torp, Kristiania 1913.

This volume contains an interesting paper (pp. 239—252) by Professor Carl Marstrander, entitled *Kleine Irische Beiträge*. It consists of miscellaneous etymological and grammatical notes dealing with various periods of the language. There is a good explanation of the origin of *dochum n-* (p. 243) agreeing with the suggestion thrown out simultaneously by Pedersen, Vgl. Gr. II 492. In the following note on *indas* (p. 244) it was a pity to include the example *cia dune ind innis seo* from Ml 35 c 33, for, in the face of the examples of *inni* brought together fourteen years ago by Sarauw, Irske St. p. 138, it had been generally recognized that *indinnisseo* does not contain the gen. of *indas*. The next article is an ingenious, but quite unconvincing, identification of the modern *faic*, *faice*, with Mid. Ir. *aicc*, *aicce*, O. Ir. *naicc*, *naicce*. The examples given leave something to be desired: *bhfuil puinn eolais agat ar ghramadaigh na Gaedhilge ? faic ar sise* is said to be 'aus der Umgangssprache im westlichen Kerry', but the use of the book-word *gramadach*, indeed the subject matter, suggests that the phrase was made up for the occasion. P. 245 l. 11, in quoting from Munst. Poets II 160. 9 *gan faic' san t-saoigheal*, the last word has, in defiance of the assonance, been silently altered to *tsaoghal*. A couple of lines below is a quotation referred wrongly to Munst. Poets I 202. It is really from Eoghan Ruadh's poems, and will be found, with slightly different spelling, in Dinneen's edition of the latter, l. 531. Throughout the paper inaccuracies or misprints such as *Maige Brega* p. 243. 32, *in* for *ind* ib. 34, *fiaich*: *gnath* for *fiaig*: *gnáth* p. 248. 9, are only too common.

On p. 250 there is an attempted restoration of a supposed Ogam inscription referred to in LU: IVACATTOS ARGENTACI QOI MAQI ... The second word is given in the Old-Celtic form, for *-nt-* had become *-dd-* before the Ogam period. And the initial of the word here spelled QOI is not the same as the Q of MAQI. Professor Marstrander refers to his article on QOI in Ériu V 144, but on turning up the passage we find that he had written, more wisely, on 'Ogham XOI.'

On p. 251 there is a very satisfactory explanation of the plural ending *-datar* in *-dámdatar* and the like. It is treated as an analogical formation modelled on *-memdatar* &c. Unfortunately, in support of the argument, which is really excellent in itself, we find the following: 'In den Präteriten *mebaid*, *tárraid* wurde schon im Frühmitteliriscben der Stamm als *meb-*, *tárr-* empfunden, wie aus solchen Formen wie

3. sg. *memais* SR 4705, LU 81 b 36, *mebais* SR 8320, LL 174 a 1, *-memsat* LU 74 b 2, *-mebsat* 74 a 42, Lism. Lives 3498, *tarras* LU 41 a 34, LL 147 a 49, *rafársed* LL 89 a 27, *dafársed* 89 a 38 usw. deutlich hervorgeht'. If there is one thing which 'deutlich hervorgeht', it is that the writer has not taken the precaution to check his references. Of eleven examples taken as preterites, six are *s*-futures and two are *s*-subjunctives.

P. 252. 'Sg. 4 b 10. Das *aidlignitir* der HS. mit Ascoli in *aidlignigitir* zu ändern ist nicht erlaubt, vgl. Rawl. B 512, 111 a 1: *cachoen adilcnes sámugud sund*'. Permission to emend the text, here refused by Professor Marstrandar, would have been readily granted by the scribe of Sg.: cf. *-aidlicnigetar*, Sg. 200 a 2, and Wb. 15 a 2, &c. The occurrence of a Mid. Ir. active does not necessarily establish the existence of an O. Ir. deponent from the same stem. Osborn Bergin.

F. W. O'Connell, A Grammar of Old Irish. Belfast, Mayne & Boyd; London, David Nutt. 8° (XII + 191 pp). 6 s.

Wir glauben es dem Verfasser gern, daſs er sich mit seinem Buch redliche Mühe gegeben hat, aber es zeigt sich dabei deutlich, daſs eine noch so gute Kenntnis des Neuirischen nicht hinreicht, um allein auf Grund der bisher vorliegenden Arbeiten eine kurze altirische Grammatik zustande zu bringen. Ohne vorherige selbständige Betätigung auf grammatischem Gebiete darf man sich an eine solche Aufgabe nicht heranwagen; ein bloſses Durchstudieren der von den Vorgängern geleisteten Arbeit genügt bei einer so schwierigen Sprache, wie es das Altirische ist, noch nicht, da die bisher erschienenen Werke, wie es eben bei grundlegenden Pionierarbeiten nicht anders möglich ist, zu einem Teil nur Materialsammlungen darstellen, aus denen sich erst nach und nach alle Einzelheiten herauskristallisieren lassen werden.

Den Zweck, den irischen Studierenden einen Ersatz für Thurneysens Handbuch zu bieten, erfüllt das Buch nur schlecht. Es wäre gut möglich gewesen, in 190 Seiten das Wichtigste zusammenzutragen, doch hat es der Verfasser nicht verstanden, eine richtige Auswahl zu treffen. Das Wichtigste und zum Verständnis der Flexion und Wortbildung Unerläſslichste ist doch die Lautlehre, und diese ist auf nur 22 Seiten beschränkt, während alles Übrige mit ganz überflüssiger Umständlichkeit dargestellt wird. Dinge, wie die Bedeutungsschattierungen der Präpositionen oder Konjunktionen sind in einer kurzen Grammatik nicht am Platze, sondern gehören in das Textbuch; findet sich doch die Lehre von der Bedeutung der Präpositionen weder bei Thurneysen noch bei Pedersen. Der ersparte Platz hätte mit viel mehr Nutzen für die Lautlehre verwendet werden müssen. Hier fehlt es oft am Nötigsten. So ist gar nichts über die Depalatalisation nach Dentalen gesagt (vgl. Pokorny, Old Ir. Grammar, § 65, 4), ebenso über die Qualität der epenthetischen Vokale (l. c. §§ 60, 66—71), usw.

Im Einzelnen wimmelt das Buch von Fehlern, deren vollständige Aufzählung zu viel Raum in Anspruch nehmen würde. Zur Illustration sei nur einiges angeführt:

S. 8 Z. 7: Die Grundform von *suide* (neutrum!) ist **sodjon*, idg. **sodjom*, und nicht **sodjos*.

S. 11 § 18: Der Wandel von *nd* zu *nn* erfolgte in vortonigen Worten schon am Anfang der altir. Periode; die Artikelform *inna* für älteres *inda* ist daher nicht 'late Old Irish'.

S. 12 § 20: *ainglíu* entsteht nicht aus **angilu*, sondern aus **angelu*, da die Hebung von *e* zu *i* jünger ist, als die Synkope. *foigde* kann nicht aus **fo-gude* entstanden sein, da dies **fuigde* ergeben haben würde; zulässig ist nur eine Grundform **fo-gede* aus idg. **upo-*g^{v}*hedhjā*, im Ablautverhältnis zu *guide* 'Bitte' aus idg. ***g^{v}*hodhjā*.

S. 14 § 25: *céimm* kann nicht auf **cingsmen* zurückgehen, das vielmehr altir. *címm* ergeben hätte. Idg. **khn̥g-smn̥* ist über *khn̥k-smn̥* (*g* ist vor *s* zu *k* geworden), *kenksmen* regelmäſsig zu *céimm* geworden.

S. 15 § 28: Die altir. Form lautet *find* und nicht *finn*.

S. 15 § 29: Anstatt k^{v}*enni*, *u̯iru* lies k^{v}*ennī*, *u̯irū*.

S. 15 § 30: *úar* geht nicht auf *ogr-*, sondern auf *ōgr-*, älter **ougr-* zurück und ist daher unter a) zu stellen.

S. 16 Z. 16: *mug* geht nicht auf *mogu*, sondern über *maug* auf *magu-* zurück (Pokorny, K. Z. XLV, S. 72 ff.).

S. 17 Z. 17: *goí* ist nicht mit Thurneysen auf *gāu̯in*, sondern auf *gau̯in* zurückzuführen, wie die Formen mit *gú-* zeigen, da altes *āv* niemals als *ú* erscheint (Pokorny, O. Ir. Grammar § 112, 3 a).

S. 18 § 35: Anstatt **gnej̯ō* lies **gnēj̯ō*.

S. 19 § 37: *do-rochair* kann nicht aus **to-ro-cer* entstanden sein, sondern ist erst analogisch aus lautgesetzlichem *do-rochar* (idg. **to-pro-kerət*) umgestaltet worden.

S. 20 § 38: Anstatt **isarnon* lies *īsarnon*.

naidm geht nicht auf **nadmn-* sondern auf **nad-men* zurück.

S. 24 § 42: Der Ansatz einer Grundform *sen + tos* für den Artikel ist ganz falsch; *sen + tos* hätte über *sen + dos* nur zu **end*, niemals aber zu *ind* werden können, da altes *i* zwar vor *nd* in jedem Fall erhalten bleibt, aber altes *e* nicht vor *nd + o* zu *i* werden kann. Man kann also nur eine Grundform **sin + tos* oder **sind(h)os* ansetzen.

Ein urkeltischer Dat. Sing. fem. *sen-tā* ist undenkbar, derselbe hatte vielmehr die Endung *-āi*; hier ist das *i* nämlich nicht, wie im masc. und neutr. verloren gegangen, sondern *-āi* ist über *ăi* zu *-ī* geworden.

S. 27 § 48: Die idg. Endung im Acc. Plur. masc. ist *-ōns* und nicht *-ons*. So hätte z. B. **virons* zu air. *fero* (vgl. *fiado* 'Herr' aus **veidonts*) führen müssen.

Wie kommt der Verfasser dazu, als 'Prehistoric Irish' im Gen. Dual eine Endung *-u* anzusetzen? Der Gen. Dual *fer*

erklärt sich doch gut aus älterem **viro*, idg. **vir-ou!* **viru* müfste ja *fiur* ergeben.

S. 28 § 49: Die Regel, dafs das Ersatzdehnungs-*é* im Genetiv zu *éui*, usw. wird, gilt doch nicht blofs vor auslautendem *l*, sondern ebenso bei *r*, *n*, z. B. *én* 'Vogel', Gen. *éuin*, *fér* 'Gras', Gen. *féuir*.

S. 29 § 51: Der Gen. Sing. auf *-ī* ist doch kein idg. Lokativ, der vielmehr kurzes *i* aufwies! Es kann sich hier nur um ein altes idg. *-ī* handeln.

S. 32: *guth* kann nicht auf **gothus* zurückgehen (dies ergäbe air. *goth*), sondern nur auf **guthus*.

mind geht nicht auf **mendu*, sondern auf **mindu* zurück, das sich direkt aus idg. **m̥ndu* entwickelt hat.

S. 39 § 65: Das Suffix *-tūt-* mit langem *ū*.

S. 40 Z. 1—7: Die Suffixe **-retom* (neut.) und **-reidhā* (fem.) sind hier zusammengeworfen.

S. 40 Z. 24—28: Die Suffixe *-án* und *-én* können keineswegs auf *-akno* und *-ikno* zurückgehen; *-akno* hätte z. B. *-én*. niemals aber *-án* ergeben können. Als Grundformen sind *-agno*, *-igno* anzusetzen.

S. 41 Z. 11: *léir ingnu* heifst nicht 'with diligent science', sondern 'diligent in science'.

S. 68 Z. 6: *léicid* kann keinesfalls auf **livkᵘī-ti* zurückgehen, da dies nur **lícid* ergeben hätte. Man mufs notgedrungen von einer Form **leivkᵘī-ti* ausgehen.

S. 68 Z. 18: Eine Grundform **pre-na-ti* ist unmöglich, da *ri* erst zu *re* wurde, nachdem das *p* längst abgefallen war; es mufs daher **pri-na-ti* heifsen (idg. **pr̥-*).

S. 68 Z. 25: Wie stellt sich der Verfasser die Enstehung des air. *-gnin* aus **gn-n-i̯* (sic!) vor?

S. 69 Z. 22: *tiagu* kann unmöglich direkt auf **steighō* zurückgehen, das vielmehr *-tiag* ergeben hat.

S. 77 Z. 8: lies *gᵘhodh-*, *gᵘhedh-*.

S. 95: Die unkomponierten Präteritalformen sind vielfach ganz falsch rekonstruiert. So ist die rel. 1. Plur. als **bertammar* und nicht als **bertemmar* anzusetzen. Die rel. 3. Sing. *gabes* ist nirgends belegt; die Form müfste aufserdem **gabas* lauten, da das palatale Suffix des Präsens im Präteritum fehlt. Der Ansatz einer 1. und 2. Sing. **gáda*, **gádae* ist gänzlich unberechtigt. Die rel. 1. Plur mufs als **gádammar*, die 2. Plur. als *gádte* angesetzt werden.

Die komponierte 2. Plur. des Konjunktivs von *benaim* mufs **-bíeid*, und nicht *-bíaid* lauten.

S. 96 Z. 1 ff.: Der Konjunktiv des Präteritums von *benaim* ist mit Ausnahme der 3. Personen ganz falsch angesetzt. Das *ia* des Stammes **bhi(j)ā-* mufs nämlich in zweisilbigen Formen als *ïe* erhalten bleiben, bei Antritt einer weiteren Silbe zu *e* synkopiert werden,

also: **-bieinn*, **-betha*, **-bemmis*, **-bethe*, doch erschiene mir der Ansatz der 2. Personen in unserem Fall etwas zu gewagt. Im Allgemeinen setzt der Verfasser viel zu viel unsichere Formen an, die vorsichtigerweise besser ausgelassen worden wären.

S. 98 § 192: *attá* geht natürlich nicht auf **ad-stā-jō*, sondern auf **ad-stā-t* zurück!

S. 107 Z. 12: *do-coí* kann nicht auf **de-com-ųadst*, sondern nur auf **de-com-ųedst* zurückgehen.

S. 112 § 216: Statt *do-aisselbi* mufs es *do-aissilbi* heifsen.

S. 136 Z. 4: Die Herleitung von *calléic* aus **cen* + *léiciud* ist ganz undenkbar.

Obige Fehlerliste, die ihre Entstehung nur einer flüchtigen Durchsicht verdankt, liefse sich noch um vieles erweitern. Besonders im Ansetzen von Grundformen ist viel gesündigt worden. Man sieht, dafs sich der Verfasser über die lautliche Entwicklung vom Urkeltischen zum Altirischen meist selbst nicht im Klaren war. Auch die Vorkenntnisse in der indogermanischen Grammatik sind jedenfalls unzureichend gewesen.   Julius Pokorny.

Carl J. S. Marstrander. Dictionary of the Irisch Language, based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials, published by the Royal Irish Academy under the Editorship of Carl J. S. Marstrander, Professor of Celtic Philology in the University of Kristiania. Fasciculus I., D-degóir. Dublin Royal Irish Academy; Hodges, Figgis and Co., Ltd.; London: Williams and Norgate. 10 s. 6 d. net.

Dacherdda: read *Da-Cherddae* = *Do-Cherddae.*

Dairben: add. *Dairbthenn* (: *ro-len*) Edinb. Dinds. 55.

Dairblinn: instead of *Dairmill* read *Dairinill.*

dairchis: instead of *dénam* read *denam.*

dairchnib is an impossible form, as a hypothetical Old Celtic dat. pl. **darik-injabis* could only have given **dairchinib*; similarly **dari-genjābis* would give **dairginib; *darignābis* would give **dairnib.*

Dáire Doimthech; the alternative form *Daimthech* ought to have been given.

Dáire mac Guil: read *Guill.*

col. 35 l. 36: insert

**dairgthech: alta-som oconn dairggdhig* YBL 18 b 31; there is no such word as *dairg-thech* 'oak-house'. A hypothetical Old Celtic **dariko-tegos* would have given **dairchithech* in O. Ir. Old Celtic **dari-tegos* gave *dairthech* which could never be used in a sense that would suit the passage quoted. Hence we must

read *oconnd airggdhig* 'at the hero-house'; *airgg-thech* contains the word *argg* 'hero' which is etymologically identical with Greek ἀρχός.

Dairiet II: There is no evidence that this was a 'foreign' scholar.

col. 35 l. 64: insert *dairine* 'a small oakwood': *Darine ednech* n. l. Fél.[2] 240, 6 also called *Daire na Flann*. Cf. Hogan.

col. 36 l. 52 instead of *Fdthain* read *Fathain*.

col. 37 l. 19 insert *Dairiud*, dat. of. *Dair-fid: Ciar ingen Duib Rea de Dairiud* LB 22.

Dairmill: I do not understand the reason for this entry as this misprint had been already corrected by Stokes in the Index of Persons s. v. *Darinill*.

col. 37 l. 26 and 32: read *deirmitiu* and *deirmitnech* as the *r* is certainly palatal.

Dairn: instead of *Fomórach* read *Fomorach* with the Ms.

dairnaisce: There is no evidence for such forms as *dairnaisce* or *dernaisce*.

col. 37 l. 42: add. *Dairsi Braid-sléibhe*, R. C. XX 338, 13. A tribe of the *aithech-thúatha* so called. Instead of *escus* read *escas* and add: ut dicitur *daurnaisce dar lemain*.

dáistir: read: only in the 3 sg. pass.

dáithe: The corruption in this passage is not very great. *dáithe* contains apparently the same root as mod. *daoithemhail* and means 'baseness, detriment, fault'.

col. 41 l. 48 add. *daithech* 'swift, active', *daithecht* 'swiftness, activity', mod. *daitheach, daitheacht*, Dinn.

daithen: an analogical by-form of *dathan*. Old Celtic **datinā* gives regularly *dathan;* the palatal quality of the *th* is due to the influence of the oblique cases.

daithgen: this is of course no *o*-stem but an *ā*-stem since it is identical with *daithen* and represents only a wrong spelling.

col. 42 l. 34: insert *daithinet* .i. *uaire aisneid* H. 3. 18. 69 a = *dathined .i. uair aisneidh* ib. 635 a.

Julius Pokorny.

Kuno Meyer, Zur keltischen Wortkunde II—VI. Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preufs. Akademie der Wissenschaften 1912, LI (S. 1144—1157); 1913, XXV (S. 445—455) und XLIX (S. 950—959); 1914, XXI (S. 630—642) und XXXV (S. 939—958).

In zwangloser Reihenfolge werden eine grofse Zahl keltischer, namentlich irischer Wörter nach Bedeutung, Bildung oder Herkunft besprochen; Nr. VI schliefst mit Berichtigungen und einem Wortverzeichnis zur ganzen Reihe.

Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts, Vol. IV und V, Halle a. S. 1912 und 1913, XIX-128 S. und 30 S.

Der 4. Band bringt uns einen vollständigen Abdruck von Cormacs Glossar nach dem Yellow Book of Lecan durch K. Meyer auf Grund einer nachkollationierten Abschrift von Wh. Stokes. Die einzelnen Artikel sind numeriert (auch die zahlreichen Zusatzartikel dieser Redaktion durchgezählt) und ein alfabetisches Wortverzeichnis beigegeben. In der Vorrede VII f. sind die verschiedenen Handschriften des Glossars aufgeführt, aus denen einzelne Varianten aufgenommen sind, auch die Artikel *Prúll* und *Mugēme* nach Harl. 5280 und 23. N. 10 abgedruckt (VIII ff.).

Der 5. Band enthält fünf kürzere Texte, drei davon von K. Meyer: die Korrespondenz zwischen Alexander und Dindimus nach Rawlinson B 512, *Ferchuitred Medba* nach derselben Handschrift, aus der Jos. O'Neill, Ériu II 174 nur die Varianten gegeben hatte, und *Verba Scāthaige fri CoinCulaind* nach drei Handschriften (eine vierte ZCP IX 487). Ferner von Annie M. Scarre *Scél muicce Maic Dá Thó* nach H. 3. 18, aus der schon Windisch, Ir. Texte 96 ff. die Varianten angeführt hatte, und von Annie Power ein schwieriger Text, der *The caldron of Poesy* betitelt wird, nebst zahlreichen Glossen, gleichfalls nach H. 3. 18.

Kuno Meyer, Über die älteste irische Dichtung. II. Rhythmische alliterierende reimlose Strophen (Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preufs. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1913, Phil.-Hist. Cl., Nr. 10). Berlin 1914, 4°. 40 S.

Die interessanten Beispiele dieser altertümlichen Dichtungsweise, die der Verf. gesammelt hat, sind leider nicht so umfangreich, wie die in Teil I besprochenen und daher ihr Bau nicht so genau zu umschreiben. Ist S. 7 Nr. 2 Str. 4 mit L² *athar athair* '(unserer) Väter Vater' zu lesen? Beigefügt sind einige als *nath* bezeichnete Strofen aus den 'Mitteliriscben Verslehren' und Berichtigungen und Verzeichnisse der Namen und erklärten Wörter zu beiden Teilen.

Festschrift Ernst Windisch zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 4. September 1914 dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern. Leipzig (O. Harrassowitz) 1914, VI und 380 S. gr. 8°.

Von den zahlreichen dem um die Keltologie so hochverdienten Gelehrten dargebrachten Aufsätzen beziehen sich nur drei auf Keltisches. Ludw. Mühlhausen (S. 249—348) sammelt und bespricht die lateinischen, romanischen und germanischen Lehnwörter in den alten kymrischen Gesetzen (Codex Venedotianus). Kuno Meyer (S. 63—67) gibt Vermutungen, wovon die verlorene Sage, die in der Liste A *Aigidecht Artuir* betitelt ist, gehandelt haben mag. Ich habe auf Grund von Arbeiten meines Sprachwissenschaftlichen Seminars eine Besprechung von Cormacs Glossar (S. 8—37) beigesteuert. Die Ausgabe der Artikel

Prull und *Mug Éme* nach allen Hss. will die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der Handschriften untereinander zeigen und namentlich darauf hinweisen, daſs die Beiziehung des Buchs von Hy-Maine für die Herstellung des ersten Teils des Glossars unerläſslich ist. Für den Ausdruck *ba fáe leo* (*Prull*, Z. 15) macht mich Marstrander auf Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh, S. 46, aufmerksam, wo es heiſst: *Ba fae* (Hs. B *fi*) *do cechtar de comriachtain and, acht ba messu dona gallaib*, von Todd richtig übersetzt: 'It was woe to each party to meet there; but it was worse for the foreigners'. Es ist also auch bei Cormac hinter *leo* zu interpungieren: 'Da gefiel es ihnen nicht, ihn zu sich zu lassen; denn es schien ihnen verderblich (*fáe*). Er war kein in ihren Schwarm passender Vogel' usw. Ferner vermutet er wohl mit Recht, daſs das unverständliche *indré* (Z. 25) ein Fehler der Urhandschrift für *in dre(m)* 'die Schar' ist, und weist zu *congrus* (Z. 17) das Simplex *grus* nach in der Strofe, welche Leabhar Breac in Cormacs Glossar zum Artikel *fogamur* hinzusetzt: *inglan mo chorp lir mo grus* 'mein Körper ist unrein ebensosehr wie mein *grus*'. Beim Wort *carra menncrott* hätte ich auf Fianaigecht 34 verweisen sollen, wo *carra óir* neben *téta argait* erwähnt sind.

Die übrigen Teile der Festschrift behandeln Stoffe der indischen Philologie oder der vergleichenden Grammatik.

R. Th.

REGISTER ZU BAND VI—X.

A.

C.

D.

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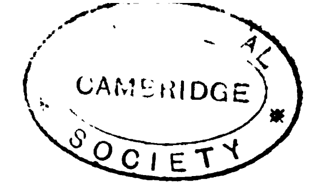
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ZU DEN MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN VON K. MEYER IN BAND III—X.

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HERAUSGEGEBEN

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KUNO MEYER

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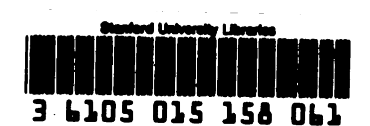
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